

A

0000182683



UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY

a



C. W. H. Sotheby.

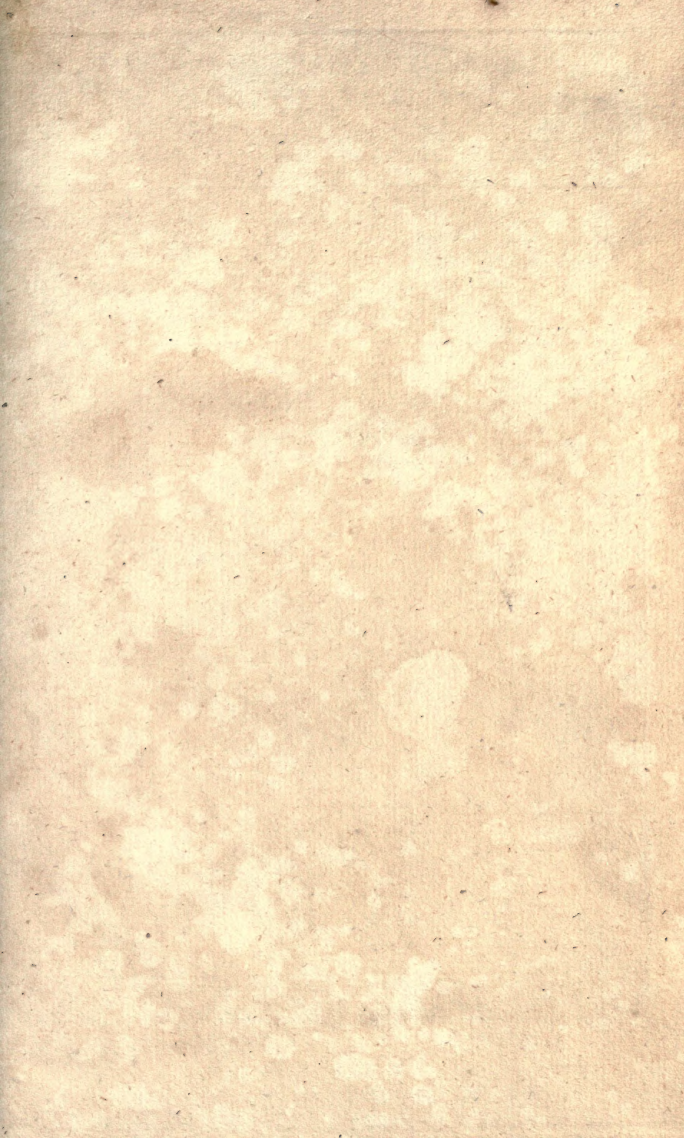


C
5

2 vols











W. Verelstede sculp.

Johannes, Dux. Marlburii, S. R. I.
PRINCEPS, &c.

*Greatness and Goodness here, at once, are seen,
Sweetly inthron'd, in his Majestick Mien,
How Mild, yet Awful, Piercing, yet, Serene.*

THE
L I F E
OF
J O H N,
Duke of Marlborough,
Prince of the *Roman* Empire ;

Illustrated with
MAPS, Plans of BATTLES, SIEGES,
and MEDALS,

And a great Number of
ORIGINAL LETTERS and PAPERS
Never before Published.

The SECOND EDITION.
With Considerable Additional Improvements.

By THOMAS LEDIARD, Esq; F. R. S.

VOLUME I.

MARLBRO's *Exploits appear divinely bright,*
And proudly shine in their own native Light ;
Rais'd of themselves, their genuine Charms they boast,
And those who Paint them truest, Praise them most.

ADDISON.

L O N D O N:
Printed for J. WILCOX, against the New Church in the Strand.

MDCCXLIII.

1
F
J O H N

D. O. 08/11/1890

1890

1890

1890

1890

1890

1890

1890

1890

1890

1890

1890

1890

1890

1890

1890

1890

1890

1890



TO THE
High, Puissant, and most Noble
PRINCE,
CHARLES SPENCER,
Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

SIR,



THE Subject of the following Sheets will, I flatter myself, in a great Measure, justify my Presumption, in offering them to YOUR GRACE's Patronage, and atone for an Intrusion, which would, otherwise, be unpardonable: For to whose Protection

A 2

can

can the *Life of the Great and Glorious* JOHN, *Duke of MARLBOROUGH*, the HERO of latter Ages, have Recourse, with so much Justice and Propriety, as to that of the ILLUSTRIOUS PERSON, who has inherited as well his Virtues as his Honours; and in whom GREAT BRITAIN may expect to see a Series of Actions, which alone can compare with those of his RENOWNED ANCESTOR?

How happy should I esteem myself, were I capable of obliging Posterity with a Character, but in some Degree, adequate to the GREAT MAN whose Life I have attempted to write! But as, with all my Endeavours, I should not be able to add one Tittle to our BRITISH HERO's Glory, which soars as much above the Reach of Praise, as it is above that of Envy, I have aim'd at no more than a bare *Sketch* of it in my Preface. Let SCHELLENBERG and HOCHSTADT denounce his Fame! Let RAMEL-LIES, OUDENARDE, and MALPLACQUET, and

DEDICATION.

V

and a Thousand other extensive Scenes of Glory, trumpet out his just EULOGIUM!

In the mean Time, a genuine, tho' plain Relation of such Atchievements, the greatest which ever embellish'd any History, either Antient or Modern, is alone a Panegyrick sufficient, and cannot but be acceptable to YOUR GRACE, as they were perform'd by YOUR GREAT PREDECESSOR. The Services this wonderful Man did for *Europe* were so extraordinary, and the Terrour he struck into the Enemies of GREAT BRITAIN, in particular, so great, that they are not to be reflected upon but with an Astonishment, which nothing can or ought to equal, but our grateful Acknowledgment of them. Posterity will, indeed, with Indignation, read, that after an uninterrupted Series of Triumphs, beyond Example, the blackest Ingratitude could find its way into the Hearts of some Men, who dar'd to endeavour the blasting of his Reputation: But as

the Attempt was equally vain, and inglorious, so it soon met with the Fate it deserved, and true Merit again rode triumphant.

WOULD I pursue the usual Method and Tenour of Dedications, I should now enter upon Your Grace's Character; But the Task would be equally arduous with the former, and would not fail to offend Your Grace's Modesty: I shall, therefore, only concur with the Voice of the Publick, in admiring the wonderful Perfection, with which whatever is amiable in Life is center'd in YOUR ILLUSTRIOUS PERSON, and shines thro' all Your Actions.

THAT YOUR GRACE may long live, and continue to make these princely Accomplishments beneficial to Your Country, (*particularly in the several Noble Functions of a Brave Commander, which you have now so happily, (allow me to say, auspiciously,) enter'd*

DEDICATION.

vii

enter'd upon;) and that You may be
blest with a numerous OFFSPRING of
HEROES, who, with their ILLUSTRIOUS
FATHER, may trace the Foot-steps of
their GLORIOUS ANCESTOR, and with
his Virtue, share his IMMORTAL NAME,
for the universal Good of Mankind,
are the hearty and sincere Wishes of,

SIR,

YOUR GRACE'S

Most devoted,

And most obedient

Humble Servant,

*Old Palace-Yard,
Westminster,
March, 26,
1743.*

Tho. Lediard.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY
540 EAST 57TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637
U.S.A.



P R E F A C E

To the FIRST EDITION.



As only some faint Sketches of the Life of that ILLUSTRIOUS HERO, JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH, the GLORY of GREAT BRITAIN, and one of the GREATEST MEN the Age he lived in produced, have hitherto appeared, it has long been the Admiration of the Publick, that some or other of our ablest Writers has not employ'd his Pen on so rich, so noble a Subject : And that an earnest Desire of seeing something more perfect of this Kind, has greatly prevail'd, is evident by the continual Demand there has been, some Years past, for whatever is already published, to the Honour and Memory of this GREAT PERSON.

THE Task must, indeed, be allow'd to be very arduous, not only on account of the Disadvantages, which every Writer is liable to, who attempts the History or Lives of Great Men, so soon after their Death ; but because Actions so Glorious, and withal so Important, as those which compose the Life of our HERO, require the utmost Care and Skill of an able Historian, not only to display them in their just and true

true Colours; but to cloath his Relations in Words, tho' not equal (which none but an Addison could pretend to succeed in) yet, at least, in some Measure, approaching to the Dignity of his Subject. And tho', with respect to the first, no Pains have here been spared to collect and digest Materials proper for the Ends required; and for the latter, Perspicuity and Order might make some Atonement for want of Eloquence: Yet I should have readily confess'd myself altogether unequal to the Task, and not have dared to undertake it, had there not been some Motives more than ordinary, which to me, at least, seem'd of Weight to justify me in the Attempt. How far these Motives are really so, or not, I must submit to the Judgment of the candid Reader: And

1. IT is not a Secret, that a very noted Writer of those Times, in every Respect equal to the Undertaking, actually set about this desirable Work, not long after our Illustrious General's Death; and a most acceptable Work it would, without Doubt, have been to the Publick, had he lived to compleat his Design: But Death took him away, and depriv'd England of the Satisfaction, when he had but just form'd the Plan of it, and had made but very small Advances in the Superstructure. Part of the Materials, from which this noble Edifice was design'd to have been raised, fell, accidentally, into my Hands, and I thought them too weighty as well as curious to be bury'd in Oblivion.

2. HAVING myself been an Eye-witness of some of the Transactions I have recorded, and particularly, as I was at the Time of one of them, not the least among the glorious Number, in the Duke's Retinue, (I mean in his Journey into Saxony, to influence the King of Sweden, if not in Favour of the Allies, at least to engage in nothing to their Prejudice,) I imagin'd;
and

and I hope my Imagination has not yet been wholly groundless, I might be able to set some Matters in a truer Light, than they have hitherto been shewn in.

3. A G E N T L E M A N of great Worth, who is possess'd of a considerable Number of Original Letters, as well of the Duke's, as of many other Persons of Distinction, was so generous to the Publick, and so much a Favourer of my Undertaking, to offer me the Use of them; and tho' till then, a perfect Stranger to me, to confide them in my Hands for several Months: A noble Example of publick Spirit, rarely to be found, and therefore the more deserving of this open Acknowledgement, tho' his Modesty obliges me to conceal his Name! Of these valuable Pieces, the Reader will find many Translations at Length, Extracts of others, and from yet others I have borrowed such Intelligences as have enabled me to set many dubious Matters in a true Light. The Advantage these Materials must necessarily have been of in the compiling of this Work, is too evident to need any Illustration. To these I may add,

4. T H E Opportunity I have had, in above twenty Years Travels, to converse with a great Number of Foreign Officers, some of whom have commanded, and others served in, the Auxiliary Troops, under our incomparable British Chief, as well as of reading what has been published in several Languages, and in different Countries, on this diffusive Subject.

T H E S E, I say, were, among others, the Motives which engaged me to undertake a Work, which, without these Helps, I should have been very unequal to; And, with these, I have not been wanting to consult, and make the best Use I could, of our own Historians of those Times.

F O R E I G N Authors, and especially Rouset, Dumont, and the Marquis de Quincy, have likewise, not only been carefully consulted; but whatever
is

is contained in the two former, curious and remarkable, not found in other Historians, has been faithfully translated and inserted in this Work.

PARTICULARLY, as I am perfectly convinced of the Truth of what Dean Swift advances (in his Preface to Sir William Temple's Letters) "That nothing is so capable of giving a true Account of Story, as Letters are; which describe Actions while they are alive and breathing: Whereas all other Relations are of Actions past and dead." I have built my Relations, as much as possible, on Original Letters, and their authentick Copies: But as too prolix Accounts of Actions, tho' never so Glorious and Memorable, are generally tedious to most Readers, I have endeavour'd every where to bring them within as narrow a Compass as the Circumstances of Affairs would admit, referring to such Letters and other valuable Pieces, which immediately follow my Relations, as Vouchers of the Truth of them.

TO all this, I have added as many Medals as I have been able to come at, which have been struck on Occasion of the great Events of this Glorious Life, as well engraven as explain'd: And that nothing might be wanting to give the Reader a perfect Idea of the great Actions that are here recorded, he will find exact Plans of the principal Battles and Sieges. With respect to Medals, it may not be amiss to observe, that tho' the Virtuosi, in this Way, generally set a Value on such Monuments, in Proportion to their Antiquity; yet, it is to be considered, that what is now Modern, will be Antique some hundred Years hence; and that if ancient Historians had been as careful to hand down to us the Medals and Coins of their respective Times, we should now be at a greater Certainty than we are, as to some very important Points of Chronology.

I SHALL not spend much Time, in informing the Reader of the Method I have observed in writing
the

the following Sheets; I shall only say, that, in general, I have endeavour'd to follow the known Rules of History, and that, as on the one side, Adulation could have no Place in compiling the Life of a Man, whose every Action, justly and fairly related, is a Panegyrick on himself; so, on the other hand, I may venture to say, I have not, either to gratify any Party, or to shew any private Resentment of my own, given an ill-natur'd Turn to the Actions, or libell'd the Persons, even of those Men, who have shewn themselves the most irreconcilable Enemies of my Hero. I have, indeed, shewn, wherein they have wrong'd his Person and Character, but I hope every where with such good Manners, at least, that I believe there is not one Line throughout the whole three Volumes, that can justly give Offence to any reasonable Person whomsoever.

BUT as I have mentioned the Character of this Illustrious Person, it may probably not be unacceptable to the Reader, if I attempt to give, at least, a general Idea of it.

IT would be superfluous to go about to prove here, that our Nation has produced as great and able Men, in every Faculty and State of Life, as any other: But we shall scarce find, in the History of any Nation, either ancient or modern, the two so different Characters, as those of a General and a Minister, rising by so regular Steps, and wrought up to so high a Pitch of Perfection, as in the Great Man whose Life we have now before us. " It is (says the Author of " the Tatler) a pleasing Reflection, to consider the " Dispensation of Providence, in the Fortune of this " Illustrious Man, who, in the space of Forty Years, " pass'd thro' all the Gradations of human Life, till " he ascended the Character of a Prince, and became " the Scourge of a Tyrant, who sat in one of the " greatest Thrones of Europe, before the Man who " was to have the greatest Part in his Downfall, had
" made

cation and Inclination a staunch Friend to the establish'd Church, and by Reason and Principle firmly attack'd to the Protestant Succession : And as his Principles inclined him to side with the Whigs, so his Moderation led him to favour the Dissenters.

BUT let us now consider him in his two most essential Characters : I mean those of a Soldier and a Statesman. As a SOLDIER, he was always a Man of the most strict Honour, punctual, vigilant, indefatigable, and of a firm and steady Resolution. Before he arrived to the Degree of a General, he had a Courage of the most keen and enterprizing sort, not free from a too great Eagerness of running into Danger ; and in the most perilous Encounters, he always shew'd a most extraordinary Chearfulness. When he was raised to the Command of an Army, he was always ready to expose his Person, as far as Necessity, and even farther, sometimes, than Prudence, not bore down by a fervent Zeal for the common Good, seemed to require, with the same Unconcernedness, in regard to himself, as before. He spared neither Pains nor Costs to get Intelligence, notwithstanding all his Enemies have invented to his Prejudice : For nothing is more evident, than that without this it would have been impossible to be ever successful. When but young in this high Command, a great Prince and experienced General was pleased to say of him ; That he saw into the Arts of a General, more in one Day, than others did in a great many Years. In the Day of Battle, he gave his Orders with all the Clearness and Composedness imaginable, leading on his Troops without the least Hurry or Perturbation, and rallying those Troops that were disorder'd, without those harsh and severe Reproaches, which rather damp than animate the Soldier's Courage. He had an excellent Talent, first in discerning, and then in pursuing Advantages upon

upon his Enemy: And he constantly went on, from Conquest to Conquest, in one uninterrupted Series of Success, every Step he advanced being a Kingdom, a Province, or, at least, a City subdued. But what was as extraordinary, as it was Praise-worthy, amidst the Horrors of the Field, Humanity had ever a Place in his Mind. He always endeavour'd to restrain the Slaughter, which usually attends Victory, and never express'd a greater Satisfaction, than when the Circumstances of Things would admit of his sparing the Lives of the Conquered. He never forfeited his Word or his Promise; but was a strict Observer of Justice, which he practis'd most deliberately where he had the greatest Opportunity of doing wrong. He secured the Affections of his Soldiers by his Good Nature, Care for their Provisions, and Vigilance not to expose them to unnecessary Danger; and gain'd those of his Officers by his Affability: Both one and the other followed him to Action, with such a Cheerfulness, Resolution, and Unanimity, as were sure Presages of Success. A certain Joy and eager Impatience, which it would be difficult to express, visibly appeared in their Countenances, whenever he was at their Head, and a Prospect offered, of engaging under his auspicious Conduct: As on the other Hand, they were never more dejected, than when any unforeseen Accident disappointed their Expectations: But when they did fight under their GREAT LEADER, never did the Macedonian Phalanx, nor the Roman Legion, shew greater Intrepidity and Resolution. May I be allowed to add to all this, that an exemplary Piety, and strict Morality, which he not only practis'd himself, but endeavour'd to inculcate throughout his whole Army, were undoubtedly such Grounds for an Assurance of a Blessing from Heaven, on his Endeavours, in a just Cause, as could not but greatly strengthen his Resolution, and excite a true and

Christian Courage in, at least, the thinking Part of his whole Army.

W H A T an Officer of Note has said, on this Part of our General's Behaviour, is worthy Observation. His own Example (*says he*) gave a particular Life to his Orders, and as no indecent Expression ever dropp'd from his Lips, so he was imitated by the genteel Part of the Army. His Camps were like a quiet and well-govern'd City, and, perhaps, much more mannerly. Cursing, Swearing, and Blustering were never heard among those who were reckon'd good Officers, and his Army was, beyond all Contradiction, the best Academy in the World; to teach a young Gentleman Wit and Breeding; a Sot and a Drunkard being what they scorn'd. The poor Soldiers, who were (too many of them) the Refuse and Dregs of the Nation, became, after one or two Campaigns, by the Care of their Officers, and by good Order and Discipline, tractable, civil, orderly, sensible, and clean, and had an Air and a Spirit above the Vulgar. The Service of God, according to the Order of the establish'd Church, was strictly enjoined by the Duke's special Care. In all fix'd Camps, every Morning and Evening were Prayers; and on *Sundays* were Sermons both in the Field and in Garrisons. *It is farther memorable; and a corroborating Proof of what I said before; That he was so great a Discourager of Vice, as to give particular Directions to the Provost-Marshal, to chase away all lewd Women from about his Quarters; and before a Battle, the Chaplains of the several Regiments, by his especial Order, performed Divine Service, as also after a Victory obtained, solemn Thanksgiving was observed throughout the whole Army.*

T O conclude our Hero's Character as a General, I shall only add what has been said of him in Comparison with other great Generals of his Time. The Prince
of

of Vaudemont, before our General had long wielded the Staff of Command, observed of him: That there was something in him that was inexpressible: For (said he, speaking to King William) the Fire of Kirk, the Thought of Lanier, the Skill of Mackay, and the Bravery of Colchester, seem to be united in his Person: And I have lost my Knowledge in Physiognomy, which hitherto never deceived me, if any Subject your Majesty has, can ever attain to such military Glory, as this Combination of sublime Perfections must, one Day, advance him to.

AS a STATESMAN, he managed great Variety of Business, either alone, or in Concert with the Prime Minister, with the greatest Dexterity, Ease, and Sufficiency. He never was supercilious or over-bearing in Council; but could suffer Contradiction without Passion, and always endeavour'd, where he thought he had Reason to persist in his Opinion, to bring over others, by cool, but convincing Arguments. He made use of few Words, but rarely spoke in vain; and tho' he was not the greatest Master of Oratory, yet in important Debates, he express'd himself very pertinently; and, by his Temper and Reservedness, he always maintained the Reputation of a wise Man. What greater Testimony can we have of his Capacity, than that given him by King William, when upon delivering the Duke of Gloucester to his Care, as Governour, he said: My Lord, teach him to be what you are, and my Nephew can't want Accomplishments. And with all this, he had an uncommon Talent of insinuating himself, and gaining upon the Minds of those he dealt with: Of which, I think, there can be no greater Instance, than the Influence he always had over that wise Body, the Assembly of the States General; and tho' he was once so strongly oppos'd by their Field-Deputies, that a grand Enterprize was thereby frustrated, yet

P R E F A C E.

the States disavow'd their Conduct, and gave his Grace the utmost Satisfaction he desired.

IF we will, to conclude these Parts of this Great Man's Character, unite the Soldier and the Statesman, we may justly say, That no General ever commanded Troops of so many different Nations, with more Ease, nor was ever any Politician more successful in the most weighty and arduous Negotiations. His wise and successful Management, as well of Civil as Military Affairs, with the Assistance of his Friend, the Lord Godolphin, in the former, raised the Reign of Queen Ann to a higher Pitch of Glory, than any that stands recorded in our English Annals.

I MUST not finish this Sketch of a Character hardly to be parallel'd, without repeating the Words of the Great and Glorious King William, which he is reported to have said on his Death-Bed, viz. That the Duke (then Earl) of Marlborough, was the fittest Person in all his Dominions, to conduct his Successor's Armies, and to preside in her Councils; as he was a Man of a cool Head, and warm Heart, proper to encounter the Genius of France, and suppress her Designs of swallowing all Europe. This almost prophetick Character, from so excellent a Judge, might seem the greatest Elogy, that could be bestowed on our Hero; were it not, that in another Respect, what was most true of the Duke of Marlborough, cannot, I believe, be said of any other General, either ancient or modern, viz. That in twenty Campaigns, ten of which were successive, he passed all the Rivers and Lines he attempted, took all the Towns he invested, won all the Battles he fought, (this often with inferiour, rarely with superiour Force,) was never surpriz'd by his Enemy, nor charg'd with one Action of Cruelty, was ever beloved by his own Soldiers, and dreaded by those of his Enemy. To conclude, our Hero had Room to say, what Cicero tells us
Julius

Julius Cæsar said: *Se satis vel ad Naturam, vel ad Gloriam vixisse.* (He had lived to be satisfied with his Share of Life and Glory.) He died in a good old Age, bless'd with Peace, Wealth, and Glory, the greatest Subject of his Time in Christendom, whom five successive Monarchs of Great Britain employ'd in their Armies and Councils, and delighted to honour. His Heroick Deeds were Cause of Admiration to all Europe, and the Memory of them will be eternized in the Records of Fame.

T H I S, I say, may serve as a Sketch of our **ILLUSTRIOUS HERO'S** Character, till a more able Pen shall undertake to finish the beautiful Piece; for the accomplishing of which, in the Reading the following Sheets, he will find such Plenty of noble Images arise, to fire his Imagination, as will be more than sufficient to employ his utmost Skill. To point out, however, some Passages, more especially proper for this End, he will here find the Characters given this Great Man, by a Number of the most Illustrious Personages and Bodies of the Age he lived in. He will particularly see those given him by three successive Emperours, Leopold, Joseph, and his present Imperial Majesty Charles VI. by King William, and Queen Ann, by Lewis XIV. of France, and Charles the XIIth of Sweden; by the Elector of Bavaria, and several other Sovereign Princes of the Empire; by the States General, their Deputies, and the Grand Pensionary Heinsius; by Prince Lewis of Baden, Prince Eugene, the Princes of Vaudemont and Waldeck; by the Parliaments of England and Great Britain, in divers Addresses to the Throne, and in several Congratulations and Thanks directed to himself; by the City of London, and many other Cities and Corporations; by the Marshal de Turenne, and the Marquis de Lesdiguières; by the Duke of Monmouth, by the Bishops of Ely, St. Asaph, and Salisbury, and by many others.

P R E F A C E.

IT is hardly possible to conceive how a greater and more noble Monument of Glory, can be raised to the Memory of any One of Human Race, than a judicious Combination of all these Characters is capable of producing.

I SHALL not swell this Preface, or forebail the Reader's Curiosity, by enumerating the great and glorious Scenes, which the Life of our Hero will naturally, and without deviating, in the least, from my Subject, open to his View: It may suffice to say, in general here, that the Reign of Queen Ann, which comprizes at least seven Parts in eight of the following Sheets, was as fertile of great and glorious Events, in most of which our Hero had a large, or the largest Share, as any Reign since that great and remarkable Epoch of English History, the Conquest. Here we see a Grand Alliance formed, with the Design of curbing the exorbitant Power of France, and wresting Spain and the Spanish West-Indies out of the Hands of the House of Bourbon; A War in Consequence of that Alliance, full of the most extraordinary Events, and attended with such glorious Actions and Successes, as no History, Ancient or Modern, can parallel: But as even this glorious Reign had its Change of Scenes, so we, likewise, see, that after all this Success and Glory, acquired by the British Arms, when the House of Bourbon was reduced to the lowest Ebb, and ready to give all or more than we had fought for: Under these happy Circumstances, I say, we shall see the Decorations shifted, and, by what extraordinary Accidents I shall not determine, the great Duke of Marlborough, who, under God, was the glorious Instrument of all this Happiness, after all his Victories and Triumphs, disgraced, the Duke of Ormond sent, unexpectedly, and against the Advice and Opinion of the greater Part of the High Allies, to publish a Cessation of Arms, the Grand Alliance thereupon broken, and Spain, with the Span-
nith

nish West-Indies, for which so much Blood and Treasure had been expended, left, or rather formally given up, to the House of Bourbon: And, as a Consequence of this Change, we shall lastly see Great Britain, a Suitor to France for a much worse Peace than she had ever the Assurance to offer; when, but a few Months before, we might have given Laws to our Enemies, and have settled the Balance of the Power of Europe, on so firm and lasting a Foundation, as could not easily have been shaken. These I say, are some of the Great Events, which the Reader will find faithfully and circumstantially related, in the following Sheets; all which, with many more, have an immediate Relation, and properly belong, to The LIFE of JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH, &c.

I might very well have sent this Second Edition into the World, without any Addition to it, had I not been oblig'd, very much against my Inclination, to appear again in Justification of my former Work, from a gentle Reproof (I am unwilling to say, Asperision) cast upon it, by a supposed Right Honourable Author. This Lady (if the Author of *THE OTHER SIDE* of the Question, said to be a Woman of Quality be so) is pleas'd to say, p. 59. Bishop Burnet and Mr. Lediard may be look'd upon rather as the Duke's (the Duke of Marlborough's) Advocates than his Historians: I shall not take upon me to say any thing in Defence of the Bishop's Works; let them speak for themselves. I have, I think, shewn my Impartiality, in several Parts of my Work, by contradictting, and shewing my Reasons for differing in Opinion from, him; and, for myself, if I should contradict this Assertion, by barely averring that I was under no Tye or Obligation to shew the least Partiality, but on the contrary, have every where endeavour'd to follow the resplendent Rays of All-powerful Truth (*Magna est Veritas et prevalebit!*) it may be look'd upon as a meer

P R E F A C E.

Ipse dixit; I shall however beg Leave to bring one negative Proof, to shew, at least, that there is no Reason to found a Conjecture upon, that I have been bias'd by any personal Interest: I do, therefore, I say, aver (and defy all the Malice of my Enemies, if I have any, to contradict it,) that tho' I have all the Respect and Deference, that is due to the Characters and Quality of the Noble Descendants and Right Honourable Relations of the TRULY GREAT MAN, whose Life, I have, with the LEAVE and CONSENT of HIS MOST NOBLE SUCCESSOR, presumed to publish; I never, either directly or indirectly, received the least Benefit or Advantage, either pecuniary or otherwise, from any one individual Person, of this Most Noble and Right Honourable Family; and tho' I have mentioned in my Preface to the First Edition, that I had been an Eye-Witness of some of the Transactions I have there recorded, and particularly that I was at the Time of one of them, not the least among the glorious Number, in the Duke's Retinue, (I mean in his Journey to Saxony, to have an Interview with the King of Sweden,) yet I never was a menial Servant to the Duke, and consequently aw'd by any Influence that Way; but, tho' I had the Honour to attend him, in his Retinue, in some of his Journys, yet it was always in the Character of a Gentleman, who travel'd, for his Pleasure, at his own Expence, without having or desiring any Reward or Gratification for it, in any Shape, or under any Denomination whatsoever: And all this I am ready, at any Time, to confirm with an Oath.



THE
C O N T E N T S.
V O L U M E I.

BOOK I.

THE Genealogy of John Duke of Marlborough, Pag. i

BOOK II.

TRANSACTIONS during the Reigns of King
CHARLES II. and King JAMES II.

CHAPTER I. *Transactions during the Reign of King
CHARLES II.* 17

CHAP. II. *Transactions during the Reign of King
JAMES II.* 34

BOOK III.

TRANSACTIONS during the Reigns of King
**WILLIAM and Queen MARY, and King
WILLIAM III.**

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I. <i>Transactions during the Reign of King William and Queen Mary,</i>	57
CHAP. II. <i>Transactions during the Reign of King William III.</i>	80

BOOK IV.

TRANSACTIONS during the first Four Years of the Reign of Queen ANN.

CHAP. I. <i>Transactions in 1702. till the Siege of Liege</i>	91
CHAP. II. <i>The Siege of Liege, with other Transactions to the Conclusion of the Year 1702,</i>	126
CHAP. III. <i>Transactions in 1703. till the Battle of Eckereſ,</i>	142
CHAP. IV. <i>The Battle of Eckeren, with other Transactions, to the Conclusion of the Year 1703.</i>	159
CHAP. V. <i>Transactions in 1704, till the forcing the French Intrenchments at Schellenberg,</i>	186
CHAP. VI. <i>The Forcing of the Enemy's Intrenchments at Schellenberg; With the Success which immediately ensued,</i>	209
CHAP. VII. <i>The Battle of Hochstadt, or Blenheim,</i>	231
CHAP. VIII. <i>Proceedings of the Confederate Armies, after the Battle of Hochstadt, with other Transactions, to the Conclusion of the Year 1704,</i>	289
CHAP. IX. <i>Transactions in 1705. till the attacking of the French Lines,</i>	306
CHAP. X. <i>Successful Attack of the French Lines, with other Transactions, to the Conclusion of the Year 1705,</i>	319

BOOK V.

<i>TRANSACTIONS during the Years 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709.</i>	
--	--

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I. <i>The Battle of Ramellies, and the Success which immediately ensued,</i>	Pag. 343
CHAP. II. <i>The Siege of Ostend,</i>	401
CHAP. III. <i>The Sieges of Menin, Dendermond, Aeth, with other Transactions, to the End of the Campaign,</i>	413
CHAP. IV. <i>Some Occurrences between the Allies and the King of Sweden, with other Transactions, to the Conclusion of the Year 1706,</i>	434
CHAP. V. <i>The Duke of Marlborough's Journey into Saxony, and Conferences with the King of Sweden there; with the secret Motives to, and History of that Journey,</i>	449
CHAP. VI. <i>The Campaign in Flanders, with other Transactions to the Conclusion of the Year 1707,</i>	472



CONTENTS



VOLUME II.

BOOK V.

- CHAP. VII. *The Campaign in Flanders, with other Transactions before the Battle of Oudenarde, P. I.*
- CHAP. VIII. *A particular Account of the famous Battle and Victory of Oudenarde, with the Consequences which immediately attended it,* 24
- CHAP. IX. *The Siege of Lifle, before the Battle of Wynendale,* 52
- CHAP. X. *The Battle of Wynendale,* 75
- CHAP. XI. *Continuation of the Siege of the Town and Citadel of Lifle,* 80
- CHAP. XII. *A Design of the Enemy on Brussels frustrated, the Rear of their Army defeated, and the Citadel of Lifle surrendered,* 90
- CHAP. XIII. *The Siege and Surrender of Ghent, with other Transactions, to the Conclusion of the Year 1708,* 111
- CHAP. XIV. *Several Transactions, at the Beginning of the Year 1709. especially with regard to a Negotiation for a General Peace, carried on at the Hague,* 123
- CHAP. XV. *The Siege of the Town and Citadel of Tournay,* 142
- CHAP. XVI. *The famous Battle of Blaregnies, or Malplaquet,* 162
- CHAP. XVII. *The Siege of Mons, with other Transactions, to the Conclusion of the Year 1709,* 198

CONTENTS.

BOOK VI.

TRANSACTIONS during the Years 1710, and 1711.

- CHAP. I. *The State of Affairs in England: The Negotiations for a Peace at Gertruydenburg; and the Change of the Ministry in England,* 218
- CHAP. II. *The Taking of the French Lines; the Siege of Douay, &c.* 239
- CHAP. III. *The Taking of Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire, with other Transactions to the Conclusion of the Year 1710,* 161
- CHAP. IV. *Transactions at the Beginning of the Year 1711. Relating to the Duke of Marlborough, Negotiations for a Peace, &c.* 287
- CHAP. V. *The Entering of the Enemy's Lines, in Flanders, by Stratagem, in 1711. with other Transactions to the Siege of Bouchain,*
- CHAP. VI. *The Siege of Bouchain, with other Transactions, to the Conclusion of the Year 1711.* 322

BOOK VII.

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH'S Disgrace and Vindication, with other Transactions to the Death of Queen ANN.

- CHAP. I. *The Duke of Marlborough's Disgrace and Vindication, with the Causes of the former, and Circumstances attending the latter,* 358
- CHAP. II. *A brief Account of the Campaign of 1711,* 406
- CHAP. III. *A brief Account of the Treaty and Peace of Utrecht,* 420
- CHAP. IV. *Transactions after the Peace of Utrecht, to the Death of Queen ANN.* 435

CONTENTS

BOOK VIII.

TRANSACTIONS *during the Reign of King*
GEORGE I. *to the Death of John, Duke of*
MARLBOROUGH, &c.

APPENDIX, Pag. i.



BOOK

BOOKS Printed for J. WILCOX, at Vir-
gil's Head, opposite to the New Church in
Strand.

THE Anti-Logarithmic Canon; being a Set of Tables
newly calculated for the more easy and expeditious solving
of all numerical Questions whatsoever. By JAMES DODSON.

A Collection of Proceedings and Trials against State Prisoners,
as well where they have had the Benefit of a legal Trial, as
where they have been cut off by arbitrary Princes, from the
Norman Conquest to this Time, Containing more than two
hundred Trials and Cases, not contained in any Collection yet
published, 1 l. 1 s.

General Dictionary, Historical and Critical; containing the
History of the most illustrious Persons of all Ages and Nations,
particularly those of Great Britain and Ireland, distinguished by
Rank, Actions, Learning, and other Accomplishments. By
Mr. Sale, Birch, Lockman, Barnard, and others. 10 Vols.
15 l.

A new Translation of Andrea Palladio's Architecture, in four
Books; (which is the compleat and entire Works of that cele-
brated Author) containing a Dissertation on the five Orders, and
the necessary Observations relating to all Kinds of Buildings;
also the different Constructions of private and publick Houses,
Highways, Bridges, Market-Places, Xystes and Temples, with
their Plans and Sections, and Elevations, together with great
Variety of Chimney-Pieces, Windows, Doors, and other beau-
tiful Decorations, collected from the Works of Inigo Jones, &c.
Illustrated with 126 large Folio Copper-plates, and carefully re-
vised by Edward Hoppus, Architect. 1 l. 10 s.

The Naval History of England in all its Branches, from the
Norman Conquest in 1066 to 1734. Collected from the most
approved Historians, English and Foreign, Authentic Records
and Manuscripts, Scarce Tracts, Original Records, &c. 2 Vol.
1 l. 10 s.

A Survey of Dorsetshire, containing the Antiquities and Na-
tural History, with the Arms of the principal Families, and a
new Map of the County, 12 s.

Q U A R T O.

A plain and compendious Method of Teaching thorough Bass,
after the most rational Manner, with proper Rules and Examples,
by J. F. Lampe.

The

BOOKS Printed for J. WILCOX.

The Songs and Duetto's in the Burlesque Opera called the Dragon of Wantley, in Score, by J. F. Lampe, 5 s.

The same adapted to the German Flute, Hautboy or Violin; by J. F. Lampe, 3 s.

The Burlesque Opera called Margery, being a Sequel to the Dragon of Wantley, in Score, by J. F. Lampe, 6 s.

The Overtures and Chorus's to both these Burlesque Opera's, which are to be sold alone to those Gentlemen who have the Opera's already, by J. F. Lampe, 5 s.

O C T A V O.

A Musical Dictionary; being a Collection of Terms and Characters as well Ancient as Modern; including the Historical, Theoretical and Practical Parts of Music: As also, an Explanation of some Parts of the Doctrine of the Ancients; interspersed with Remarks on their Method and Practice, and curious Observations on the Phenomena of Sound mathematically considered, as its Relations and Proportions constitute Intervals, and those again Concords and Discords. The whole carefully abstracted from the best Authors in the Greek, Latin, Italian, French and English Languages. By James Grassineau, Gent.

The Lives and memorable Actions of many illustrious Persons of the Eastern Nations, who have distinguished themselves either by War, Learning, or any other Achievements, extracted from the most authentick Oriental Chronologers and Historians. Never before Englished; several of which are translated by the late Learned George Sale, Gent. 2s. 6d.

The Modern Navigator's Compleat Tutor, by J. Kelly; Mariner, 2 Vol. 7 s.

The Builder's Chest-book: or a compleat Key to the five Orders of Columns in Architecture. To which is added, Geometrical Rules made easy for the Use of Mechanicks concerned in Building, 3 s.

A new Treatise of the Construction and Use of the Sector, by Sam. Con; revised by Edward Stone, F. R. S. 3 s. 6 d.

Holder's Treatise of Harmony, with Keller's Rule to play and tune the Harpsichord, 3 s.

Le Drand's Parallel of the different Manner of extracting the Stone out of the Bladder, with Cuts.

T W E L V E S.

A Compleat Treatise of Mensuration, in all its Branches, in an entire new Method, by J. Robertson, 2s. 6 d.

Time's Telescope universal and perpetual, fitted for all Countries and Capacities, with Tables of moveable and fix'd Feasts, Rising and Setting of the Sun and Moon, Eclipses, &c. being an Almanack for ever, by Duncan Campbell, 1 s. 6 d.





BOOK I.

THE

L I F E

OF

J O H N,

Duke of *Mariborough*,
&c. &c.

THE GENEALOGY of JOHN Duke of Marlborough.



THE ILLUSTRIOUS and EVER-VICTORIOUS
HERO, whose *Genealogy* I am about to display,
was equally conspicuous for his *Great and Me-*
morable Actions, by which he justly merited
those High Honours he attained to, and for his
Noble Descent, from as ILLUSTRIOUS AN-
CESTORS, who were of the best Blood of *France*,
and renowned long before the *Norman Conquest*.

A *German Panegyrist*, who attempted an *Épitome* of the
Life of this Great Man, soon after the Battle of *Hochstadt*, pre-
tended

tended to give some Account of his Progenitors, for above 200 Years before this famous Period : But, as he grounds his Relations upon his own Authority only, and I do not find them corroborated, by any Historian or Genealogist of Note : And, besides, several Circumstances have pretty much the Appearance of being fabulous, and calculated for his Purpose, I shall not venture to follow him ; but shall limit my Account to that Time, and to those Circumstances, in which the best Historians, *English and Foreign* are agreed.

Gitto de Leon.

Gitto de Leon, one of our *Hero's* Ancestors, is allowed, at all Hands, to have been famous in *Normandy*, in the Year 1055. in the Regency of Duke *William* (afterwards King of *England*) eleven Years before he invaded this Kingdom.

Wandrill de Leon, Lord of Courcil.

This *Gitto de Leon* had two Sons, *Richard de Leon*, Lord of *Montalban*, and *Wandrill de Leon*, Lord of *Courcil*. *Richard*, the eldest, married *Yoland*, Countess of *Luxemburg*, and, by her, had Issue, *Claud de Leon*, Ancestor of the present noble Family of *Leon*, in *France*. *Wandrill*, his second Son, married *Isabella de Tuya*, by whom he had two Sons, *Roger de Courcil*, and *Rouland de Courcil*; the latter was the Ancestor of the *Courcils* of *Poitou*, from whom the *Courcils* of *Normandy* and *Anjou* are descended.

Roger de Courcil.

Roger de Courcil, the elder Son of *Wandrill*, was our *Hero's* Ancestor, from whom he was lineally descended, as the Reader will see below. *Roger* was one of those, who attended *William* Duke of *Normandy*, when he invaded this Kingdom, in the Year 1066. And, as a Reward for his Services, *William* (generally called *the Conqueror*) when he had made himself King of *England*, assigned him divers Lands in *Sommersetshire*, *Dorsetshire*, and *Devonshire*, as appears by *Doomsday-Book*.

So our Genealogists give it ; but it should probably be *Wiltshire* instead of *Devonshire* ; for so we find it in an Epitome of *Doomsday-Book* (*Liber Domus Dei*) in the *Cotton Library*, written in *Camden's* own Hand-writing, as follows :

Fol. 28. <i>Wiltshire.</i>	<i>Rog. de Curcelle tenet de Rege Fisertone.</i>
—32. <i>Dorsete.</i>	<i>Rog. de Curcelle tenet de Rege Corstone.</i>
—55. <i>Sumerfete.</i>	<i>Rog. de Curcelle tenet de Rege Curi, Nuventone, Hateware, Peri, Cerdeslinge, Curiepot, Limintone.</i>
—80. <i>Sciropscire.</i>	<i>Rog. de Curcelle tenet de Rog. Comite Sudtone, Tetbristone, Edeslai, Dodetune, Stile.</i>

Of these Lands, the Lordship of *Churchill* in *Sommersetshire*, which took its Name from him, was Part, and by him chosen for his Abode, as appears by ancient Records, in which it is written *Curichil, Cheurchil, Cberchile, &c.* in different Records. They

are plainly mistaken; who say the Family took its Name from this Place of their Abode; since, as the Reader has seen above, it had the Surname of *Courcil*, from the Lordship of *Courcil* in France, long before. This is farther confirmed by an ancient Epitaph, which I shall give the Reader below.

This Roger married Gertrude, Daughter of Sir Guy de Torbay, by whom he had Issue three Sons. (1.) John de Courcil, (or Curichil.) (2.) Hugh Fitz-Roger, Lord of Corseton, in Dorsetshire, who married the Sister and Heiress of — Bond, Lord of Fisherton, and his Posterity taking the Surname of the Family of Bond, bore their Arms, viz. *Sable, a Fess Or.* (3.) Roger Fitz-Roger, who married Mabel, Heiress of the Family of Solariis, whose Son, Roger, and his Posterity, bore the Name of Solariis or Solers.

John de Courcil (or Curichil) the eldest Son of Roger, married Joan de Kilrington, by whom he had Issue Sir Bartholomew de Cherchile, a great Warriour, and renowned in ancient Songs. In the twelfth Century, he held the Castle of Bristol for King Stephen, and died fighting in that King's Cause. That he was a Man of great Prowess, we may see by the following Epitaph.

*Who comen here into this Isle,
Pray ye for the Spirit
Of good Sir Barthol de Cherchile,
That moſt renowned Knight;
Arrayed, in ſooth, as he was,
With Tabard in Faſhion,
A Sword bright as his burn'd Braſs,
And eke a light Gipion.
Into the Battail for to fight,
He then did make his Way;
Ne was there ſounden any Wight,
So ſtub as might him ſlay:
But as miſtſt Gloves began to thrike
And Gliſſames thick eſt ſoone,
He felt, I wiſe, a deadly Prick,
That pierc'd his Heart too ſoone.
Now failed been his Sprite and Breath,
And duſken been his Eye,
Wo Worth that wobile, that in geud Faith,
Tis certes he mought dye.
Wi booteth it he was ſo good,
They left tholk Field;
Where thick then his deareſt Life-Blood
Was, I trou; ſouly ſpill'd.*

The Life of JOHN,

*And nigh thick Place, a tiny Ville,
Now standeth, and there is,
Me chypeth it right sooth Cherchile,
After his Name, I wifs.*

Sir Bartholomew de Cherchile married Agnes the Daughter of Ralph Fitz-Ralph of Tiverton, by whom he had Issue Pagan de Cherchile. I do not find who was his Wife, but he had Issue Roger de Cherchile, stiled the Son of Pagan de Cherchile, who had free Warren in his Lands of Cherchile, in the Reign of King Edward I.

With this Roger, the Son of Pagan, lived cotemporary, Richard de Cherchile, who Ann. 14. Edw. I. was Witness to the Agreement made between the Brethren of the Hospital of St. John Baptist, in Bath, and Thomas de Hereford, one of the Burgessees of Bristol, about a House in Reedclive, in the Suburbs of Bristol, of the Fee of Berkley.

Elias de Cherchile.

Who was the Wife of Roger, I likewise, do not find; But his Successor was Elias de Cherchile. I find mention made of one Otbo de Churchill, as a Descendant of Sir Bartholomew de Cherchile, who was the Founder of a spreading Family in Devonshire, Sommersetshire and Wiltshire; But by him must probably be meant this Elias, or else one of the nine Sons of John Churchill, the Son of William Churchill of Muston, Esq; of whom, I shall make farther Mention below. Of this Elias, we find, that Ann. 8. Edw. II. he granted to John Bampffield, his Meadow call'd Pleynefold, in Clifton. He married Dorothy, a Daughter of the ancient Family of the Columbers, by whom he had Issue three Sons. (1.) John Churchille, of Littlar, of whom we find, that he was Witness to a Charter of Thomas Bampffield, Ann. 5. Richard II. and who is likewise mentioned in another Charter, Ann. 11. Henry IV. He married Jane (or, as some Authors say, Joan) Daughter and Coheirels of Roger Dawny, of Norton, by Juliana his Wife, the Daughter and Coheirels of William de Widdere. He had Issue only two Daughters, his Coheiresses; Margaret, the youngest, was Wife of Andrew Hillersdon, of Devonshire, and Agnes, the eldest, Wife of Thomas Gifford, of Thewborough, in Cornwall, who by that Marriage became possess'd of the Lordship of Churchill, and other Lands. (2.) Giles Churchill, who had the Lordships of Yampton and Lineham, in Devonshire, which Estates descended, by a Daughter and Heirels, to the Family of the Crokers, of Devonshire, Lords of Lineham. These two elder Brothers dying thus without Male-Heirs, (3.) William, the third, and youngest Son of Elias, was the chief Male-Heir, who propagated the Family.

This William Churchill had his Seat at Rockbear, in Devonshire. Who his Wife was, I do not find; But he left Issue Giles

Chur-

Duke of MARLBOROUGH, &c.

Churchill, Esq; who was Father of Charles Churchill, Esq; ^{Giles Church-}
 This Charles Churchill was engaged by ——— Courtney, Earl ^{bill, Esq;}
 of Devonshire, in the Cause of King Edward IV. And, when ^{Charles}
 Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, forsook the Interests his ^{Churchill,}
 Father had espoused, continuing faithful, that Prince took him ^{Esq;}
 into his Favour, and advanced his Fortune, by procuring him,
 in Marriage, Margaret, only Daughter and Heiress of Sir Wil-
 liam Widdrill, who brought him a considerable Estate.

By this Margaret, Charles Churchill had Issue, Thomas ^{Thomas}
 Churchill, Esq; who married Grace, Daughter and Coheirs ^{Churchill,}
 of Thomas Tylle, of Tylle-House, in Cornwall. He was succeeded ^{Esq;}
 by William, his Son and Heir, who married Mary, the eldest
 Daughter of Richard Crues, of Wicrest-Castle, in Devonshire,
 Esq;

William Churchill had Issue, by his Wife Mary, three ^{William}
 Sons, who divided this Family into as many principal ^{Churchill,}
 Branches. (1.) Roger Churchill, of Catherston, in Dorsetshire, ^{Esq;}
 Esq; (2.) William Churchill, of Corton, in Dorsetshire, Esq;
 And (3.) John Churchill, Esq; who settled at Muston, in Dor-
 setshire, and was Father of William Churchill, Esq; of Muston,
 aforesaid, who by last Will, dated the twelfth of March, 1599,
 ordered his Body to be buried in St. Peter's Church, at Dorches-
 ter, and constituted his Son and Heir, John Churchill, to be
 his sole Executor, and his Brother, Richard Swain, and Thomas
 Freake, his Cousin, to be Overseers; Which John, by Eleanor
 his Wife, the Daughter of John Meller, of Kyme, in Dorset-
 shire, had Issue, nine Sons, and four Daughters, from whom
 the several Families of the Churchills now existing, are de-
 scended.

Roger Churchill, of Catherston, in Dorsetshire, Esq; above-^{Roger Church-}
 mentioned, the eldest Son of William Churchill, married ^{bill, Esq;}
 Jane, the Widow of Nicholas Megg, and Daughter of William ^{of Cather-}
 Peverell of Bradford, by whom he had Issue, Matthew Church-^{ston, Com.}
 chill, of Bradford, Esq; who married Alice, the Daughter of ^{Dorset.}
 James Gould, of Dorchester; and had Issue, by her, Jasper ^{Matthew}
 Churchill of Bradford, Esq; This Jasper had to Wife, Eliza-^{Churchill of}
 beth, the Daughter of John Chaplet, of Herringston, in Dorset-^{Bradford,}
 shire, Esq; and had Issue, by her, two Sons. (1.) John Church-^{Esq;}
 chill, Esq; his Heir, and (2.) Jasper Churchill, Esq; the lat-^{Jasper}
 ter was Father of Sir John Churchill, Lord of Churchill, in Som-^{Churchill}
 ersetshire, an eminent Council, in the Reign of King Charles II.
 who, by his Wife, Susan, Daughter of Edmund Prideaux, Esq;
 left only four Daughters, Coheirs; and so this Branch is ex-
 tinct.

John Churchill, Esq; aforesaid, the eldest Son and Heir of John Church-
 Jasper Churchill, the Elder, was of the Society of the Middle-^{chill, Esq;}
 Temple, and, by his great Proficiency in the Study of the Laws, ^{of Minto-}
 B 3 con-

considerably augmented his Estate. He had his Seat, at *Myntern* (*Mynturn*, or *Minthorn*) in *Dorsetshire*, and married *Sarah*, the Daughter and Coheirefs of *Sir Henry Winston*, of *Standifson*, in *Gloucestershire*, and of his Wife, *Dionise*, Daughter and Coheirefs of *Sir Thomas Bond Knight*.

Sir Winston Churchill, Father of John Churchill, late Duke of Marlborough, &c. This *John Churchill* was Father of *Winston Churchill*, of *Wootton-Basset*, in *Wiltshire*; He was born at *Wotton-Glanville*, in the County of *Dorset*, in 1620, and, having made an early Proficiency in Learning, was sent in 1636. before he had fully attained to the Age of Sixteen, to *St. John's College* in *Oxford*, where he distinguish'd himself in a very particular Manner, and beyond what could be expected, at his Age, by his Sedateness, and great Application to his Studies: But, the Circumstances of his Affairs soon requiring his Personal Care, he was obliged to leave the University before he had taken any Degree. Some Time after, he married *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of *Sir John Drake*, of *Ashe*, in *Devonshire*, and of *Eleonor*, his Wife, second Daughter and Coheirefs of *John*, Lord *Boteler*, of *Bramfield*, in *Hertfordshire*, by *Elizabeth*, his Wife, Sister of *George Villiers*, Duke of *Buckingham*, the great Favourite of King *James I.* and King *Charles I.* During the Civil Wars, Mr. *Churchill* (afterwards *Sir Winston*) adhering to the King, was so great a Sufferer for His Cause, that his Lady was obliged to retire, and live, for some Years, at *Ashe*, her Father's Seat, where among others of her Children, she happily bore her second Son, *John*, the Glory of this Nation, and the Admiration of all Europe, whose Heroick Actions will furnish Subject for the greater Part of the following Sheets. Some Accounts say, all her Children were born at *Ashe*; But as the Discussion of that Point is not so very material to our present Purpose, I pass it by.

After Mr. *Winston Churchill* had cleared his Estate, he stood Candidate, and was returned, for the Borough of *Weymouth*, in *Dorsetshire*, to the first Parliament after the Restoration, which met the eighth of May, 1661. On the Establishment of the Royal Society, he was one of the first Fellows, and, in the Year 1663, King *Charles* knighted him. In the Year 1664, he, with *Sir Richard Rainsford*, *Sir Thomas Beverley*, *Sir Edward Deering*, *Sir Edward Smith*, *Sir Allen Broderick*, and Colonel *Cook*, were appointed Commissioners of the Court of Claims, in *Ireland*, with Power to hear and adjudge the Qualifications of those who had forfeited their Estates, where, at several Meetings, in the Months of *February*, *March*, *April* and *May*, they decided six Hundred and thirty Claims.

Sir Winston, at his Return from *Ireland*, was appointed one of the Clerks Comptrollers of the *Green-Cloth*, from which, indeed, he was removed in 1678. But was, soon after, restored to that Employ again, and was the eldest of those Clerks Comp-

Comptrollers at King Charles's Death, in which he was also continued by King James II. In the Year 1675. he published a Book, entitl'd *Diari Britannici*, being *Remarks upon the Lives of all the Kings of this Isle, from A. M. 2855. to A. C. 1660.* which he dedicated to King Charles II. In King James II. Reign, he served in *Parliament*, for the Borough of *Lynn Regis*; He died the six and twentieth of *March*, 1668, and was buried in the Parish Church of *St. Martin's in the Fields*, in *Westminster*; Having, on Account of his signal Loyalty, and the particular Services he had done the Crown, been in great Favour with King Charles II. and King James II. But what will hand down his Merit to the latest Posterity, is, his being *Father to the most Renowned Soldier and Hero, that this, or perhaps any other Age has produced.*

This Sir *Winston Churchill* had Issue, by his Lady, *Elizabeth*, *Winston Churchill*, seven Sons, and four Daughters. Brother of *John Churchill*, late Duke of *Marlbrough*, &c.

(1.) *Winston Churchill*, who died young.

(2.) *John Churchill*, late Duke of *Marlbrough*, Prince of the *Empire*, &c.

(3.) *George Churchill*, born at *Ashe*, in *Devonshire*, the nine and twentieth of *February*, 1653. He took Delight in the *Military Art*, from his Youth, and gained Applause by his Services, as well by Land as by Sea, in the Reigns of King Charles II. and King James II. He was bred, however, to the Sea-Service, became a Captain of a Man of War, and serv'd with great Reputation. He was in great Esteem and Favour with Prince *George of Denmark*, whom he served upwards of twenty Years, as Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber. He was Member of King James II. first *Parliament*, which met the nineteenth of *May*, 1685. for the Borough of *St. Albans*, and served for that Place, in every *Parliament*, till his Decease, excepting the last, when he served for *Portsmouth*. In King *William's* Reign, he first commanded a Squadron, in 1689. on the Coasts of *Ireland*; And in 1692. he behaved with great Conduct, Bravery, and Presence of Mind, under Admiral *Ruffel*, when the *French Fleet* was totally routed, put to Flight, and a great Part of it burnt, at *Cherbourg* and *La Hogue*; Being then Commander of the *St. Andrew*, a second Rate.

In the Year 1699. that King constituted him one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty; In which Post he continued, 'till the Spring of the Year 1702. when King *William*, a little before his Death, constituted the Earl of *Pembroke* Lord High Admiral. Queen *Ann* appointed him Admiral of the *Blue Squadron* of her Majesty's Fleet, and named him to be one of the Council of His Royal Highness, Prince *George of Denmark*, as Lord High Admiral of *England*, &c. He became afterwards Admiral of the *White*, and, for a little while,

The Life of JOHN,

Commander of the Fleet in Chief, during the Indisposition of Sir *George Rooke*. Upon the Death of the Prince, in 1702. his Council's Commission ended with him: Whereupon Mr. *Churchill* retired from Business, to which his ill State of Health, labouring frequently under violent Fits of the Gout, in a great Measure induced him. He was not alone distinguish'd by his Valour and Conduct, as a Commander; But, in his Private Life, by his Piety, Humanity, Generosity, and Courteous Behaviour. He discharged all his profitable Employments, with so much Honour, Integrity and Disinterestedness, that at his Death, he left but a very inconsiderable Estate. He was very easy of Access, and always ready to do what Offices of Friendship were in his Power, to those who deserved them. He died unmarried, the eighth of *May*, 1710. at the Age of seven and fifty Years, two Months, and nine Days, and lies buried in the South Isle of *Westminster-Abby*, where a Marble Monument is erected to his Memory, with the following Inscription.

P. S. E.

GEORGIUS CHURCHILL,
Winstonii Equitis Aurati ex Agro *Dorcestriensi*
filius natu secundus:
Invictissimi Ducis *Marlburii*
Frater non indignus.

A primâ juventute Militiæ nomen dedit,
Et sub Regibus *Carolo* et *Jacobo*
terrâ mariq;
multâ cum laude meruit.

Serenissimo Principi *Georgio de Daniâ*
Per viginti plus Annos à Cubiculis
fide, obsequio, moribus
Gratum se reddidit et Charum.

Regnante *Gulielmo*,
Quo die Classis Gallica ab Anglis
Ad oras *Neustriæ* fugata & combusta est
(Die semper memorabili)
Eo Animi vigore et fortitudine pugnavit,
Quo Ducem *Anglum* decuit.

Mox

Mox ab eodem Rege,

æquissimo meritorum Judice,

Unus è Commissariis Admiralliæ constitutus,
res maritimas, quarum erat peritissimus,

Curavit diu, et Ornavit.

Sub felicissimo demum ANNÆ imperio

Instaurato iterum Bello contra Gallos

Infestissimos hostes *Britanni* Nominis,

ex Admirallis unus,

et Celsissimo Principi *Daniae*

Magno totius *Britanniae* Admirallo

factus è consiliis,

Curarum omnium et laborum particeps

Domino suo

felicissimam navabat operam :

Donec fractæ *Gallorum* vires

toto mari cesserant.

Inde principis optimi lateri adhærens

Ad extremum usq; diem

Omnia grati piq; animi officia

perfolvit.

Laboribus tandem et morbis confectus,

Inter complexus et lacrymas

Amicorum, Clientum, et Servorum,

Quos, humanus, officiosus, liberalis.

Gratos, devinctos & fideles habuit,

Pius, tranquillus, animosus, cœlebs,

Obiit VIII. Maii, &c.

Ætat. LVIII.

MDCCX.

(4.) *Charles Churchill* was born at *Ashe*, the second of *February*, 1656. He was likewise bred to Arms, and was noted for several brave Actions. At thirteen Years of Age, he was made Page of Honour to *Christian*, King of *Denmark*; and, at sixteen, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to his Brother Prince *George*. At the Revolution, he succeeded Major-General *Oglethorp*, in his Regiment of Foot, and in 1692, at the Battle of *Steenkirk*, August 23. he was Brigadier-General. The Brigade under

Charles Churchill,
Esq; Brother
of *John Churchill*,
late Duke of
Marlb. &c.

under his Command behaved bravely, as they did, likewise, the Year following, at the Battle of *Landen*, where he himself gave the greatest Proofs of his Courage and Conduct, in the Defense of the Villages of *Lare* and *Neder Winden*, and where he took his Nephew, the Duke of *Berwick*, Prisoner. He died *Anno 1714.* and was interred in the Parish-Church of *Mintborn*, in *Dorsetshire*, where a Monument is erected to his Memory, with the following Inscription, which will supply what I have omitted above.

‘Near this Place, lies interred the Body of *Charles Churchill*, Esq; fourth Son of *Sir Winston Churchill*, of the County of *Dorset*, Knight.

‘He was, at the Age of Thirteen, made Page of Honour to *Christian*, King of *Denmark*, and, at sixteen, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to his Brother, the renowned Prince *George*.

‘His Martial Genius led him to the Wars, and his distinguish’d Courage and Conduct made him soon taken Notice of by his Prince. He was made Major General of Foot, and Governor of *Kingsale* in *Ireland*, by King *William*, and, after many Battles fought, with great Bravery and Conduct, was esteem’d one of the best Commanders of Foot in *Europe*.

‘By his royal and gracious Mistress *Queen Anne*, he was made Governor of the Tower of *London*, General of the Army, and General in chief of Foot, and had a great and honourable Share in the memorable Battle of *Blenheim*: After which, for his many and great Services, he was made Governor of *Brussels*, Colonel of the *Coldstream* Regiment of Foot-Guards, and Governor of her Majesty’s Island of *Guernsey*.

‘In the Year 1702. he married *Mary*, Daughter and sole Heiress of *James Goulde*, of *Dorchester*, Esq; who in Honour of his beloved Memory, caused this Monument to be erected.

‘His known Bravery, generous Spirit, and friendly Temper, made him esteem’d and beloved by all that knew him.

‘And his unalterable Affection for the Church, his Fidelity to the Crown, and Love of his Country, have justly recommend’d him to Eternity.

‘He died, much lamented, the nine and twentieth of *December*, 1714, in the eight and fiftieth Year of his Age.

His Lady, who had no Issue by him, married again in *February*, 1716-17. to *Mountague Venables Bertie*, Earl of *Abington*.

(5.) *Montjoy Churchill*, died in his Youth, as did likewise,

(6.) *Jospar Churchill*.

(7.)

Montjoy and Jospar Churchill, Brothers of John Churchill, late D. of Marl.

(7.) *Theobald Churchill* had his Academical Education in *Queen's College*, in *Oxford*, where he commenced Master of Arts, *June 13. 1683.* and entering into Holy Orders, died unmarried *December 3. 1685.* and was buried in the Parish Church of *St. Martin's in the Fields*, in *Westminster*.

Theobald Churchill,
Brother of
John Churchill, late D.
of *Marlb.*

(8.) *Arabella Churchill*, eldest Daughter of *Sir William Churchill*, was born at *Ashe*, in *Devonshire*, in *March, 1648.*

Arabella Churchill,
Sister of
John Churchill, late D.
of *Marlb.*

She was first one of the Maids of Honour to the Duchess of *York*, and a Favourite of King *James II.* when Duke of *York*; by whom she had two Sons and two Daughters.

1. *James Fitz-James*,

His Father created him Duke of *Berwick*, &c. the nineteenth of *March, 1687.* and the thirtieth of *June*, of the same Year, he left *Windsor*, and began his Journey for *Hungary*, where he served against the *Turks*, as he had done the Year before, and, in particular signalized himself at the Battle of *Buda*. He was elected Knight of the Garter the 28th of *September, 1688*: But going over to *France* with his Father, and not coming, within a Year, to be installed, his Election was declared void and null. He then served *France* against *England*, and was, therefore, outlaw'd, in 1695. He was a Grandee of *Spain*, Marshal of *France*, and Knight of the Golden Fleece. He had two Wives

(1.) *Honora Bourk*, second Daughter of *William Bourk*, Earl of *Clawrickard*, in *Ireland*, to whom he was married in 1695, and who died in *France* in 1698. (2.) *Ann Buckley*, second Daughter of *Henry Buckley*, Esq; and of his Wife *Sophia Stuart*, Sister of *Francis*, late Duchess of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, to whom he was married in 1700. And who died at *St. Germain's*, *Sept. 6. 1730.* He himself died in the Bed of Honour, being killed by a Cannon Ball in the Service of *France*, at the Siege of *Philipsburg*, on the *Rhine*, in the Year 1734. being at that Time Generalissimo of the French Army. By his first Wife, he left, *James Duke of Liria*, who stil'd himself Earl of *Tinmouth*, and since his Father's Death, Duke of *Berwick*: By his second Wife, *James, Henry, Francis*, and other Children.

2. *Henry Fitz-James*, commonly called the *Grand Priar*, born in 1673. and was outlaw'd with his Brother in 1695. He was Lieutenant-General and Admiral of the French Gallies, and died in *France* the seventh of *December, 1702.* His Wife was *Mary Gabrielle*, Daughter of the Marquis de *Luffan*, to whom he was married in 1700, and by whom he had one Daughter, who is dead.

3. *Henrietta*, born in 1670. was married in 1683. to *Sir Henry Waldegrave*, of *Chenton*, who was created Lord *Waldegrave*, of *Chenton*, the 20th of *January, 1686.* and made Comptroller of the King's Household, the ninth of *February,*

The Life of JOHN,

1687. He died at *Paris*, in 1698. and she in 1730. They left Issue, two Sons, (1.) *James*, Lord *Waldegrave*, born in 1684. created Earl of *Waldegrave*, and Viscount *Chenton*, the 13th of *September*, 1729. His Wife was *Mary*, Daughter of Sir *John Webb*, of *Hatherop*, Baronet, who died in 1719. and left Issue; *James*, born 15 *March*, 1715, *Henrietta*, born 2 *Jan.* 1717. and *John*, born 28 *April*, 1718. (2.) *Henry Waldegrave*, born 15 *February*, 1688. died unmarried.

4. *N. N.* a Nun.

She was afterwards married to *Charles Godfrey*, Esq; Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, who served under King *William* in *Flanders*, till the Peace of *Ryswick*. In the Reign of Queen *Ann*, he was constituted Master of the *Jewel Office*, and one of the Clerks Comptrollers of the *Green Cloth*. He died, the twenty-third of *February*, 1714. at *Bath*, and left Issue, by the said *Arabella*. two Daughters; *Charlotte*, Wife of the Right Honourable *Hugh Boscawen*, afterwards Lord Viscount *Falmouth*; and *Elizabeth*, the Wife of *Edmund Dunch*, Esq; who, on the 6th of *October*, 1708. was appointed Master of the Household to her late Majesty Queen *Ann*.

(9.) *Dorothy*; (10.) *Mary*; and (11.) *Barbara*, died all three in their Infancy.

I shall conclude this Book, with a Continuation of the *Marlborough-Family*, in the Descendants of *John Duke of Marlborough*.

By her Grace the Duchess Dowager of *Marlborough*, who is yet living, his Grace, *John Duke of Marlborough*, had Issue, that arriv'd to Maturity, one Son and four Daughters:

I. *John*, Marquis of *Blandford*, born 13 *Jan.* 1685-6. who died at *Cambridge*, the 20th of *February* 1702-3, universally lamented, being a young Nobleman of the greatest Hopes.

On a Monument, erected to his Memory, in *King's College Chappel*, is a very elegant *Latin* Inscription, which informs us, that he was born on the 13th of *Jan.* 1686. and that, tho' he was amongst the first in Degree, by the high Honours of his Parents, he was no less celebrated for his Virtues, having all the Embellishments of Body and Mind, which were possible to meet in one of so-tender an Age. A Youth of an uncommon Form, adorn'd, in equal Proportion, with Grandeur and Beauty. He had a happy, easy, lofty, penetrating and lively Genius, and was remarkable for a strict Observance of *Decorum*, that rather seem'd innate than acquired; he possessed a peculiar Sweetness of Behaviour, and shewed the greatest Condescension,

amidst the greatest Affluence of Fortune. And, as a Crown to his other Virtues, Modesty was his inseparable Companion, so that he seem'd, by Nature, wholly framed to attract the Favour, and deserve the Love of all Mankind.

While he was, in a very early Age, he, in three Years, accomplished the first Rudiments of his Learning, at *Eaton*. From thence, he was invited into the Court of His Royal Highness, the Duke of *Gloucester*, to whom his Illustrious Father was Governor. He was made his Master of the Horse, that he might grow up with a Prince of the greatest Hopes, and rival his Virtues. Two Years after, that Prince being taken away by a too early Fate, his illustrious Parents, unwilling that such an admirable Disposition should suffer for want of Culture, immediately sent him to be educated in *King's College*. From that Time, this Excellent Youth, as if he retain'd nothing of the Court, except the highest Politeness, wonderfully conformed himself, in every Respect, different to his former Life. An Example rarely to be met with. The Chappel was a Witness of his early Piety, where he was a constant Attendant, at Morning and Evening Prayers, as also at the holy Sacrament, as often as it was administred. Nor did he less faithfully employ the Time set apart for his Studies. By such Behaviour he attracted the Eyes and Hearts of all Men: But when he had thus spent two Years, and six Months, with the utmost Approbation, in the Study of the liberal Sciences, and was on the Point of travelling into foreign Parts, to undertake greater Things, under the Conduct of his invincible Father; At that Time when Preparations were making for the Execution of these Things, he was suddenly seized with a malignant Kind of Small-Pox, which raging with a Violence that exceeded human Skill, carried him off in a very few Days, to the extream Regret of all who knew him, but more especially of his illustrious Parents.

After his Death, his Father's Honours and Estates, were, by Act of Parliament, passed the 21st of December, 1706, entailed upon his four Sisters; first upon their Male-issue, and failing Males, upon their Female-issue, for the perpetuating this illustrious Prince's Name and Honours to all Generations.

II. *Henrietta*, born the 19th of July, 1682. and in 1698, was married to the Right Honourable *Francis*, Lord Viscount *Rialton*, afterwards, on the Decease of his Father, Earl of *Godolphin*. By Act of Parliament, she succeeded his Grace, *John* Duke of *Marlborough*, at his Decease, as Duchess of *Marlborough*, and to all his other Titles, except that of Prince of the Empire,

Empire, and Baron of Aymouth, which are become extinct, by his dying without Issue-male.

Her Grace *Henrietta, Junior Duchess of Marlborough, &c.* died in — 1733, and had Issue;

(1.) *William, Marquis of Blandford*, born Feb. 6, 1698-9. He had all the Advantages of Education at Home, and travelled thro' most Parts of *Europe* for his greater Accomplishment. He was one of the Representatives of the Borough of *Woodstock*. In the Year 1730, he was complimented by both the Universities of this Kingdom, with the Degree of Doctor of Laws, that of *Cambridge* being conferred on him at their public Commencement. On the 25th of July, 1729, his Lordship married *Mary Catherine, Daughter of — d' Fong*, of the Province of *Utrecht*, and Sister to the Countess of *Denbigh*, by whom he had no Issue, departing this Life at *Oxford*, of an Apoplectic Fit, on the 24th of August, 1731.

(2.) *Henrietta*, born the 12th of April, 1701. married to his Grace, *Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle*, April 2, 1717. But has as yet no Issue:

(3.) *Mary*, yet unmarried.

(4.) (5.) A Son *Henry*, and a Daughter *Margaret*, who died young.

III. *Ani*, married to the Right Honourable *Charles Spencer*, late Earl of *Sunderland*, being his second Wife, and deceased in April, 1716, she had Issue:

(1.) *Robert I.* born, 2d of November 1700, died the 12th of September 1701.

(2.) *Robert II.* born the 24th of October 1701, Earl of *Sunderland*, upon the Decease of his Father, the 19th of September 1722, died in *France*, the 17th of September 1729, unmarried, and was buried with his Ancestors at *Brinton*, the 17th of October following.

(3.) *Charles*, born the 22d of November 1706, Earl of *Sunderland*, upon the Death of his elder Brother, the 17th of September 1729, in *France*, who, by the Death of the late Marquis of *Blandford*, succeeded to 8000 *l. per Annum* of the late Duke of *Marlborough's* Estate, and upon the Death of her Grace, *Henrietta, Junior Duchess of Marlborough*, succeeded to the Titles of Duke and Earl of *Marlborough*, in the County of *Wils*, Marquis of *Blandford* in the County of *Dorset*, and Baron of *Sandridge*, in the County of *Hertford*. The 23d of May 1732, his Lordship, now his Grace, married *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Thomas Lord Trevor*.

(4.) *John*, born the 13th of May, 1708, married the third Daughter of *John Lord Carteret*, and Sister of the Countess of *Dyſert*, and the Viscountess of *Weymouth*.

(5.) *Ann*, born 16th of *December*, 1702, married to *William Bateman*, Esq; now Lord Viscount *Bateman*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

(6.) *Diana*, married the 11th of *October* 1731, to his Grace, *John Duke of Bedford*, by whom she had a Son — *Marquis of Tavistock*, born the 6th of *November*, 1732, and died the same Day. Her Grace is likewise deceased.

IV. *Elizabeth*, born in 1687, married to his Grace *Scroop Egerton*, Earl, now Duke of *Bridgewater*, in 1703, and died *March* 22, 1713-14, in the 26th Year of her Age; She had Issue, two Sons and one Daughter.

(1.) *John* Lord Viscount *Brackley*, born *Feb.* 3, 1703-4, who departed this Life at *Eaton School*, in the 14th Year of his Age, on the 30th of *January*, 1718-19.

(2.) Another Son, who died soon after he was born.

(3.) *Ann*, first married to his Grace, *Wriothesly Ruffel*, late Duke of *Bedford*, the 22d of *April*, 1725, by whom she had no Issue; and, after his Decease, which happened the 23d of *October*, 1732, married the 23d of *June* 1733, the Right Honourable *William*, Earl of *Jersey*.

V. *Mary*, born in 1689, married to his Grace *John* now Duke of *Montague*, the 31st of *March*, 1705, by whom she has had Issue;

(1.) *John*, *Marquis of Mount Hermer*, born the 8th of *November*, 1706, and died the 26th of *August*, 1711.

(2.) *Isabella*, married to his Grace, *William*, Duke of *Manchester*, the 16th of *April*, 1723, by whom as yet, she has no Issue.

(3.) *Eleanor*, born *March* 9, 1708-9, who died an Infant.

(4.) *Mary*, married the 7th of *July*, 1730, to *George* Lord *Brudenel*, eldest Son of *George*, Earl of *Cardigan*, and by the Death of his Father, *July* 5, 1732. Earl of *Cardigan*.

(5.) (6.) *George* and *Edward* *Churchill*, who died Infants.

His Grace, *John Duke of Marlborough's* Paternal Arms, &c. were,

Sable, a *Lion Rampant*, *Argent*; a Canton of *St. George*, of the second, viz. *Argent*, charg'd with a *Cross*, *Gules*, being an Augmentation.

CREST.

On a Wreath, a *Lion Couchant guardant*, *Argent*, sustaining, with his *Dexter-paw*, a *Pennon*, *Gules*, charged with

The Life of JOHN, &c.

a Dexter main, coup'd at the Wrist, and erect, Argent, Staff, Or.

SUPPORTERS.

Two *Wiverns, Gules*, each gorg'd with a plain *Collar, Or*, having *Oval Shields*, pendant therefrom, upon their Breasts, *Azure*, garnish'd *Or*; the *Dexter* charg'd with *St. George's Badge, Argent*, a *Cross, Gules*, and the *Sinister* with *St. Andrew's*, viz. *Sable*, a *Saltier, Argent*, alluding to his *Scotch Title of Aymouth*.

MOTTO

FIEL PERO DESDECADO.

His Grace, as Prince of the *Empire*, bore his Arms within a *Garter*, on the Breast of the *Roman Eagle*, with two Heads, *Sable*, armed *Or*, and ensign'd with an *Imperial Crown*, labell'd proper.





BOOK II.

TRANSACTIONS *during the Reigns* of King CHARLES II. and King JAMES II.

CHAP. I.

TRANSACTIONS *during the Reign of King* CHARLES II.



Return now to John Churchill, who, tho' the second son of Sir Winton Churchill, as I have said already, was the eldest that arrived to maturity. He was born at Ashe, in the parish of Musbury, in Devonshire, the four and twentieth of June, 1650. about noon, and, two days after, was baptized, by Mr.

Matthew Drake, rector of that parish. He had a liberal and polite education in his younger years, under the immediate care of his father, and the tuition of a clergyman of the church of England; who so grounded him in the doctrines, and principles of that church, that he ever after sacrific'd all other interests, when they came in competition with it; as we shall see in the sequel. As he grew up, he became tall, handsome, and of a noble appearance. He was brought young to court, where his father got him to be made page of honour to his royal highness

John Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlbor.
He is brought to court; and made page of honour to the duke of York.

the duke of York; who, from the first moment of his entering into his service, testified a more than ordinary favour and affection for him.

Gets an en-
sign's com-
mission.

He soon discovered his martial disposition, upon which his father, to humour his inclination, procured him an ensign's commission, in the royal regiment of foot-guards; an honour the duke of York was willing to grant him, to encourage his tow'ring genius, tho' his youth, he being then but 16 years of age, might otherwise have been a bar to it.

Circumstan-
ces of his
obtaining it.

A late author relates the circumstances of our young hero's first admission under the banners of Mars in the following manner: The duke of York (says he) who placed his chief delight in the exercise of arms, used to hold frequent reviews of the troops then on footing; and, in particular, would often, to gratify his martial inclination, draw out the two regiments of foot-guards, in order of battle. Young Churchill was very assiduous in attending his royal master at these exercises, where he had frequent opportunities of admiring the regularity of their discipline, and the warlike ardour which appear'd, with the greatest lustre, in all their actions. This inspir'd him with a vehement passion to attain to a knowledge of this noble art, and his royal highness appearing almost daily at the head of some regiment or other, gave him as frequent occasion to gratify this growing passion. The duke soon discerned this inclination in his page, and was charm'd with it; and asking him one day, what he should do for him, as the first step to his fortune, Churchill took that opportunity to throw himself at the prince's feet, and, with great earnestness, to beg, he would honour him with a pair of colours in the guards. His royal highness was extremely satisfied, to find he was not deceiv'd in the judgment he had form'd of his young favourite, and, soon after, gave him the post he desired.

Goes to
Tangier.

Here he, indeed, learnt the first rudiments of military discipline; and laid the ground-work of that reputation, which was the wonder of his time. But his aspiring genius being impatient under that confinement, and eager to be in action, he laid hold of the first opportunity to serve his country, and embark'd for Tangier, where, during the time he was in that garrison, he was in several skirmishes with the Moors.

Some attribute our young soldier's first enterprize to another cause, which I shall just mention, tho' it does not seem to carry much probability with it. When the court was at Oxford, in 1665. it is said, that the duchess of York shew'd more than ordinary kindness and favour to mr. Churchill; insomuch that the duke grew jealous of it, and sought the first opportunity of sending him abroad. This is the less probable, because I never heard the least insinuation to the prejudice of the duchess's repu-

reputation; and besides, in 1665. mr. Churchill was but 15 years of age.

In 1672. the duke of Monmouth gave him a captain's commission in his own regiment in France, and he accompany'd the duke thither; where he served under him, with the 6000 men, English troops, which king Charles sent to the assistance of Lewis XIV. against the Dutch.

1672.
Is made a captain.
Accompanies the duke of Monmouth to assist the French against the Dutch.
A reason assigned for his sudden advancement.

Some attribute this sudden advancement of mr. Churchill's fortune, from an ensign to the command of a company, at once, to a fit of jealousy in king Charles, who, had discovered some of his early intrigues with one of the royal mistresses, and embraced this opportunity of removing him from the beloved object. I shall not pretend to aver this fact; but certain it is, our young officer was form'd with all the advantages imaginable, both of person and address, to inspire love in the tender breasts of the fair sex; and, like Mars, had on his side, a heart susceptible of the charms of a Venus. On the other hand, the goddess could not so stifle the immoderate affection she had conceiv'd for her Adonis, but that it was visible to the whole court; and it is certain she contributed, among many other concurrent circumstances, very much to the celerity of his first advancements. Her purse was ever as open to him as her arms, and as she never grudg'd the first, to supply his wants, and gratify his pleasures; so the height of her bliss was to enfold him in the latter. The royal diadem had no lustre when view'd in competition with his enslaving eyes; nor could she enjoy any thing with a tolerable gusto, that he was not a partaker of. We shall indeed, rarely find so many advantages center in one person, capable of rendering him the minion of fortune. The early favour of his sovereign, and his royal brother, his immediate protector and benefactor, a beautiful sister, favourite of the latter, his own charms of body and mind, his graceful person, and winning deportment, his prudent behaviour, and laudable ambition, all co-operated to that one happy end. What a noted author has said of a nameless lovely youth, may be aptly applied to our young hero: "He knew (says my author) punctually how to improve those first and precious moments of good fortune; whilst yet the gloss of novelty remain'd; whilst desire was unsated, and love in the high spring-tide of full delight: having an early fore-cast, a chain of thought unusual at his years; a length of view before him; not born a slave to love, so as to reckon the possession of the charmingst woman of the court, as the zenith of his fortune; but rather as the first auspicious ruddy streaks of an early morning, an earnest to the meridian of the brightest day."

1672.

The French army, in which the troops I mention'd above served, consisted, if we may believe father Daniel, of very near 177,000 men, commanded by the king in person, and, under him, by two of the greatest generals of the age, the prince of Condé and the marshal de Turenne. This proved of singular advantage to our young warrior, who had all the opportunity he could wish to gain experience, and he improved beyond what could have been expected at his years. This was that memorable campaign, in which the French almost over-run the United Provinces, with a rapidity almost beyond belief, and in which Mr Churchill was present, with the duke, at the taking Orsoy, Rhineberg, Wesel, Emerick, Doesburg, and Zutphen, and at the surrender of Utrecht, but particularly at the siege of Nimeguen. This being the only place that made any great defence, (and it did a very handsome one, under the command of mons. de Wellerden,) it was here he laid the first foundation, for attaining to the art, which he afterwards possess'd in the highest perfection, that of besieging a strong town in form. His behaviour on all occasions was so extraordinary for his age, which but just exceeded two and twenty, that fortune, which never after forsook him, recommended him to the favour of the marshal de Turenne, who took particular notice of him; and besides the honour done him in commending his conduct, paid him a compliment, and distinguish'd him by the title of the Handsome Englishman; by which name he was long known throughout the whole army.

Is very much honoured by the marshal de Turenne.

Is very assiduous to deserve it.

Performs a brave and memorable action.

Mr. Churchill was, upon all occasions, very assiduous to deserve these distinguishing marks of the favour of so great a general; and it was under this renowned French officer, that he learned the art of subduing the French nation, which he so often, and with so great success, put in practice afterwards. But it was not only at the head of his own company that he distinguish'd himself; when that had no call to be in action, he was present at every enterprize of difficulty and danger, as a volunteer. Nothing was so desperate, nor so apparently given over, but what his courage and conduct knew how to repair; of which mons. Rouffet gives us a memorable instance: "A certain French lieutenant-colonel, being commanded to defend a pass, was so disheartened at the approach of a detachment of the Dutch, which was sent to attack it, that he immediately quitted his post. Advice being brought of it to mons. de Turenne, he turn'd to another general who stood near him, and offered to lay a wager, that his handsome Englishman should retake the pass with half the number of men the other had lost it: And he was not deceived in his opinion; captain Churchill regain'd the post, won the marshal his wager, and gain'd for himself the applause of the whole army." The

The year following, he again distinguished himself, at the 1673. siege of Maestricht, which had a garrison of 10,000 men, and made a vigorous defence. During this siege, there happened a thousand glorious actions, and here our young hero found opportunity to give many proofs of his undaunted courage, and intrepid resolution; in particular, he was one of those brave English officers, who accompanied the duke of Monmouth in one of the boldest and most desperate attempts, that, perhaps, is recorded in history. As we have a particular account of this brave action publish'd by authority, I shall give it my readers in the very words of that relation, adding only some few circumstances.

He is present at the siege of Maestricht. Assists in a bold and desperate attempt.

"The duke of Monmouth, being commanding lieutenant-general for the day, had the direction of the attack of the counterscarp of Maestricht, on the 24. and 25. of June N. S. the king of France being at the end of the trenches, to observe the conduct of the whole action. His grace had desired of the king, as a particular favour, that he might be at this attack, for which a detachment was made of all the grenadiers in the army. The duke having made a lodgment, and taken a half-moon, the next morning, on a sudden, before day, a mine sprung on the right hand (by which a captain, an ensign, and fifty soldiers were killed) and, immediately the enemy (under the command of monsieur de Farjaux) made a sally, which they did with so great surprise, and in that number (of the choicest of their troops) that it was not possible for the French and Swiss guards, who were sent for the defence of the workmen, to sustain the shock, but they were forced to give ground. Hereupon, his grace sent away a party of the king's musketeers, that were designed for the defence of his person, to go and make good the post; but the enemy had already made themselves masters of the half-moon, and were not to be easily dislodged nay they had prevailed so far, as to bring the whole into question; which his grace perceiving, sent to the king for fresh supplies, and himself, with a few volunteers, the king of England's subjects, which were not above twelve in all (among whom our young hero was one) leaped over the trench, and, thro' a storm of shot, that fell on all sides, marched, with all the speed he could, to the half-moon, passing thro' a sally-port of the enemy's, and so all along, within twenty yards of the palisadoes, being followed by monsieur d'Artignan, and the king's musketeers. The soldiers were now quitting their new post, not being longer able to maintain it, when the duke's presence encouraged them to return; which they did with new vigour, and being followed by what forces could

A particular account of the action,

First of the day

from A. the duke of Monmouth did go forward

the king of France was at the end of the trenches

the king of England's subjects

from A. the duke of Monmouth

1673. "be rallied up in the trenches, the enemy was, the second time, beaten off, and his grace again made master of the half-moon, which he delivered up to mons. de la Feuillade, who came to relieve him, at the ordinary hour."

Mr. Churchill wounded.

Is particularly honoured by the French king.

The first step to his preferment.

A noble testimony of his bravery.

He is advanced to several places.

Is in great favour with the ladies.

A memorable adventure.

Several persons of note were killed and wounded in these attacks. Among the former were sir Henry Jones, colonel of the English regiment of light horse, who was one of the volunteers, that attended the duke in this bold action, and mons. d'Artignan, commander of the king's musketeers. Among the latter was mr. Churchill himself, who was captain of the English grenadiers, that (as some authors say) alone retook the half-moon. "The brave captain Churchill (says mons. Rouffet) animated by the presence of his general, seconded him, with his own company of grenadiers, mounted the breach, and notwithstanding all possible resistance of the enemy, planted the banner of France, on the lodgment he had made." His courage and conduct, in this action, were, at least, so conspicuous, that the French king made a publick acknowledgment of them, and did him the honour to thank him for his services, at the head of his Army; giving him, at the same time, assurance of his recommendations to the king of Great-Britain. And here we may reasonably fix our hero's first step to preferment; for we find, that at his return to England, soon after, he became a great favourite, both with the king and the duke; and was in high esteem with the whole court. The duke of Monmouth, in particular, was so sensible of his merit, and of his gallant behaviour, in the action at Maeftricht, that he told the king, he owed his life to his bravery. A testimony, than which nothing could do him more honour, and which paved the way to his immediate advancement; for he was, thereupon, made lieutenant-colonel of sir Charles Littleton's regiment, gentleman of the bed-chamber, and master of the robes, to the duke of York.

Nor was mr. Churchill alone the darling of his own sex. The high reputation he had acquired abroad, for his valour, knowledge and discretion, added to the beauty and comeliness of his person, and his genteel and courteous behaviour, gained him, at least, the favour, if not the affection, of all the ladies of a court, which was then particularly remarkable for its gallantry. To relate all the achievements of our young adventurer in the cause of Venus, which were the amusement of the Beau-Mond, and furnish'd matter of discourse for the gallant assemblies of those jovial days, would carry me too far from the main design of this work. That I may not, however, be taxed of being wholly silent in these matters, I shall only recount one memorable story, which was cause of merriment in those days, without applying it nominally to the persons, it has generally been supposed to regard. It

It was said, in those times, that the handsomest of king Charles's mistresses, being importuned, by a gentleman of more fortune than discretion, to bestow the last favour upon him; she agreed to let him enjoy what he was so solicitous for, at the moderate expence of 10000 *l.* for one night. This the enamour'd fool paid down; but, thinking to heighten the pleasures of Venus, by those of Bacchus, took so large a portion of the latter's favour, that when the happy hour came, he was not in a capacity, to take possession of the jewel he had so dearly purchas'd. The gallant, having met with this disappointment, thought the lady would be too consciencious not to admit him, a second time, to her favours, when able to enjoy them, for the same fee; but she had the modesty to insist on a new bargain, and the same sum over again. Surprized at the unreasonable demand, rage took place of the passion of love, and the gentleman left her in a fury, to satiate her inclination for a more amiable person, then justly call'd the handsomest and most agreeable cavalier at court. To him she gave the entire sum left her by her cully, as a token of her future favour, which he took better care to deserve, and is supposed, in the sequel, to have had so large a share of, as, in some measure, laid the foundation of his fortune.

A famous modern poet begins his imitation of the second satyr of Horace, entitled, Sober advice from Horace to the young gentlemen about town, with the following lines, which are applicable to this adventure:

The tribe of templers, play'rs, apothecaries,
Pimps, poets, wits, lord Fanny's, lady Mary's,
And all the court in tears, and half the town,
Lament dear chaming O——f——ld, dead and gone!
Engaging O——f——ld! who with grace and ease,
Could join the arts, to ruin and to please.

“ Not so, who of ten thousand gull'd her knight,
“ Then ask'd ten thousand for a second night:
“ The gallant too, to whom she paid it down,
“ Liv'd to refuse that mistress half a crown.

The latter lines seem to argue an ingratitude in the lover; but may she not have lived to have deserv'd such usage? If common report may be depended upon, she did. In the mean time, if the same common fame is to be credited, he was her drudge, as long as any shew of decency would allow of it; 'till being about to enter into another state of life, he was forced to have recourse to a stragatem, to break off their forbidden intercourse; and, by palming another lover upon her, whom he took care to surprize with her, when his com-

1673.

pany was least expected or desired, had at once an opportunity to upbraid her inconstancy, to free himself for ever from the arms of one he never really lov'd, nor had any farther regard for than as she was subservient to his interest, to oblige a friend, who sigh'd for the enjoyment of what he neglected, and to give the amorous nymph a swain as lovely as his adored self.

The king
makes peace
with the
Dutch.

But to return to the political and military steps, by which our hero continued to advance his fortune: It was a Phenomenon so entirely new, to see England concur in augmenting the power and grandeur of France, that it was believed this extraordinary luminary soon disappear, and the king resolve to call back the succours he had lent the Grand Monarch; and, in effect, so it happened; for the parliament was no sooner assembled, than such resolutions were taken, and the conduct of the court was censured, in such manner, that the king found himself under a necessity of recalling his troops. The peace, which ensued, at the beginning of the year 1674. deprived lieutenant-colonel Churchill of the opportunity of displaying his valour in the field; but he let slip none, by which he could advance his fortune. He grew daily more and more in the favour, as well of the king as the duke, and, tho' one of the youngest officers, soon obtain'd, by the favour of the latter, the command of a regiment, as the reader will see below.

1674.

L. C. Churchill grows
daily more
in favour
with the
king and
duke.

K. Charles
gives himself
up to his
pleasures.

The king, being now freed from the cares of war, and the uneasinesses caused him by the parliament, gave himself up entirely to a soft, indolent, and effeminate life. The duchess of Orleans, his sister, had brought him, at their interview at Dover, the daughter of a gentleman of Bretagne, called de Querouaille, who commanded the king's affections, beyond any of his mistresses, and was created duchess of Portsmouth: but his particular fondness for her did not hinder him from having many others; tho' she had the greatest influence over his actions; and the gayety, or rather libertinism of his court, rather increas'd than decreas'd. Amidst the revels of this splendid court, our young warrior pass'd his time as others, for some years, in mirth and jollity, during which time, nothing, with regard to him, happen'd, worthy of our remark; I shall therefore pass by the years 1675. and 6.

1677.

Marriage of
the princess
Mary, with
the prince
of Orange.

One of the most remarkable and happy occurrences of the year 1677. which I must not pass by in silence, was the marriage of the princess Mary, the duke of York's eldest daughter, with the prince of Orange, on the fourth of November, the prince's birth-day; from which thrice-auspicious day England may date her present happy condition and security, in a free enjoyment of her religion and liberties, as having given birth to her deliverer from popery and oppression, cemented

that alliance which gave him a just pretence, to be that happy instrument, and brought him on our coasts to compleat it.

1677.

This happy alliance was not, however, brought to perfection without some, and not very small, difficulty. It had been proposed in Holland; and the prince of Orange obtained leave of the king to come over and solicit his affairs in person: but the duke of York was against it, and the French naturally opposed it, as it would of course draw the king over to the interest of Holland, and perhaps engage him to declare war against France, as the nation was desirous he should, if a general peace was not to be obtained. France, in the mean time, had a very powerful advocate with the king, the duchess of Portsmouth. However, the greatest difficulty, which had very near render'd the prince's journey fruitless, was, that the king insisted upon it, as a condition of the marriage, that he, and the prince, should previously agree upon the terms of a general peace: whereas the prince, on his side, let the king know, by sir William Temple, that his allies, who were like to have hard terms of the peace, as things then stood, would be apt to believe, that he had made his match at their cost; and, for his part, he would never sell his honour for a wife. Both sides continued obstinate for some time, till the prince, at length, declared, he would depart in two days, if the king did not alter his resolution, which, by the assiduity of sir William Temple, and the lord treasurer Danby, he was persuaded to do, and the duke was obliged to obey the king's pleasure. Upon this occasion, king Charles is reported to have said of the prince of Orange to sir William Temple: I never yet was deceiv'd in judging a man's honesty by his looks; and if I am not deceiv'd in the prince's face, he is the honestest man in the world; and I will trust him, and he shall have his wife, and you shall go immediately and tell my brother so, and that it is a thing I am resolved on. The king's consent thus obtained, matters were so managed, that he declar'd it in council, before the duchess of Portsmouth could speak to him.

Difficulties which attended the negotiation.

How removed.

In the beginning of the year 1679. king Charles having required his royal highness, the duke of York, by a letter directed to him for that purpose, to absent himself, for some time, beyond the seas: he accordingly retir'd with his duchess, and the princess Ann, the third of March, first to the Hague, and afterwards from thence to Brussels. The king falling sick, the latter end of August, and having a fit of a tertian ague, the duke, upon the first notice of it (given him by the king's order) came to Windsor: but finding his majesty in no danger, after having established himself, more than ever, in the king's favour, and procured the banishment of the duke of Monmouth, he return'd to Brussels, from whence he came back again, the second time, with his family and retinue.

1679, Mr. Churchill goes with the d. of York to Flanders.

The duke returns.

In

1679.

Some remarks on
mr. Churchill's con-
duct.

In this retirement, mr. Churchill had the honour to accompany his royal highness; and it may not be improper to mention some farther circumstances of this matter; as the state-juggles which were put in practice on this occasion, to which mr. Churchill, being so near the duke's person, cannot but have been an eye-witness, may very probably have made such an impression on him, as had a great influence on his future conduct, in one of the most critical junctures of his life, I mean at the revolution. Mr. Churchill was, however, so far from believing, at this time, the duke of York to have any views or designs to the prejudice of the protestant religion, that he is said to have openly blamed the proceedings of the parliament against his royal highness, and maintain'd it to be the greatest injustice in the world, to deprive a person of his inheritance, upon the bare presumption of his intending evil, when he had not actually committed any, that could be a bar to his enjoying his right. But we shall see in the sequel, that he was convinced of his mistake, and found that the grounds, upon which the party against the duke proceeded, were just and reasonable. To justify mr. Churchill's future conduct, it may not therefore (I say) be amiss, to relate some particulars of the duke's behaviour at this time.

The duke of York having improved the late happy juncture of the king's illness to his advantage, and being secure of his brother's tenderest affection, took that opportunity to represent to his majesty, the danger of his being in the Low Countries, with regard to the succession, in case of his sudden death, and thereby obtained his leave to retire into Scotland: so that his second voyage to Flanders was only to bring over his family, in order to his journey to Scotland.

The return of the duke, from Flanders, the first time, was discover'd by sir William Temple, to be a political juggle of two chief ministers, to save themselves. "The secret (says he) was this: upon the king's illness, the lords Essex and Halifax being about him, thought his danger great, and their own so to; and that if any thing happened to the king's life, the duke of Monmouth would be at the head of the nation, in opposition to the Duke of York, upon pretence of popery, and in conjunction with the earl of Shaftsbury, who had threatned to have their heads, upon the prorogation of the last parliament; which threat was applied, by the lords Essex and Halifax, to themselves, reckoning the lord Sunderland safe, by his relation to the earl of Shaftsbury, and the fair terms that had always been between them. This fright had so affected these two lords, that not staying to see what the king's second fit would be, they propos'd to the king to send immediately for the duke; which being re-

An observation on the duke's return, by sir William Temple.

“ solved, and the dispatch made with all the secrecy and speed 1679.
 “ imaginable, the duke came over; but finding the king re-
 “ covered, it was agreed to pass for a journey of his own, and
 “ that it should be receiv'd by his majesty, and the three lords,
 “ with all signs of surprize.”

The better to countenance it, the following report of his re- Some fur-
 turn was publish'd by authority: “ Windsor, September 2. This ther obser-
 “ morning his royal highness the duke of York arrived here, vations on
 “ contrary to expectation, and told his majesty, that hearing this matter.
 “ of his indisposition, he thought he could do no less than
 “ come and wait on him, and see how he did: adding, that
 “ he was ready, as soon as his majesty pleas'd, to return to
 “ Flanders, or any other part of the world, his majesty should
 “ command him to.” And the compromise afterwards made
 between the king and the duke, for the retirement of the
 latter into Scotland, had the following notice given of it by au-
 thority: “ Newmarket, October 7. His royal highness having
 “ represented to his majesty, that he conceives it, for many
 “ respects, more proper for him to be in his majesty's domi-
 “ nions, rather than those of another prince, and made it his
 “ humble request to his majesty, to have his leave to go into
 “ Scotland; his majesty has granted it: and it is presumed
 “ his royal highness will, in a short time, repair thither.

Accordingly on the 27th of October, their royal highnesses, The d. of
 attended by many of the nobility and persons of distinction, York goes
 set out for Scotland. The journey lasted above a month, with to Scotland.
 short and pompous stages; they did not come to Edinburgh, till
 the fourth of December, where they were received with great so-
 lemnity. The duke of York grew, however, soon weary of
 Scotland, and thought it safer and properer to return to England:
 and to break the design with more softness to the people, on
 the eight and twentieth of January, his majesty was pleased to
 declare, in council, That he had sent for his royal highness, not
 having found such an effect from his absence, as should incline
 him to keep him longer at a distance: and his majesty added;
 that he was so well assured of the duke's compliance, in every
 thing, that he could answer his return should have no influence on
 the publick. So, on the four and twentieth of February, their
 royal highnesses arrived from Scotland, by sea, at Deptford, Returns to
 went up the river in a barge, and were received by his majesty, England.
 at Whitehall, in the most affectionate manner, and with great
 pomp and satisfaction. The king found it, however, necessary,
 before the conclusion of the year, to order his brother to retire And goes
 a second time into Scotland, which he did, the twentieth of back again
 October, after having received repeated assurances from his ma- to Scotland.
 jesty, that he would never forsake him.

The

1680. The six and twentieth of October, being the first day the house of commons began upon their debates, they concluded Occasion of them that day, with the following resolution; It is the opinion it of this house, that they ought in the first place to proceed effectually to suppress popery, and prevent a popish successor. The duke of York seem'd to expect a vote of this nature, and, therefore, would not stay to bear the affront of it; but, the day before the session, departed for Scotland, with his duchess, and retinue. F. Orleans says; that the duke of York prepared to maintain his birth-right, in parliament, with fresh vigour, when the marquiss of Halifax, and the earl of Sunderland, came to him, from the king, to desire him to absent himself, for a while, and return into Scotland, during the session. This request startled the duke, &c. And, after his departure, the bill of exclusion was brought into the house.

Mr. Churchill attends the duke to Scotland. In one, and probably in both, of these journies or voyages to Scotland, mr. Churchill had the honour of attending his royal highness, and, among several other important trusts, which he was honoured with, by this indulgent master, he was made colonel of a regiment of dragoons. During the duke's stay in England, he likewise made a considerable figure, among the Beau Mond of those luxurious times.

1681. In 1681. colonel Churchill, amidst all the gallantry of a splendid court, instead of giving entirely into that high pitch of looseness and debauchery, which was then but too much countenanced and in vogue, fixed his eyes upon one, more particularly, among the numerous beauties, who shone in that brilliant circle, which daily surrounded the royal presence; he set his affection I say upon one, whom he resolved to make his own, and a partner in those glories, towards which he was advancing with so much celerity.

Col. Churchill marries Mrs. Sarah Jennings. This lady, for whom our hero was willing to forego all the secret enjoyments of forbidden gallantry, and lay himself liable to the dire effects of jealousy and neglected beauty, from those ladies, with whom he had 'till then liv'd in a familiar conversation; this excellent lady, who, this year, became his wife, was Sarah, the daughter and coheir (with her sister, the countess of Tyrconnel) of Richard Jennings of Sandridge, in Hertfordshire, esq; and of Frances, his wife, daughter and heir of sir Giffard Thornhurst, of Agnes-court, in Kent, baronet.

Her genealogy. Her father, Richard Jennings, esq; aforesaid, was the son and heir of sir John Jennings, knight of the Bath, at the creation of Charles, prince of Wales, the fourth of November 1616; the son and heir of John Jennings, esq; (and Ann, his wife, daughter of sir William Broucker) son and heir of Ralph Jennings, of Church, in Somersetshire, whose wife was sister and coheir of Ralph Rowlat, of St. Alban's, knight, whose other sister

After was wife of John Maynard, esq; the ancestor of the present lord Maynard.

1681.

Mrs. Sarah Jennings (now dowager duchess of Marlborough and princess of Nellenburg) was born the nine and twentieth of May, 1660. the very day her sovereign, king Charles II. was restored to his rightful possession of these kingdoms: At the time of her marriage with colonel Churchill, she was justly accounted one of the most accomplished ladies of the court, and was very much in the favour of the princess Ann, the duke of York's youngest daughter, and afterwards our most gracious sovereign, queen Ann.

1682.

The beginning of March, 1682. the duke of York returned from Scotland, and was received by the king, with all possible marks of affection. After two months stay in England, he resolved to return to Scotland by sea, in order to bring over his duchess and family; the arbitrary power, the king his brother had by this time established, having removed all apprehensions of his being obliged to retire out of the kingdom again, he embarked accordingly, on the fourth of May, and colonel Churchill again accompanied his royal highness, among other persons of distinction, who were in his retinue. They went on board the Gloucester-frigate, at that time lying in Margate-road, commanded by sir John Berry, which was attended by the Dartmouth, Ruby, and Happy Return. The next day, the Gloucester struck on the sand, call'd Lemon-Ore, about sixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber; she had, in a very short time, seven foot water in the hold; and the duke, with the colonel, and some few more only, narrowly escaped with their lives.

The duke of York comes to England again.

Col. Churchill goes again with the duke to Scotland.

Is in great danger by shipwreck.

It was, upon this occasion, reported, that the duke stayed some time, at the hazard of his own life, to take the colonel into his boat; but this report seems to have no grounds; on the contrary, there appears to be much more reason to believe, that the colonel was very instrumental in saving his master's life, by hindering many from entering the boat, who were pressing into it, and would infallibly have sunk it.

He is instrumental in saving the duke's life.

We have very various accounts of this incident, in different authors. "When the ship struck (says one) the duke order'd the "pinnacle to put off, with as many persons as it would hold, and "saved himself on board the Mary-yacht: It is pretended, he "himself named the persons, whom he would have in the boat "with him, and that some priests and jesuits were preferred to "several persons of quality, who were unfortunately drowned, "with 130 seamen, the ship sinking soon after the duke put off: "but (adds he) I will not warrant this circumstance, which, "perhaps is only a report spread by his enemies." Another, however says, "the duke got into a boat, and took care of his "dogs, and some unknown persons, who were taken, for that

Various accounts of this matter.

"earnest

1682.

"earnest care of his, to be his priests. The long-boat went off with very few in her, tho' she might have carried off above eighty more than she did. The duke (adds this author) took no notice of this cruel neglect, which was chiefly laid to Legg's charge."

According to another account, "his royal highness went off in a boat, and took as many persons of quality with him, as the boat could well bear. Other boats, were sent to take out the men from the sinking ship; but she sunk so fast, that several of the passengers, with many of the duke's servants, and above 130 of the seamen, were miserably lost; the commander, sir John Berry, hardly escaping by a rope, over the stern, into captain Wyborne's boat."

A fourth says, "the duke was asleep, when the ship struck, but being awak'd, and perceiving the danger, still staid, as long as he could safely, on board, 'till, having notice given him, that there was above seven foot water in the hold, he put off in his pinnace, with as many of the best persons as it could well hold, &c." Be this as it will, several persons of distinction lost their lives, in this misfortune, and, among others, were the earl of Roxborough, the lord Obrian, the laird of Hopton, sir Joseph Douglas, and mr. Hyde, the duke's brother-in-law. The author of Churchill's Annals says, "That in this voyage, the colonel was very instrumental, in saving his master's life (which confirms what I have said above) and afterwards in preventing the ruin of many families, who were severely persecuted by the Episcopalians, for scruples of conscience." Which, tho' (as I have said above) he always strictly adher'd to the church of England, may very well be; for he never suffer'd his zeal to get the mastery of his moderation.

This matter was afterwards examined before the council, where his majesty declared, that sir John Berry was no way faulty in the loss of the Gloucester; and, therefore, was pleased to give him the command of the Henrietta, a third rate, and of a squadron designed for the coast of Ireland: but captain Ayres, the pilot, was found guilty, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

A remarkable medal was struck on occasion of this extraordinary escape. On the face is a busto of his royal highness, with this inscription round it, JACOBUS DUX EBORACENSIS ET ALBANENSIS; G. B. F. The reverse represents a ship sinking in the ocean, and a rock and castle at a distance, with these words: IMPAVIDUM FERUNT.

The duke returns, and colonel Churchill with him.

The duke got safe to Scotland, on the seventh of May, and, with great expedition, came back, by sea, to London, in twenty days: colonel Churchill still accompanying him.



[illegible]

It has been observed, that the duke of York governed Scotland, at that time, in an arbitrary manner, and gave manifest tokens of his cruelty, and inveterate hatred to the Presbyterians: and that he did so, we find several instances, "The duke, says a late author, seemed now to triumph in Scotland: all stooped to him. The Presbyterian party was much depressed. The best of the clergy were turned out; yet with all this, he was now more hated there than ever." In another place: "The proceedings against conventicles were now like to be severer than ever: all the fines which were set so high by law, that they were never before levied but in some particular instances, were now ordered to be levied without exception. All people, upon that, saw, they must either conform, or be quite undone." And again; "All the Presbyterian party saw they were now disinherited of a main part of their birth-right of choosing their representatives in parliament: and upon that they said, they would now seek a country (meaning Carolina) where they might live undisturbed, as freemen and christians. The duke encouraged the motion: he was glad to have so many untoward people sent far away, who he reckoned would be ready, upon the first favourable conjuncture, to break out into a rebellion."

1682.

An observation on the duke of York's behaviour in Scotland.

Col. Churchill, having been an eye-witness of the duke of York's conduct in Scotland, on this, as well as other occasions, without doubt fortified his principles with reflections thereupon: and from hence, together with the state-intrigues I hinted at above, may, among many others, be drawn one good argument, to justify his conduct at the revolution: for, if the duke of York, while he was only presumptive heir to the crown, and a great part of the nation was endeavouring to procure his exclusion from it, could shew the spirit of persecution, and exert his power, in this arbitrary manner, what might not reasonably be expected from him, when seated on the throne, and very near arrived to that height of despotick rule, which he had all along aimed at? "By the duke's government in Scotland (says the same author) all men saw what was to be expected from him:" but of this more in a proper place.

A reflection thereupon with regard to colonel Churchill.

At his royal highness's return, to shew his high opinion of colonel Churchill's merit, and as a reward for his faithful services, he recommended him, in so favourable a manner, to his royal brother, king Charles II. that he created him baron Churchill, of Aymouth, in Scotland, by letters patent, bearing date the twenty-first of December, of this year; and made him colonel of the third troop of guards.

Col. Churchill made lord Churchill.

And col. of the third troop of guards.

1683.

Marriage of the princess Ann, with prince George of Denmark.

Upon the princess Mary's being given in marriage to the prince of Orange, to which, as I have observed above, the duke of York gave his consent, with some reluctance, his royal high-

high-

1683.

highness was very urgent with king Charles, to leave the disposal of the lady Ann wholly to him, since his majesty had married her sister, to a person of his own chusing. However, king Charles II. to quiet the minds of the people, who were then under just apprehensions of popery, thought it more advisable to give ear to the remonstrances and importunities of his council and parliament, and to marry her likewise to a protestant prince. Among the several matches proposed, his majesty, at length, made choice of prince George of Denmark, second son to Frederick III. and younger brother of Christian V. kings of Denmark; who having no dominions of his own, to consult the interest and advantage of, the king prudently consider'd, would have no interest but that of the English nation at heart. This prince, in the month of July, 1679. had paid a visit to the English court in his way from France; and four years after, at the desire of his brother (then king of Denmark) obtained leave of king Charles to come over to England, to make his addresses to the princess. He arrived at Whitehall, the nineteenth of July, of this year, and by his noble, modest, and courteous deportment, so gain'd the affection of the princess, and the whole court, that, on the eight and twentieth of the same month, he was solemnly married to her, in the chappel royal of St. James's, by Henry lord bishop of London, in the presence of the king and queen, the duke and duchess of York, and the chief of the nobility. And they gave ever after as lively an example of conjugal happiness in high life, as history furnishes us with. The prince, tho' of a disposition the most easy, pleasant and familiar, did not want a good and sound understanding, tho' his rather too great modesty, even to a fault, but too often prevented his displaying the happy talents he was possess'd of. He appear'd very little in any considerable scene of action, during this king's reign; nor indeed during that of his successor, king James the second; till that unhappy prince, insatuated by the priests, who in his short reign swarm'd at court, and were but too much admitted to his cabinet councils, shew'd, in all his actions, his tendency to promote the encrease of popery, and thereby alarmed and put the whole nation in a ferment, with apprehensions of the danger their religion and liberties were expos'd to; but then he heartily concurr'd with the protestant nobility for the inviting and bringing over the prince of Orange; and, as we shall see in the sequel, left the court, with his princess, and join'd that party. During the reign of king William, he never had any share in the administration, which probably was owing to his living so great a part of it in retirement, with his princess, on occasion of the unhappy differences between the two royal sisters; yet he came pretty regularly to parliament, and frequently to

That
prince's
character.

court, tho' he never declar'd himself openly, either at one or the other, of any party; unless it may be said that he seem'd rather inclin'd to favour the high church party, as their profession and principles of religion and politicks, seem'd to him to approach nearest to Lutheranism, and to a tendency to that form of despotick government, with which he had been the most conversant in his younger days. He diverted himself chiefly with hunting, and thought himself happy in the conversation of his royal consort. He would sometimes take his bottle, but was so reserv'd in conversation, as gave a handle to the few enemies he had to report, that he knew but one answer to all that was said to him; viz. *Est il possible!* or, Is it possible! an expression he seem'd fond of making use of.

1683.

On this marriage, the princess, to shew a publick mark of the favour and affection which she had long born for the lady Churchill, earnestly requested her father, that she might be made one of the ladies of her bed-chamber, which she was accordingly, and from that first step, made her way to the height of power, to which, by the favour of her royal mistress, we shall, in the sequel, see her gradually advance.

But tho' the duke of York did not succeed in preventing this marriage, he, in other cases, had a very great influence over the actions and counsels of the king, his brother: And to him is ascribed the rigour with which the king treated his enemies, or those he thought so, the remaining part of his reign; of which the lord Russel's case, to mention no more, is a plain evidence; for, in the duke of Monmouth's journal, it is said, that the king told him: "He inclined to have saved the lord Russel; but was forced to consent to his death, otherwise he must have broke with his brother, the duke of York."

A seeming good understanding between the king and duke.

Most historians, I say, ascribe all the rigours exercis'd in the last year of king Charles's reign, and all the measures taken by his majesty, for the advancement of his absolute power, to the counsels of the duke, his brother; who had gain'd so great an ascendant over him, that he held him in a kind of subjection, and led him into measures productive of others, and so carried him farther than the king was inclined.

1684

The best part of the month of January; of the year, 1685. was spent either in prosecuting delinquents against the king and duke, or in receiving the charters of the corporations not yet surrender'd, or in granting new ones, on such conditions as the court thought proper. All complaints were suppress'd, and the whole kingdom subdu'd, the city of London not excepted, which had always oppos'd absolute power.

1685.


State of the nation

In this slavish condition was the nation, when Charles II. was taken away by death, (some say natural, others violent, the sixth of February, after a few days sickness.

At king Charles's death;

CHAP. II.

Transactions during the Reign of King JAMES II.

1685.

 Introduction to king
 James's
 reign.

NOtwithstanding matters seem'd to pass off swimmingly, between the two royal brothers in the eye of the world, during the latter part of king Charles II's reign, it was more than a whisper, that their good understanding was only in appearance: it is said, that the king being one day importuned by the duke, to undertake things which he thought very dangerous, told him: *Brother, I am resolv'd never to travel again, you may do so if you please.* And it might perhaps not be difficult to prove, that some warm speeches had pass'd between them: after which, king Charles was heard to say, *He had been abused, and that he was resolv'd, if he liv'd a month longer, to make himself easy with his subjects, let the consequence fall as it would.* This expression being carried to the duke of York, (as there ever were, and probably ever will be, carriers among courtiers, as well as pigeons,) he, in his natural way, replied, *That then it was time to take care of himself.* The oracles of Delphos were always ambiguous, and so was he, in his manner of expressing himself: but to corroborate the common surmise, and strengthen the conjecture, which was then no ways made a secret, I have been assured from very good hands, and such as themselves saw it, that there was, at that time, handed about privately (and after the revolution printed) an account of the death of king Charles, said to be written by the earl of Mulgrave, afterwards duke of Buckingham. In this paper, the author, after hinting at the reasons aforementioned, (among many others) adds his own, why it was not reasonable to believe that king Charles died a natural death. Dr. Short, an honest and learned physician, of king James's own persuasion, did not scruple to give his opinion that king Charles had foul play done him, and tho' a papist, died a martyr, for his too forward declaration: and doctor King, who was one of the physicians that attended the opening of the royal corps (tho' wise enough to conceal his sentiments, in times of peril,) was not at all scrupulous, to declare himself amongst friends, and, at last, to any who had ask'd him, that, in his opinion, king Charles was poisoned. This, without doubt, occasioned the legend of the strong box, which was then in England (as it was, many years after, in Paris) the jest and ridicule of all who read it.

King
 James pro-
 claimed.

However it was, James duke of York succeeded his brother, king Charles II. and was proclaim'd by the name of king
 James

James II. He was acknowledged by a temper of the people, 1685. as surprizing as was that of his brother's restoration. Bills of exclusion were no more heard nor talk'd of; and yet the dissenters of all sorts (the Quakers excepted) were full of their apprehensions and fears; and the churchmen were at little more than short allowance in their hopes. As soon as proclaimed, he began to manifest the obstinacy of his temper, and the royal vizer was laid aside, as of no longer use; tho' it was the opinion of wise men, that had he continued to keep it on, he had postponed a great many of the subsequent inconveniencies, which broke in like a torrent upon him, and perhaps, to the danger of our constitution, might have had a fairer chance for obtaining his main ends. But, in this, heaven seem'd to lay the grounds of an infaturation, which alone was able, without a miracle, to preserve the nation: for had he not drove a Jehu's pace, we might probably have slumber'd over our danger, till irrecoverable ruin had overwhelmed us. But of this, more below.

Nevertheless, by this change of sovereigns, the lord Churchill was so far from losing ground, in his royal master's favour, that his affection and esteem for him shone forth with greater lustre. He not only continued him one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, as he had been while duke of York, and colonel of the third troop of guards; but made him a lieutenant-general, and sent him ambassadour to the court of France, to notify the death of the late king, and his majesty's accession to the crown.

The lord Churchill continues in king James's favour.

Is made a lieut. gen. and sent ambassadour to France.

It was the fifth of March, N. S. that his lordship had audience of his most Christian majesty, for this end, at Versailles, as he had afterwards of the dauphin and dauphiness, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Anjou, and the duke and duchess of Orleans. The eighth of the same month he had audience of leave, in the same manner, and, on the tenth, left Paris, to return to England.

A late author, speaking of this ambassy, says: "In one thing only, the king seemed to comply with the genius of the nation, tho' it proved in the end to be only a shew. He seemed resolv'd not to be governed by French councils, but to act in an equality with that haughty monarch in all things; and, as he entertained all the other foreign ministers with assurances, that he would maintain the balance of Europe, with a more steady hand than had been done formerly; so when he sent over the lord Churchill to the court of France, with the notice of his brother's death, he order'd him to observe exactly the ceremony and state with which he was receiv'd, that he might treat the French ambassadour in the same manner; this he observed very punctually, when the

Returns to England.

1685.



" marshal de Lorge came over. He adds, That the courtiers set this about, as a sign of another spirit, that might be look'd for in a reign so begun, and that it made some impression on the court of France ; but, not long after this, the French king said to the duke of Villeroy (who told it to the earl of Galway, from whom this author says he had it) That the king of England, after all the high things given out in his name, was willing to take his money, as well as his brother had done."

Lord Churchill made high steward of St. Alban's.

Upon the return of the lord Churchill from France, he was constituted on the sixteenth of March, high steward of the borough of St. Albans.

Has an honourable place in the procession at the king's coronation.

The twenty-third of April, at the coronation of king James II. he was particularly order'd to attend, as gentleman of his majesty's bed-chamber ; and, in the procession, he followed immediately after the duke of Northumberland, captain of the horse-guard (in waiting) between the earl of Huntington, captain of the band of pensioners, and the viscount Grandison, captain of the yeomen of the guard, being followed by two grooms of the bed-chamber, and the yeomen of the bed-chamber.

Is created a peer of England.

The fourteenth of May following, his majesty, in consideration of his lordship's faithful services, created him a peer of England, by the stile and title of lord Churchill, baron Churchill of Sandridge, in the county of Hertford, a manor belonging to the family of Jennings, which devolved to him in right of his lady. The nineteenth, his lordship took his seat in the house of peers, being introduced between the lord Maynard, and the lord Butler of Weston.

Takes his place in the house of lords.

Is sent against the rebels in the West.

In the month of June, when an insurrection was raised in the West, in favour of the duke of Monmouth, who was arrived there from Holland, and laid claim to the crown, the lord Churchill commanded the first forces, which were sent against him. These troops were part of the earl of Oxford's regiment of horse, with which he narrowly observed the motions of the duke, and, by his prudent conduct, prevented many, who otherwise would have joined him. In this expedition, he gave an early proof of his loyalty ; for being summoned by the duke of Monmouth, after he had assumed the royal title, to attend him, with his forces, with particular promises of his favour, and required to do it upon his allegiance, notwithstanding the obligation he had formerly had to that unfortunate prince, he rejected his offer with disdain, and answered, that he knew of no other sovereign, but James, brother of the late king. So certain it is, that nothing but the most evident and barefac'd attack, upon our religion and liberties, could have shaken his allegiance.

Among

1685.

Among the several accounts of the proceedings of his majesty's forces against the rebels in the west, which were publish'd by authority, we find the following that regard his lordship : In an account publish'd the 22d of June, it is said, " The lord Churchill, on his arrival at Chard, with his majesty's forces under his command, sent out lieutenant Monaux, with a detachment, consisting of twenty commanded men, and a quarter-master, of the earl of Oxford's regiment, who, within two miles of Taunton, met with a party of rebels, of the same number, killed twelve on the spot, and wounded most of the rest, and then retir'd, upon perceiving another party of the rebels. Lieutenant Monaux was mortally wounded in the head, and three of his men wounded. This party of the rebels were very well armed, being their best men." In another account, of the five and twentieth, " The rebels, according to the last account we have, were about Glastenbury ; the lord Churchill observing them very narrowly, with part of the king's forces ; he sent out, the twenty-second instant, a party of forty horse, from Longport, who met a squadron of the rebels, of double the number, and beat them into their camp." And in another, of the nine and twentieth : " On the five and twentieth instant, a party of 100 horse, commanded by colonel Oglethorp, fell upon the rebels at Canisham bridge, between Bristol and Bath, and cut off two troops of their horse, killing between 80 and 100 of them upon the place ; and, on our side, the earl of Neuburg had the misfortune to be shot in the belly ; but it is hoped, he will recover. The parties sent out by the lord Churchill, have killed many of the rebels, and many more are deserted. The six and twentieth, in the evening, all the king's forces joined near the Bath ; upon which, the rebels, who were drawn up, on the other side of the town, march'd away, in much fear and disorder, and are followed by his majesty's forces."

But what does most honour to his lordship's memory, is his vigilance the night before the battle of Sedgmore, to which the fortune and the victory of that day was owing.

To give the reader a clearer idea of this truth, it will be necessary to premise a brief account of the state of things before that decisive day. The duke of Monmouth, tho' he landed with very few troops, by the concurrence of the country people, who came in to him, had soon the appearance of an army, with which he marched from Lyme to Taunton, where it increased, and so on to Bridgwater, Bath, and within two miles of Bristol ; but, unadvisedly, instead of entering into that city (tho' some authors say, that notwithstanding the inhabitants of Bristol were inclin'd to receive him ; yet they were so awed by the

The victory of Sedgmore owing to the lord Churchill's conduct.

Circumstances which preceded the victory of Sedgmore.

1685.

duke of Beaufort, their governour, that they durst not have ventured upon it) he retreated back again to Bridgwater, which false step disheartened his party, and hindered his recruits. How the small number of troops, which the lord Churchill had under his command, harrafs'd his little army, I have already shewn. The duke of Albemarle headed the militia of Devonshire; the duke of Somerset the militia of that county, at Bath; the duke of Beaufort the militia of Gloucestershire, at Bristol; the earl of Pembroke the militia of Wiltshire, at Chippenham; and the militia of other counties were on their march towards the West: But the king, not having a perfect confidence in them, sent away all his regular troops and guards, to form an army under the command of the earl of Feversham, nephew to the late mons. Turenne, who in the beginning of July, encamp'd at Sedgmore, where the lord Churchill was second in command, as lieutenant-general.

The duke of Monmouth being at Bridgwater, which was near adjoining, found himself in a manner, besieged, and his men, daily deserting, in great numbers; he, therefore, resolved to hazard a bold stroke, once for all, and attack the earl of Feversham the first night of his encampment. He was inform'd by the country-people, that the king's army was very remiss, the troopers in their beds, and the foot revelling in their camp: Upon which he told his people, to encourage them, *that they would have no more to do, but to lock up the stable-doors, and seize the troopers in their beds.* He began his march accordingly, about an hour before midnight, in all the silence imaginable, without drum or trumpet, and with orders not to fire a piece, till they were in the enemies camp, thinking thereby to surprize the king's troops, and fall upon them when unarm'd, and no ways prepared for a defence. Some of the rebels, having stray'd from their guide, came sooner up to Dunbarton's regiment, which lay in an advanc'd post, than the body of the duke's army. This regiment, consisting mostly of old and experienced soldiers, had agreed, that 100 of them should keep guard, and lye upon their arms all night: Yet, notwithstanding all their caution, they had been surpriz'd, had not the duke's guide happen'd to lead his men above the ford; and they not having patience to wait his motions, ran disorderly over the ditch, to come at the enemy, by which means, they lost their guide; and a pistol accidentally going off, gave the first alarm to the royal army. Upon this, the lord Churchill, who, with his usual vigilance, was sitting up that night, in order, if occasion required, to put himself at the head of that regiment, and sustain the first attack, headed what troops he could sconeest get in order, and receiving the enemy, without any signs of surprize, kept them in play till the whole body of the king's troops had time to form themselves.

Thus,

Thus, by his vigilance, the surprize, which might probably have proved fatal, was prevented; and to this disappointment, on the enemy's side, was principally owing the ensuing victory. 1685.

This beginning drew on the general battle, between the two little armies, of which the duke's consisted of about 5000 men, horse and foot, and the king's of about the same number, or a somewhat larger, and more regular troops. The fight, for the time it lasted, was very hot; the duke's army laboured under many disadvantages; but despair supplied every defect, and, for a while, they made a gallant resistance (and chiefly the infantry commanded by the duke) till, at length, his horse, commanded by the lord Grey (consisting of marsh mares and colts) which would not stand the noise of drums and guns, and could never be brought into a charging order, quitted the field; and his infantry, having spent what ammunition they had, and their baggage, by some default, not being come up, was obliged, likewise, to give ground. Thus, by four in the morning, the rebels were entirely routed, 300 killed on the spot, 1000 in the pursuit, and as many more taken prisoners, as were the duke and the lord Grey, the latter the next day, and the former two days after.

The account which was published of this action by authority, says, that the lord Churchill, who commanded next under the lord Feverham, performed his part with all the courage and gallantry imaginable; but an anonymous writer says, that the victory was owing to the vigilance, valour and conduct of the lord Churchill, more than to any one person, whomsoever. Mons. Roussel goes yet farther, and affirms, that had it not been for the lord Churchill's vigilance, the king's whole army had been cut off; whereas by his conduct, in keeping the enemy at bay, till they got into order, the ensuing victory was obtained. Another author, tho' he does not mention the lord Churchill, in his relation of this transaction, confirms what I have just said, by his account of the lord Feverham's negligence, and evil conduct. "This lord (says he) was honest, brave and good-natur'd, but weak to a degree not easy to be conceived; and he conducted matters so ill, that every step he made was like to prove fatal to the king's service. He had no parties abroad, he got no intelligence; and was almost surprized, and like to be defeated, when he seem'd to be under no apprehension, but was a-bed, without any care or order.—The duke of Mouth had almost surprized lord Feverham, and all about him, while they were a-bed. He got in between two bodies, into which the army lay divided, &c." If, therefore, the conduct of the commander in chief was so bad, it follows necessarily, that all the honour of that action was due to the lord Churchill, who was next in command under him.

1685. The success king James had against the duke of Monmouth, and his adherents, which, as I have said above, was chiefly, and perhaps wholly owing to the valour and conduct of our incomparable hero, destroy'd all the hopes his enemies had of prevailing against him; and had he made a just and moderate use of it, he might have reign'd the happy king of as happy subjects; but it had a very different effect upon his majesty, from what might reasonably have been expected, and his priests became so elate upon it, that they thought, as they govern'd the queen, who had but too great an influence on the king, nothing could now withstand them, and they might, with as much ease, govern the whole nation.

Some instances of it. Flush'd, I say, with this victory, king James, as he had done by every piece of good fortune, which attended him before, resolv'd to make an ill use of it. I hope, it will not be look'd upon as foreign to my purpose, if I, in this place, just hint at some of the principal instances of his majesty's evil and unhappy conduct (I may say unhappy, as well with regard to the nation, as himself, unless the happy effects, they produced, may make it seem a paradox) as they justify the conduct of our hero, in the most critical and difficult scene of his whole life, and as the remembrance of them ought, upon all occasions, to be kept alive, as a proper incitive to a constant vigilance against all encroachments upon our liberties, and innovations that can possibly tend to the subversion of them. Instead of endeavouring to recover, or rather to fix the minds of his people to an unalterable affection and loyalty, by ways of humanity, mercy and condescension; revenge, that orthodox spirit of Popery, took place, and prompted, or rather seduced king James, to send down that cruel and wicked instrument of it, Jefferies, into the West; not to enquire into bare demerits, but to find every one guilty of treason, whose name or countenance did not please him. His majesty could not have pitched upon a person fitter for his purpose; since his exquisite justice ship employ'd, years after, the whole wisdom of the nation, to undo his vile undoings, and to set that law straight again, which he had made to warp to his prince's humour. To mention no more, dame Alicia Lysle was a woful instance of the truth of this, who for only relieving a few poor wretches, and giving them bread, upon bare straw, in her barn, was condemn'd and executed, as an accomplice in treason, which nothing, but her charity had made her acquainted with.

The king assumes a dispensing power. Even this did not satisfy king James's unprincely revenge: his grandfather's and namesake's itch after arbitrary and unlimited power, had so tainted his mind, that it stifled and subdued every spark of natural goodness that arose in him; and his popish counsellours were such quacks in politicks, that instead

1685.

of prescribing medicines proper to assuage the evil, they never design'd to eradicate, they only administred such as spread the malady, and render'd it more universal. By way of experiment, they advis'd him to assume and begin with exercising a dispensing power, which was laying the ax to the root of our constitution, instead of using a pruning knife : but moderate counsels were hardly to be expected from people unacquainted with moderation, except it be to carry on their own sinister designs. Why else was liberty of conscience offer'd the dissenters, but to bring an odium on that church which had ever been the strongest bulwark against popery, or to make the dissenting party tools and accomplices, in the overthrow of our constitution, which the king had most at heart ?

But there was a more daring set of people, with whom his knight-errantry had to encounter. Men, who, more than fifteen hundred years after the times of primitive Christianity, could audaciously pretend to pursue primitive patterns, and almost offer themselves a sacrifice for that primitive Christianity ; a thing so new, and therefore so much above belief, that it put the popish councils to their utmost stratagems to circumvent them. At length, however, they dreamt, they had found a *nostrum*, which would effectually answer their purposes. This was a royal letter to the bishops, charging them to take effectual care, that the clergy of their respective dioceses (without having regard to the canons, or their consciences) should not preach or write against popery, while their priests and Jesuits were countenanced in both, against the establish'd church. Their sermons, disputes and pamphlets were cried about the streets, as publickly as the declamations and warnings of Tyburn-orators, and, indeed, with much the same effect on the populace, whom only they could propose to seduce, by such petty legerdemain. This effort was so far from answering the hopeful expectations of it, that it rather invigorated than depress'd the zeal of the clergy ; and there were very few churches, in or about the city of London, where the errors of the church of Rome were not emphatically exposed, and the purity of the doctrine of the church of England, more strenuously than ever, proved and asserted. King James was not without his emissaries and informers, in every congregation, and finding by their reports, that these his pious endeavours were like to prove abortive, a consultation of his state-surgeons was held, and an ecclesiastical commission unanimously resolved upon.

This court had been constituted in queen Elizabeth's reign, 1686. by act of parliament, and intended as a barrier to the reformation, which was then in its infancy. This act investing her, and, in her, the crown, with the ancient ecclesiastical jurisdiction, she, by virtue of that power, to prevent the growth of popery.

Forbids
preaching or
writing a-
gainst the
church of
Rome.

A high ec-
clesiastical
court esta-
blish'd.

1686.

popery, and secure the church of England, in her time established, set up a high commission-court, with power extending to fines and imprisonments. In the troublesome times of king Charles the first's reign, many tender consciences (and what consciences are not so when interest is in question?) seeing themselves liable to the like fines and penalties, made interest in parliament, the seventeenth of that king, and got that branch of the said act of queen Elizabeth repealed, and a clause inserted, forbidding all ecclesiastical judges to proceed to fine, or imprison, the king's subjects, or tender the oath, *ex officio*.

The handle the Jesuits made of this was Jesuitically logical; for an act having passed, the thirteenth of king Charles II. importing, that the act of the seventeenth of his father does not, or shall not take away the common powers of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but that ecclesiastical judges or courts may proceed to sentence, and execute in all causes and matters ecclesiastical, according to the laws used and practised in this realm; the Jesuits founded a plea for this new high commission-court, from the very dissolution of the old one, and, by explaining only part away, rais'd a phoenix out of the ashes, unlike the mother, in every feature and quality; the pile she was burnt on having been composed of pernicious weeds instead of spices.

Their commission
open'd.

This ecclesiastical commission, though granted in April, was not open'd till the third of August, and was directed to the archbishop of Canterbury, to Jefferies, now lord chancellor, the bishops of Durham and Rochester, the earl of Rochester, lord high treasurer, the earl of Sunderland, president of the council, and the lord chief justice Herbert, or any three of them, of whom Jefferies, whose Christian behaviour in the West had entitled him to royal favour, on all future occasions, was dignified with the specifical characteristick to be always one to make a *quo-um*. The archbishop absolutely refused to act, and the bishop of Rochester soon declined the service.

The character of Jefferies is too well known, and his unchristian behaviour, in the West, too notorious to sully this work with a recital of it: but the earl of Rochester was too much concern'd in the important transactions of these times, to pass his over wholly in silence; I shall, therefore, give the reader a short sketch of it:

E. of Rochester's
character.

“Lawrence, earl of Rochester, was second son to chancellor
“Hyde, lord Clarendon, and uncle to the princess of Denmark,
“afterwards queen Ann. He had a very good natural capacity, which was greatly improv'd by education and experience. King Charles II. employ'd him, whilst he was very
“young, in foreign negotiations; and king James II. made
“him lord high treasurer, gave him the garter, and created
“him earl of Rochester. At the revolution, he oppos'd king
“William's

1686.

“ William's coming to the throne, and was generally in the op-
 “ position to the measures taken by that court. Upon the
 “ breach of the partition-treaty, the king, to gain over him,
 “ and his party to further his designs against France, made him
 “ lord lieutenant of Ireland, and call'd him to the cabinet; he
 “ was, indeed, soon thrown out again; but is, nevertheless,
 “ said, to have enjoy'd a very large pension, during the con-
 “ tinuance of that reign. Queen Ann, at her accession to the
 “ throne, again made him lord lieutenant of Ireland; but when
 “ that princess (as we shall see in the sequel,) made the lord Go-
 “ dolphin, lord high treasurer of England, an employ he was
 “ in expectation of, he soon quitted Ireland, and never appear'd
 “ more at court. In the house of peers, he was easily wrought
 “ into passion; which the party opposite to him, knew very
 “ well how to make advantage of, in debates; and, by that
 “ means, frequently foil'd the great share he had of know-
 “ ledge.”

The first who fell under the clutches of this commission was
 doctor Compton, lord bishop of London, who was summon'd the
 very day the commission was opened to appear the next. He
 had thwarted the court, in an address of thanks voted in the
 house of lords to the king, by proposing a previous debate on the
 king's speech, and this was crime enough to lay him under the
 malignity of a popish council, and the royal displeasure. How-
 ever, to conceal the cloven foot, a crime (if it may be said to be
 a crime) somewhat more modern, was made the pretext, that is,
 his refusing to obey the king's letter, for the suspension of doctor
 Sharp (one of the boldest and most learned defenders of the pro-
 testant cause) for daring to preach, contradictory to the king's
 letters, in opposition to the errors of the church of Rome. The
 bishop had sent a submissive and excusatory letter by the doctor,
 who accompanied it with an humble petition of his own; but to
 no purpose; for what can be an antidote against popish venom?
 The good bishop was obliged to make his appearance before the
 high commissioners, where, tho' he tender'd a plea to the juris-
 diction of the court, it nothing availed; there was little want-
 ing besides a crown of thorns and a scourging, to make his treat-
 ment like his master's. Jefferies (who was particularly infamous
 for his audacious talent, and whose character given him by king
 Charles II. was, that he had more impudence than ten carted
 whores) treated the good bishop with all the ill manners and ill
 nature he was capable of; and after the most submissive beha-
 viour, that Christianity had the power to inspire into any breast,
 accompanied, however, with all the freedom and boldness, that
 innocence could infuse in it's own defence, he was sentenced
 to silence, and both himself, and doctor Sharp (without a judicial
 hearing) illegally suspended from their functions.

Their pro-
 ceedings a-
 gainst the
 bishop of
 London,

And doctor
 Sharp.

There

1686.

A camp
form'd on
Hounslow
heath.

Endeavours
to seduce the
soldiery in
vain.

Punishment
of Mr.
Johnson.

An ambas-
sador sent
to Rome.

There is no stopping a torrent, nor a bowl cast down hill, till it comes to the bottom. These bold, but illegal, successes, therefore, only whetted the king's popish counsellors on to their own destruction, and pushed them forward to farther fatal experiments. Such breaches of the law caused, however, daily murmurings; and, notwithstanding every coffee-house was furnished with spies, there was hardly one found in the city, where people did not freely speak their mind, and censure these proceedings. To put a curb to these liberties of the subject, it was held necessary, by the king's popish council, to make proper provisions for the maintenance of that arbitrary power, they had so illegally grasp'd into their hands. To that end, and the better to intimidate all such as might be willing and ready to oppose their measures, an army, of about 1600 Men, was drawn together, and encamped on Hounslow-heath; and to seduce the soldiery, with the greater ease (for not a third part of them were papists) a chappel was erected in the head-quarters, where mass was publickly held forth every day. This had, however, little effect with the soldiery, nor did I ever hear that many proselytes were gained. The fear of infection was, nevertheless general, and Mr. Samuel Johnson, a clergyman, to prevent the consequences of it, as much as in him lay, drew up a plain, but pathetick address, entitled, '*An address to the English protestants in king James's army,*' which he printed, and took care to have dispersed among the soldiers. This so irritated the king, and his precipitate advisers, that, whatever effect it had on those it was directed to, it gave his majesty, and his favorites, a new opportunity of gratifying their revenge: Johnson was immediately imprisoned, and arraigned at the king's bench bar, before Sir Edward Herbert, who sentenc'd him to stand thrice in the pillory, to pay a fine of 500 marks, and to be whip'd from Newgate to Tyburn; which latter, in particular, was perform'd with so great severity, and in such a deplorable manner, as was of no great service to their cause: but before this sentence was executed, he was brought before the high commission-court, and formally degraded.

All these things, however indiscreet as well as illegal, were but the bare earnest of more egregious tyrannies and follies. Change of religion was now made the only step to preferment, and all who adhered to their old principles were soon discharged the royal service; and so eager were the popish party in the pursuit of their design, that they now thought all obstacles removed, and began to raise trophies, before they had any real tokens of a victory. An ambassador was sent to Rome, in the name of king James, under pretence of reconciling England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the obedience of the holy see. Mass-houses were almost as numerous as parish churches, and popish schools and seminaries

feminaries swarm'd in and about the city. Colleges were attempted to be garbled, and immemorable foundations broken in upon, against oath and conscience, to make room even for profligates, if new converts; without regard how deserving the character of the incumbent, or how vile the qualities of the intended successor were. To say the latter had changed his religion, was sufficient to entitle him to a fellowship not vacant; and to say the former was a person of piety, learning and sobriety, was enough to dispossess him of all he had legally in his possession.

1686.

I have already hinted, that king James assumed a dispensing power, in defiance of the laws. The fourth of April, of this year, the king published a declaration, allowing liberty of conscience to all his subjects, suspending and dispensing with the penal laws and tests, and even with the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, on admission into offices, civil or military. Tho' this was certainly designed to countenance his indulgences to those of his own persuasion; yet the dissenters, of every denomination, being tempted by the golden hook, swallowed the bait to their own destruction, and addresses of thanks, for this liberty, were daily presented by them, to the king. Thus far he may be allowed to have acted; in this point, upon a right principle in policy; but whither will not the prejudicate passions of man hurry him? Not satisfied with this, tho' much more than the laws allowed him, he back'd that declaration, the year following, in the month of May, by an order of council, commanding it to be read in the time of divine service, in all churches and chappels, in London and Westminster, and ten miles distance, upon the twentieth, and seven and twentieth of that month, and in all other churches and chappels of the kingdom, on the third and tenth of June; and that the bishops should cause the said declaration and order of council, to be sent and distributed in their respective dioceses, to be read accordingly. This certainly was outdoing all that had been done before. It was, in a manner, tying down the necks of the clergy to the very yoke itself. Or rather, if the clergy could have spoken plain English, they might justly have said, his majesty would now no longer allow them to be accomplices only, in the intended ruin of the nation, but would take care they should be principals. This order, therefore, sufficiently alarmed the whole nation; nor was there any sincere well-wisher to our constitution, that was not heartily convinc'd of the bad intention of the court.

The king dispenses with the penal laws and tests.

1687.

An order of council, thereupon, ordered to be read in all churches, &c.

However, upon a meeting, at the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, of most of the eminent divines in and about London, after imploring the divine assistance, by publick prayer, it was agreed, That the matter of the declaration was altogether illegal, the foot upon which it stood, being a power not only to dispense, in contingent and particular cases, (which, if the legislator could

A consultation of the clergy concerning that order.

have

1688. have foreseen, would have been provided against;) but the dispensing with all sort of laws, in cases contrary to the very design and end of making them: That such power was not properly a dispensing, but a disannulling power, highly prejudicial to the king himself; because it took away that faith and trust, which the people repose in him, when a law is made, and which they look upon as their security: That tho' every bishop and minister might not be a competent judge in such cases; nevertheless, he was a judge competent for his own private conscience, against which he ought not to go; however that this case was publicly adjudged and discuss'd in parliament, in 1672. These and many other solid reasons were at that time started and settled: however, the bishops present, wisely and conscientiously considering, that an universal refusal might be attended with the worst of consequences, and leave the flock without their shepherds, resolved upon a glorious expedient, worthy of the imitation of all future ages, as it came up to the most noble of the primitive patterns. The expedient was this, that since such a general refusal might be very inconvenient and dangerous to the church, they would take the whole load upon their own shoulders, and by making it an act of omission of their own, alone stand the brunt of the royal displeasure.

Their resolution.

The bishops petition the king.

According to this compassionate, and truly Christian resolution, a petition to the king was drawn up by the archbishop Sancroft, and signed by doctor Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph; doctor Kenn, bishop of Bath and Wells; doctor Turner, bishop of Ely; doctor Lake, bishop of Chichester; doctor White, bishop of Peterborough; and sir Jonathan Trelawny, bishop of Bristol; setting forth the bad consequence to himself and people, likely to attend their paying obedience to his order for reading the declaration in their churches, and therefore most humbly beseeching his majesty not to insist upon it. But reason was a thing, that had long forsaken him, and his councils. To go on, therefore, in the old train, king James, after having read their petition, wrathfully express'd himself in the following manner: "I heard of this before, but did not believe it; I did not expect this from the church of England, especially from some of you. If I change my mind, you shall hear from me, if not, I expect my command shall be obeyed."

The king's answer.

The bishops prosecuted:

This was a sufficient indication of what they were to trust to, without farther waiting: for king James was very well known to be very little given to changing his mind, ever since he turned papist. But tho' he had before broken in upon the laws and constitution, in many egregious points, this may be said to be the rock he split upon. Whether treachery in some of his counsellors, or a hardened blindness in all, was the cause, the prosecution

secution of the right reverend petitioners was carried on, with the utmost severity and rigour; which, however, after all the virulence and insults heap'd upon them, by the court party, terminated in a glorious triumph of the church, over popery, to the inexpressible joy of the whole nation. This a man of common understanding would have thought sufficient to have opened the eyes of the king's advisers, and reduced them to a state of thinking; but heaven had so infatuated the whole party, that the failure of this, and other projects, did but spur them on to think of new ones, and to wade deeper into the mire. The design of seducing the army having failed of success, the like was attempted on the fleet, and mass was ordered to be said on board: but there the priests narrowly escaped being thrown over-board. A Papal Nuncio was not only admitted, but caress'd, and a prince of Wales having been either born of the queen, or palm'd upon the nation (no matter which, according to our present happy constitution) this same nuncio represented the pope at his christening, in the royal chappel of St. James's.

1688.

And acquitted.

A Papal Nuncio admitted.

The itch of establishing popery in England, had now so far got the ascendant of the king, that it even stifled all ties and affections of nature. He had ever been an indulgent father to all his children, and had even a peculiar fondness for the princess Ann; yet, as soon as the popish counsels began to prevail, her royal highness became no less, nay perhaps more obnoxious to the court, than the prince and princess of Orange, who not being bless'd with issue, were not so likely to obstruct the design of setting up a popish successor, as the teeming princess of Denmark. There was a current report, that whilst the queen either was, or pretended to be with child, the princess Ann, being, one day, at her majesty's toilet, too inquisitive about that matter, she received a severe check from the imperious queen (or, as some say, she threw her glove at her royal highness's face) upon which she retired from court.

The princess of Denmark neglected by the king.

Guided by these, and the like evil counsels, the king, at length, wore out the patience of his most faithful subjects. His repeated illegal practices drew on remonstrances and petitions from every side, which met with the harshest and most insulting answers. He evidently manifested, to the whole world, that his design was no less than a total subversion of the protestant religion, together with our liberties and constitution; and to introduce in the room of them, popery, slavery, and tyranny, by means of the army he had all along kept up, and which he encreased, from time to time, chiefly with popish officers and soldiers. He refused to call a parliament, put papists into all posts, civil and military, and particularly brought popish lords, and others of that persuasion, into his privy council; with a multitude of other irregularities, which the English nation could

Other irregularities of the king, and his evil counsellors.

1688. no longer bear, and in which we shall find our hero, tho' so much his favourite, had no hand.

The lord
Churchill
no way con-
cerned in
them.
His caution.

Many instances might be given, how cautious the lord Churchill was, not to be involved in any of the king's evil counsels; but one may suffice: His lordship was sent for to the queen's pretended labour, on the tenth of June, but he had receiv'd some intimations of what was to be transacted, and, therefore, kept out of the way. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive, how his lordship, who was so near the king's person, and so much in his intimacy and favour, could possibly avoid, without giving offence, being engaged in some of these pernicious counsels; and that he was not, is as certain, as his not being so is an incontestable mark of his great wisdom and prudent conduct.

A critical
juncture for
the lord
Churchill.

Having premis'd these things, in which I have thought it necessary to be, at least, so particular, as they justify our hero's future behaviour, I now come to one of the most critical scenes of this great man's life: a scene, in which he, at once, stood in need of all that steady resolution, strict honour, and noble presence of mind, which he possess'd in a great degree of perfection, and of which we shall find many more instances, in the sequel, to carry him thro' a boisterous and tempestuous sea, with rocks and hidden shoals, on either side of him, on which, by too near an approach, the ship of his reputation or honour was in danger of splitting. On one side, the love, gratitude, and duty, which he bore to his prince and benefactor, might easily have drawn him blindly to approve and countenance all his measures, to the wronging of his conscience and honour; and the same motives of love, gratitude, and duty, which he owed to his country, its laws and constitution, which would prompt him to oppose them, must naturally load him with the imputation of the blackest ingratitude: but amidst this hard struggle in his mind, his duty to God, and his holy religion, had their just weight, and, at length, determined him what course to take.

The king's
conduct dis-
approved by
the lord
Churchill.

The lord Churchill, notwithstanding the many obligations he had to his royal master, had, I say, too innate a love for his country, to enter into, much less to applaud and farther his pernicious measures. He was too well grounded in his religion, and had too great a value for our happy constitution, not to look but with an evil eye, on the violent proceedings against the seven bishops, and other no less arbitrary practices, which I have mentioned above.

Aspersions
thrown on
his lordship.

His enemies have been very severe in censuring his conduct, on this account, and have not been contented with accusing him of ingratitude, but charge him also with treachery, to the kindest, the most indulgent, and most liberal of masters. A late historian, if what he relates of his lordship be to be credited, entirely

tirely clears him of these aspersions: this author, after having observed, that the lord Churchill was one of the earliest, who came into the scheme of inviting the prince of Orange to come over, goes on as follows: 1688.
His justification.

“ But having now named the lord Churchill, I will say a little more of him: he was a man of a noble and graceful appearance, bred up in a court with no literature: but he had a solid and clear understanding, with a constant presence of mind. He knew the arts of living in a court, beyond any man in it. He caress’d all people with a soft and obliging deportment, and was always ready to do good offices. He had no fortune to set up on: this put him upon all the methods of acquiring one; and that went so far into him, that he did not shake it off when he was in a much higher elevation: nor was his expence suited enough to his posts. But, when allowances are made for that, it must be acknowledged, that *he was one of the greatest men the age has produced. He was in high favour with the king; but his lady much more with the princess Ann.*

“ She had an ascendant over her in every thing. She was a lady of a clear apprehension, and a true judgment, a warm and hearty friend, violent and sudden in her resolutions, and impetuous in her way of speaking. She was thought proud and insolent on her favour, tho’ she us’d none of the common arts of a court to maintain it; for she did not beset the princess, nor flatter her. She staid much at home, and look’d very carefully after the education of her children.

“ Having thus opened both their characters (continues my author) I will now give an account of this lord’s engagements in this matter, for which he has been so severely censured, as guilty both of ingratitude and treachery; to a very kind and liberal master. *He never discover’d any of the king’s secrets; nor did he ever push him on to any violent proceedings: so that he was in no contrivance to ruin or betray him. On the contrary, whenever he spoke to the king of his affairs, which he did but seldom, because he could not fall in with the king’s notions, he always suggest’d moderate counsels. The earl of Galway (says my author) told me, that when he came over, with the first compliment, upon the king’s coming to the crown, he said then to him, That, if the king was ever prevail’d upon to alter our religion, he would serve him no longer, but withdraw from him: so early was this resolution fix’d in him. When he saw how the king was set, he could not be contented to see all ruin’d by him: he was also very doubtful as to the pretended birth, so he resolv’d, when the prince should come over, to go in to him; but to betray no post, nor do any thing more than the with-*

1688.

drawing himself, with such officers as he could trust with the secret. He also undertook, that prince George, and the princess Ann would leave the court, and come to the prince, as soon as was possible."

Conduct of
the lord
Churchill at
the revolution,

The history of the Revolution is so well known, and has been so fully treated of by many authors, that it would be superfluous to say more of it here, than what is necessary to illustrate the conduct of the great man whose actions I am writing.

The many provocations the king had given the nation, and the little prospect they could have of any remedy, on his side, induced, at length, many of the heads of the nation, lords spiritual and temporal, &c. to invite secretly the prince of Orange, to come over from Holland to their assistance. To one of these invitations, the lord Churchill is said to have set his hand, tho' not without great reluctance and struggle of mind. It is likewise said, that, upon this occasion, he consulted with doctor Turner, then lord bishop of Ely, and other eminent divines, who having assured him, that it was his duty to join with the many others who had invited the prince of Orange, their advice confirm'd the motives, I have already mention'd, and at last, determin'd him to do it; though at that time, seemingly contrary to his interest; for he might at least reasonably have expected still greater honours by siding with the court-party.

While the king was at Salisbury, most of the chief officers applied themselves to the earl of Feversham, desiring him to assure his majesty, "That upon any occasion, they would be ready to spill the last drop of their blood in his service; yet they could not, in conscience, fight against a prince, who was come over with no other design, than to procure the calling of a free parliament, for the security of their religion and liberties." Our historians do not positively say, that the lord Churchill was one of those who made this remonstrance; but the sequel makes it more than probable that he was. And if (as a late author says) his lordship was one of those noblemen, with whom the first persons of distinction, who went over to the prince of Orange, to Holland, corresponded, he must have been very early concerned in the great and glorious event of the revolution: this is confirm'd by a right reverend author, who roundly asserts, that admiral Russel had actually carried messages between the prince of Orange, and lord Churchill: "Nor is it to be imagined (to use the words of a more recent author in a late memorable controversy) that a person of his highness's (the prince of Orange's) prudence and sagacity, would have ventured on such an enterprize, unless he had first consulted both the prince of Denmark and lord Churchill, nay perhaps unless he had first seen their hands and seals, at the bottom of the invitation, which was sent over under the title of a memorial

“ memorial to the prince and princess of Orange. This being
 “ allowed (continues my author) we can scarce avoid conclu-
 “ ding, that both the princess and lady Churchill were in the
 “ secret.” Nay it will even appear, in the sequel, that the
 princess made preparations for her escape when her person or
 liberty should be in danger, many weeks before she left White-
 hall.

1688.

By this, the king might very well perceive, how little he was
 to depend on his army; and his general, the lord Feverham,
 might well understand, that none of the chief officers would
 stand by him. Before all other, he, in a more especial manner
 suspected the lord Churchill, who then commanded a brigade of
 5000 men; he, therefore conjured his majesty, together with
 colonel Windham, to have him secured, for a terror to the
 rest; but could, by no means, prevail upon the king to do it;
 whether on account of the affection he ever bore him, and the
 hope he might thence conceive, that this lord would never for-
 sake him; or whether his majesty might be apprehensive, that
 such a rigorous proceeding might occasion a mutiny in his
 army, I shall not pretend to determine.

His lordship, whether he had any knowledge, or was under
 apprehension of any design against him, or whether he had be-
 fore concerted his measures (which is most probable) tho’ this
 might hasten them, went over, the next day, to the prince of
 Orange, with as many as were willing to follow him; among
 whom were the duke of Grafton, colonel Berkly, and four or
 five captains of his regiment of dragoons. At his going away,
 he sent the following letter to the king, which, as it shews how
 tender he was of his honour, and how much he had at heart
 the interest of his country, I shall insert it at large; only first
 observing, that the reason he alledges for his conduct is much the
 same that Brutus gave for joining against Cæsar.

S I R,

“ S I N C E men are seldom suspected of sincerity, when they act
 “ contrary to their interests: and tho’ my dutiful behaviour
 “ to your majesty, in the worst of times (for which I acknowledge
 “ my poor services much overpaid) may not be sufficient to in-
 “ cline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet,
 “ I hope, the great advantage I enjoy under your majesty,
 “ which I can never expect in any other change of government,
 “ may reasonably convince your majesty, and the world, that
 “ I am acted by a higher principle, when I offered that violence
 “ to my inclination and interest, as to desert your majesty, at
 “ a time when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obe-
 “ dience from all your subjects; much more from one, who
 “ lies under the greatest obligations to your majesty. This, sir,

The lord
 Churchill's
 letter to king
 James.

1688. " could proceed from nothing, but the inviolable dictates of my
 " conscience, and a necessary concern for my religion (which no
 " good man can oppose) and with which, I am instructed, no-
 " thing ought to come in competition. Heaven knows, with
 " what partiality, my dutiful opinion of your majesty has hi-
 " therto represented those unhappy designs, which inconsiderate
 " and self-interested men have framed against your majesty's true
 " interest, and the protestant religion: but as I can no longer
 " join with such, to give a pretence, by conquest, to bring
 " them to effect; so I will always, with the hazard of my
 " life and fortune (so much your majesty's due) endeavour to
 " preserve your royal person, and lawful rights, with all the
 " tender concern, and dutiful respect that becomes, &c."

The king's
 behaviour at
 reading his
 lordship's
 letter.

This defection (as it was call'd) of the lord Churchill's is said to have surpriz'd and dishearten'd the king more than all that had happen'd to him before. At reading the lord Churchill's letter, the king could not forbear fetching a deep sigh, which probably proceeded from a conviction of conscience, that the reasons alleg'd by his lordship were but too well grounded. He turn'd to the lord Feversham, who stood near him, and said: " Feversham, I little expected this severe stroke; but you, my
 " lord, form'd a right judgment of the person, and his inten-
 " tions, when you propos'd to me yesterday to secure him, and
 " the rest of the fugitives. I have nothing to do now, but to
 " throw myself into the hands of providence; since I can have
 " no dependance on my troops, who, without doubt, are cor-
 " rupted by the evil instructions of their disloyal officers." His majesty's refusal of securing the lord Churchill, when urg'd to to it by the lord Feversham, shews he plac'd an entire confidence in him; and his lordship being a person on whom the king had bestowed distinguishing marks of his favour, and whom (as we have seen above) he had rais'd to be a lieutenant-general, a captain of a troop of life-guards, and a gentleman of his bed-chamber, his majesty might, with reason, expect a more than ordinary strictness of loyalty and fidelity on his side. And, without doubt, these ties, added to the great advantages he enjoy'd under so indulgent a master, would have sufficiently secur'd him to his interest, had not " the inviolable dictates of his
 " conscience, and a necessary concern for religion, justly over-
 " balanced all other considerations."

I have been the more particular in relating the circumstances of these transactions, that I might thereby fully justify his lordship's conduct, and clear him from all aspersions; especially from that groundless report, of which we find an account in *Father Orleans*, and which some of his rankest enemies, by malicious insinuations, rais'd: because we shall find, they were, here-

hereafter, trump'd up, with the most false and base aggravations, when he was in disgrace, viz. "That he had a design to have seized, and carried off the king with him, to the prince of Orange;" and that this design was concerted with colonel Kirk, who commanded at Warminster; but that the execution of it had been prevented by his majesty's being hinder'd from going to that place, as he intended, by a violent bleeding at the nose, which nothing could stop but the breathing one of his veins. The lord Churchill, and his companions, joined the prince at Axminster, twenty miles from Exeter.

1688.

About the same time, and, on the same occasion, her royal highness, princess Ann of Denmark, withdrew herself from court, under conduct of his lady, who, at that time, as long afterwards, was her greatest favorite, and groom of the stole, having, as I have said above, served her before she was married to the prince of Denmark. Her royal highness, with the lady Churchill, and the lady Berkley, two ladies who made the brightest figure at her court, both for their wit and beauty, had privately taken coach, at the bishop of London's house, in Aldersgate-street; from whence they went directly to Nottingham, attended by that prelate, the earl of Dorset, and about forty horsemen. At Nottingham, the earl of Devonshire gave her a guard of two hundred men, by whom she was safely conducted to Oxford, where prince George, her royal consort, who had withdrawn before, soon after met her, with a detachment of the prince of Orange's forces.

The lord Churchill joins the prince.

The prince and princess of Denmark withdraw. Some circumstances of the manner of their withdrawing.

This is the account that has generally been given of this matter by our historians; but as that given by a late author, tho' it agrees in the main, differs in some circumstances, I shall add it: "Soon after (the lord Churchill left the king) prince George, the duke of Ormond, and the lord Drumlanerick, eldest son of the duke of Queensbary, left him, and came over to the prince, whom they join'd, at the earl of Bristol's house, at Sherburn. When the news came to London, the princess was so struck with the apprehensions of the king's displeasure, and the ill effects it might have, that she said to the lady Churchill, she could not bear the thoughts of it, and would leap out at window, rather than venture on it. The bishop of London was then lodg'd, very secretly, in Suffolk-street; so the lady Churchill, who knew where he was, went to him, and concerted with him, the method of the princess's withdrawing from court. The princess went sooner to bed than ordinary; and, about midnight, she went down a back-stairs, from her closet, attended only by the lady Churchill, in such haste, that they carried nothing with them. They were waited for, by the bishop of London, who carried them to the earl of Dorset's, whose lady furnished them

Another account thereof.

1688.

“ with every thing ; and so they went northward, as far as Northampton, where that earl attended on them, with all respect, and quickly brought a body of horse, to serve for a guard to the princess. And in a little while, a small army was formed about her, who chose to be commanded by the bishop of London ; of which (says my author) he too easily accepted.”

The effect
of their re-
treat.

The sudden retreat of her royal highness from London, and the secrecy with which it was managed, gave occasion, at first, to various surmises ; and if a letter, supposed to be written by her to the queen, shewing the reasons of her retreat, had not been produced, it was believed the king's own guards would have joined with the enraged mob, and torn the Popish party to pieces, upon a surmise, that they had either made away with her royal highness, or confined her in the Tower. This surmise gain'd the more credit, because it had been reported, some time before, that the queen had treated her very rudely, and proceeded so far as to strike her.

Some farther
circumstances
of these
matters.

The following farther circumstances, not being so generally known, and having some regard to the lord Churchill and his lady, I shall add, “ About six weeks, (says my author) before the princess left Whitehall, she had order'd a private staircase to be made, under pretence of a more commodious passage to the lady Churchill's lodgings, but in reality, that she might make her escape that way, when her person or liberty were in danger. The night before her royal highness withdrew, the lord chamberlain had orders to apprehend the ladies Churchill and Berkley ; but the princess desiring him to defer executing those orders, till she had spoken to the queen, the lord chamberlain did so accordingly. (*It was therefore high time for the princess to think of withdrawing*) Not long after the news came, that the prince, with the duke of Ormond, was gone to the prince of Orange, her royal highness's women, entering her chamber, to acquaint her with it, in the morning, were surprized to find she was not in the bed, where they had left her the night before. They thought, at first, some misfortune had befallen her ; and the people whom she was to make happy, in her most glorious reign, and to whom her royal person was dear, threatned to pull down Whitehall, till they heard that she was safe, and gone Northward.

“ His highness, the prince, left the king at Andover. As soon as his departure was known, several parties were sent after him, with orders to take him at any rate. The envoy of Denmark, who was summon'd to council, on that occasion, and was no very great friend to the revolution, would
“ have

“ have it mention’d in those orders to take him *dead or alive*; 1688.
 “ telling the king, *it was his own fault that he was gone; for*
 “ *he had put no body about him but traitors, and would not*
 “ *let him have a foreigner, or any one else of his own chusing.*
 “ The king replied, *it was the lord Churchill’s fault, who*
 “ *made him believe, that such and such would be agreeable to*
 “ *him.* As soon as it was known, that the lord Churchill was
 “ gone to the prince of Orange, the king was advised to have
 “ mr. Griffin, the prince’s secretary seiz’d, he being his lord-
 “ ship’s great friend, and having an influence over the prince.
 “ His majesty consenting to it, spoke of it to his highness, who
 “ replied, *that the king had given him to Him, and was the*
 “ *master*: but orders for seizing him, being deferr’d till eve-
 “ ning, the prince gave mr. Griffin notice of it, and he made
 “ his escape.”

When king James II. left London, and went to Feversham in order to embark for France, the prince of Orange, who was advanced with his army, as far as Henly, dispatch’d the lord Churchill, for whom he profess’d to have a particular esteem and value, thither, to reassemble his troop of horse-guards: This commission he performed with as much prudence as readiness, and he returned to the prince to give him an account thereof, and of the state of affairs in the city.

He was, likewise, among those peers, who met at Westminster, the twenty-first of December, and signed the association, The lord Churchill signs the association,
 “ To stand by one another, in pursuing the ends of the prince
 “ of Orange’s declaration; and that, if any attempt should be
 “ made on his person, it should be revenged on all, by whom,
 “ or from whom, any such attempts should be made.” The
 number of lords spiritual and temporal, who were assembled on this occasion, was about seventy: all of whom signed it, excepting four temporal lords, and all the bishops, but the bishop of London, who set his hand to it. This association was the same as that which the nobility and gentry had already sign’d at Exeter. It was said, that the bishops refused signing it chiefly on account of the word *revenge*, which was afterwards changed for that of *punishment*.

He was also, one of the peers, who, on the 25th of December address’d his highness, “ To take upon him the administration of the publick affairs both civil and military, and
 “ the disposal of the publick revenue, for the preservation of
 “ our religion, rights, laws, liberties and properties, and of the
 “ peace of the nation, &c.” And to undertake and exercise this administration, till the meeting of the intended convention, on the twenty-second of January ensuing; at which time
And concurs in addressing the prince to take the administration,

1688. they doubted not, but such proper measures would be taken, as would abundantly conduce to the establishment of these things, upon such sure and legal foundations, that they might not be in danger of being again subverted. This address was sign'd by above sixty (some accounts say ninety) Peers. And was followed, the seven and twentieth, by the like address from an assembly of Commons, who had served in parliament, and of the lord mayor, court of aldermen, and common council of the city of London, who met at the prince's desire, expressed in a paper issued out by him, for that purpose.

END of the Second BOOK.



BOOK



BOOK III.

TRANSACTIONS *during the Reigns* *of King WILLIAM and Queen* *MARY, and of King WILLIAM III.*

CHAP. II.

TRANSACTIONS *during the Reign of King* *WILLIAM and Queen MARY.*



S I am not writing a history of the reign 1689.
of king William and queen Mary, I shall
only just hint at two or three circumstances, ^{Some cir-}
which happened previous to the meeting of ^{cumstances}
the convention which gave birth to it. ^{previous to}
^{the accession}
Money being wanted to discharge the ar- ^{of king}
rears of the English army, the city of Lon- ^{William and}
don advanced 200,000 l. for that purpose; ^{queen Mary.}

of which sir Samuel Dashwood alone, to his eternal honour,
lent 60,000 l.

The archbishop of Canterbury, who at first declined waiting
on the prince of Orange, at last sent a compliment to the prince,
and with seven or eight bishops more, sign'd the association,
after some words were softned in it, which had given them un-
easiness: and, about the same time, ninety dissenting ministers
attended the prince,

The

1689.

The elections for the members of the convention proceeded with all imaginable freedom. The electors gave their votes according to their own inclinations, without any solicitations from the prince, or his friends: and to take away all pretence of compulsion or influence, the prince had removed all the soldiers, to a certain distance from the places of election.

The prince, considering, in the mean time, that the convention was to settle the government, thought proper to send for the princess, since if, as it was very likely, the convention should declare the throne vacant, no person had a juster pretension to it than she.

On the prince of Orange's taking the administration upon him, in pursuance of the two addresses mentioned in the foregoing book, he immediately made the lord Churchill lieutenant-general of his forces; and, as his highness resolved to remodel the army, he first caused a review to be made of all the troops, and then gave directions to the lord Ranelagh, their paymaster, to pay them their arrears, and to the lord Churchill, to reform eight of the new-raised regiments, viz. five of horse, and three of foot, as far as it extended to their officers; but to keep in those who had served before, and were willing to be employ'd by his highness. Besides this reform, the fourth troop of life-guards was disbanded, to make room for the Dutch life-guards; and some alterations being made in the command, the regiment of major-general Oglethorp was given to the lord Churchill's brother.

The English
army new-
modelled.

Saying of
the lord
Macclesfield
on this oc-
casion.

On occasion of this reform, the following story is related, in honour to the earl of Macclesfield. "The lord Churchill having disbanded his son's, the lord Brandon's, regiment, the earl asking him the reason, his lordship said, It was one of the new levies, and, besides, his son had raised it, with a design to serve against his highness. The earl of Macclesfield replied, That he had, indeed, pass'd for a rebel, because king James would have it so: but God be thank'd, he had never been a traitor, and if his son had prov'd one, he himself would have been his hangman."

It was observed, that, on the debates in the house of lords, from the eight and twentieth to the thirty-first of January, about the vacancy of the throne, when, on the last of these days, the memorable question was put, "Whether king James, having broke that original contract between him and his people, and deserted the government, the throne was thereby vacant;" the lord Churchill was not present, on account of some indisposition; tho' many believed the indisposition was only feign'd, because he had no mind to give his vote in that grand and critical affair, wherein he must either disoblige the prince of Orange, or the princess of Denmark. He came, however, afterwards, on
the

1689.

the 6th of February, into the question, "That the throne was vacant, and that the prince and princess of Orange should be declared king and queen of England, and of all the dominions thereunto belonging." This memorable question was carried by sixty-five voices against forty-five, and it is highly probable, that his lordship and others, who had been for the princess of Denmark's right and interest, had her consent to come into this question; her royal highness preferring the publick good before her private interest, out of the great concern she ever had for the preservation of the Protestant religion, and of the laws and liberties of England. One of our historians does the lady Churchill (a person, says he, distinguished by her prevailing wit, and those personal accomplishments for which her sex are generally admir'd) the honour of having, by her mediation, contributed not a little towards bringing her royal highness to this happy disposition.

About the seventh of February, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, assembled at Westminster, presented to the prince and princess of Orange, by the right honourable the marquis of Hallifax, speaker to the house of Lords, a declaration concerning the misgovernment of king James, and filling up the throne; in which they enumerate the complaints and grievances of the nation, by means of such misgovernment of king James; and then declaring the several actions of the said king which they deem'd to be illegal, and what ought or ought not to be done, to make the government of England legal, and to procure redress of all grievances they proceed to *claim, demand, and insist upon* all and singular the premises, as their *undoubted rights and liberties*, and that no declarations, judgments, doings or proceedings to the prejudice of the people, in any of the said premises, ought, in any wise, to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. To which demand of their rights, they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of the prince of Orange: and having, therefore, an entire confidence, that his said highness, the prince of Orange, will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights and liberties,

The said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons assembled at Westminster, do resolve,

"That William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be and be declared, king and queen of England, France and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions, to them the said prince and princess, during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the

"sole

1689.

“ sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in and executed by the said prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess, during their joint lives: and after their deceases, the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess, and for default of such issue, to the princess Ann of Denmark, and the heirs of her body, and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange.

“ And the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, do pray the said prince and princess of Orange to accept the same accordingly.

To which declaration of both houses, his majesty was pleas'd to give the following most gracious answer.

My lords and gentlemen,

“ **T**HIS is certainly the greatest proof of the trust you have in us, that can be given, which is the thing that maketh us to value it the more, and we thankfully accept of what you have offered. And as I had no other intention of coming hither, than to preserve your religion, laws and liberties, so you may be sure, I shall endeavour to support them, and shall be willing to concur with any thing that shall be for the good of the kingdom, and do all that is in my power to advance the welfare and glory of the nation.”

The thirteenth of February, their majesties were accordingly proclaimed, and the following proclamation made publick.

“ **W**HEREAS it hath pleased Almighty God, in his great mercy to this kingdom, to vouchsafe us a miraculous deliverance from Popery and arbitrary power; and that our preservation is due, next under God, to the resolution and conduct of his highness the prince of Orange, whom God hath choen to be the glorious instrument of such an inestimable happiness to us and our posterity: and being highly sensible, and fully persuaded, of the great and eminent virtues of her highness the princess of Orange, whose zeal for the Protestant religion, will, no doubt, bring a blessing along with her upon this nation: and whereas the lords and commons now assembled at Westminster, have made a declaration, and presented the same to the said prince and princess of Orange, and therein desired them to accept the crown, who accepted the same accordingly: We therefore the lords spiritual and temporal and commons, together with the lord mayor and citizens of London, and others the commons of

King William and queen Mary's accession to the throne.

1689.

" this realm, do, with a full consent, publish and declare, according to the said declaration, William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, to be king and queen of England, France and Ireland, with all the dominions, places and territories thereunto belonging: who are accordingly so to be owned, deemed, accepted and taken, by all the people of the aforesaid realms and dominions, who are from henceforth bound to acknowledge and pay unto them all faith and true allegiance, beseeching God, by whom kings reign, to bless king William and queen Mary, with long and happy years to reign over us.

" God save king William and queen Mary.

The day following, the lord Churchill was sworn of their first privy council, and made one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, together with the duke of Ormond, the earl of Oxford, the lord Mordaunt (afterwards earl of Peterborough) the lord Lumley (afterwards earl of Scarborough) and mr. Sidney, who was created earl of Romney.

The lord Churchill made privy counsellour, and gent. of the bed-chamber.

The ninth of April, being two days before their majesties coronation, among many other titles and honours bestow'd, about that time, on several noblemen and others, his lordship's faithful services were rewarded, by his being advanced to the dignity of earl of Marlborough, and, accordingly, he attended at their majesties coronation, in that quality.

Created earl of Marl.

As yet, there was no open war declared against France: but the reception of king James, in the French court, and his transporting French forces into Ireland, soon made it necessary, and it was expected abroad, as well as desired at home. Under this disposition, on the six and twentieth of April, the house of commons waited on his majesty, in a body, at Whitehall, and humbly address'd him for a war with France. The king, being well assured of the assistance of the commons, acquainted the lords with his intention, of speedily declaring war against France. Whereupon their lordships, on the seventh of May, unanimously resolved to serve and assist his majesty therein, to their utmost power. The same day, their majesties declaration of war against the French king was solemnly proclaimed; and as it is in a masterly form (said to be drawn up by mr. Sommers) and shews the grounds upon which this just war was begun, I shall give my readers a copy of it, at large.

WILLIAM R.

" I T having pleased Almighty God, to make us the happy instrument of rescuing these nations from imminent dangers, and to place us upon the throne of these kingdoms; we think

of war against France.

1689.

“ think ourselves obliged to endeavour, to the uttermost, to promote the welfare of our people : which can never be effectually secured, but by preventing the miseries that threaten them from abroad.

“ When we consider the many unjust methods the French king hath, of late years, taken, to gratify his ambition : that he has not only invaded the territories of the Emperor, and the Empire, now in amity with us, laying waste whole countries, and destroying the inhabitants, by his armies ; but declared war against our allies, without any provocation, in manifest violation of the treaties confirm'd by the guaranty of the crown of England ; we can do no less than join with our allies, in opposing the designs of the French king, as the disturber of the peace, and the common enemy of the Christian world.

“ And besides the obligations we lye under, by treaties with our allies, which are a sufficient justification of us, for taking up arms, at this time, since they have called upon us so to do, the many injuries done to us, and to our subjects, without any reparation, by the French king, are such, that (however, of late years, they were not taken notice of, for reasons well known to the world, nevertheless) we will not pass them over, without a publick and just resentment of such outrages.

“ It is not long since the French took licenses from the English governour of Newfoundland, to fish in the seas upon that coast, and paid a tribute for such licenses, as an acknowledgment of the sole right of the crown of England to that island : and yet, of late, the encroachments of the French upon our said island, and our subjects trade and fishery, have been more like the invasions of an enemy, than becoming friends, who enjoyed the advantages of that trade only by permission.

“ But that the French king should invade our Caribbee islands, and possess himself of our territories of the province of New-York, and of Hudson's-Bay, in a hostile manner, seizing our forts, burning our subjects houses, and enriching his people with the spoil of their goods and merchandizes, detaining some of our subjects under the hardship of imprisonment, causing others to be inhumanly killed, and driving the rest to sea, in a small vessel, without food and necessaries to support them, are actions not becoming even an enemy : and yet he was so far from declaring himself so, that, at that very time, he was negotiating here, in England, by his ministers, a treaty of neutrality and good correspondence in America.

“ The proceedings of the French king against our subjects in Europe are so notorious, that we shall not need to enlarge on them : his countenancing the seizure of English ships by

“ French

French privateers; forbidding the importation of great part
of the product and manufactures of our kingdom, and im-
posing exorbitant customs upon the rest, notwithstanding the
vast advantage, he, and the French nation, reap by their
commerce with England, are sufficient evidences of his de-
sign to destroy the trade, and consequently, to ruin the navi-
gation, upon which the wealth and safety of this nation very
much depends.

The right of the flag, inherent in the crown of England,
has been disputed by his orders, in violation of our sovereign-
ty of the narrow seas, which, in all ages, has been asserted by
our predecessors, and we are resolved to maintain, for the ho-
nour of our crown, and of the English nation.

But that which most nearly touches us, is, his unchristian
prosecution of many of our English protestant subjects, in
France, for matters of religion, contrary to the laws of na-
tions, and express treaties; forcing them to abjure their re-
ligion, by strange and unusual cruelties; and imprisoning
some of the masters and seamen of our merchant ships, and
condemning others to the galleys, on pretence of having on
board, either some of his own miserable protestant subjects, or
their effects. And lastly, as he has, for some years last past,
endeavour'd, by insinuations and promises of assistance, to
overthrow the government of England; so now, by open and
violent methods, and the actual invasion of our kingdom of
Ireland, in support of our subjects in arms, and in rebellion
against us, he is promoting the utter extirpation of our good
and loyal subjects in that our kingdom.

Being, therefore, thus necessitated to take up arms, and
relying on the help of Almighty God, in our just under-
taking; we have thought fit to declare, and do, hereby, de-
clare war against the French king; and that we will, in con-
junction with our allies, vigorously prosecute the same, by
sea and land (since he hath, so unrighteously, begun it;) be-
ing assured of the hearty concurrence and assistance of our
subjects, in support of so good a cause. Hereby willing
and requiring our general of our forces, our commissioners
for executing the office of high admiral, our lieutenants of
our several counties, governours of our forts and garrisons, and
all other officers and soldiers under them, by sea and land, to
do and execute all acts of hostility in the prosecution of this
war, against the French king, his vassals and subjects, and to
oppose their attempts. Willing and requiring all our subjects
to take notice of the same, whom we henceforth strictly for-
bid to hold any correspondence or communication with the
said French King, or his subjects. And because there are
remaining

1689.

“ remaining in our kingdom, many of the subjects of the French king ; we do declare and give our royal word, that all such of the French nation, as shall demean themselves dutifully towards us, and not correspond with our enemies, shall be safe in their persons and estates, and free from all molestation and trouble, of any kind.

“ Given at our court at Hampton-court, the seventh day of May, 1689. in the first year of our reign.

The earl of Marlbro' commands his majesty's forces in the Netherlands.

Soon after, the affairs of the nation, and the sitting of the parliament, requiring his majesty's presence in the kingdom, he thought the earl of Marlborough the most proper person to head his forces in the Netherlands. His lordship landed at Rotterdam, the seven and twentieth of May, N. S. and proceeding to Maastricht, arrived there the second of June. After having held a conference here, with the prince of Waldeck, on the operations of the campaign, they both set out, the next day, for the camp.

Battle of Walcourt.

The confederates, being much inferior to the enemy in strength, were obliged to act only on the defensive : they were encamp'd near a little town call'd Walcourt, in such manner, that there was no attacking them without first taking that place. The French having, therefore, attack'd Walcourt, the five and twentieth of August, N. S. the earl of Marlborough, who, with the English troops under his command, made part of those, who guarded the main pass, distinguish'd themselves in a very particular manner, and gave a great relief to the commander in chief of that post. In short, they made such a continual and terrible fire on the French, in flank, as not only saved the whole army, and gave them an opportunity to make an orderly retreat ; but, at last, obliged the enemy, who perceived they had engaged themselves too far, to draw off their troops in great haste and disorder, and to leave behind them some cannon and ammunition, and near 2000 officers and soldiers, kill'd and wounded ; with the loss of about 300 men only, on the side of the allies.

The earl's gallant behaviour there.

Noble testimony of the prince of Waldeck.

The earl's conduct, on this occasion, was so remarkably prudent, that the prince of Waldeck made him the highest compliments thereupon, and told king William, “ That he saw into the art of a general, more in one day, than others did in a great many years.”

Testimony of the enemy.

The French, who were not yet so well acquainted with the courage and conduct of the earl, as they were afterwards, so their cost mention the courage of the English, in this action ; and one of their authors, in particular, takes notice of the guards, and two English regiments, commanded by lieutenant-general Malborck. They allow, that they found their design of forcing Walcourt,

Walcourt, in order to come at the confederate army, in open field, impracticable, and that they were obliged to draw off their troops; but pretend they did it in the greatest order: and the author abovementioned, gives a long list of officers kill'd and wounded in this action. He likewise allows, that they had 400 common soldiers killed, and 600 wounded, and says the allies owned they lost 300 men, in this action. The loss of the French was probably greater; for according to a letter written by the prince of Waldeck, six battalions of French guards were almost wholly cut off.

1690.

I do not find that the earl of Marlborough was employed any where, in the former part of the year 1690. tho', at the unfortunate battle at Flerus, there were several battalions of English troops, particularly, one of the guards, one of Marlborough's, and one of Churchill's: but his lordship was sent, towards the latter end of the season, general of the forces which were sent from Portsmouth into Ireland, where, notwithstanding the success, king William had, the foregoing year, at and after the battle of the Boyne, in person, several towns, and in particular Limerick, Cork, and Kingfale, were yet in possession of the French and Irish, and their forces were still very numerous. This gave the friends of king James some hopes of reducing that kingdom to his obedience; but they were not a little surprized to hear, that the English fleet arrived before Cork harbour, the twenty-first of September, with some forces under the command of the earl of Marlborough.

The earl of Marlborough sent to command in Ireland.

The project of taking the two latter of these important places, in winter, was first formed by the earl. Our fleet being out, and masters of the sea, and the French naval force being retired to Brest, the earl of Marlborough, who was never so well pleased, as when in action, proposed to his majesty, who was then in that kingdom, that five thousand men, who had lain idle all the summer, in England, should be sent to Ireland; and, with the assistance of such men, as the king should order to join them, attempt to take Cork and Kingfale. The king approved of the motion, and ordered the earl to come over himself with these troops; and he left orders for about five thousand men more, that were there, to join him. Which done, he ended the campaign, and came over to Bristol, and thence to London, without having seen the earl, who was detained longer than was expected by contrary winds. Some have wondered, why the earl did not serve, under the king, in Ireland before; and it has been said, with what truth, I shall not pretend to determine, that his lordship had declin'd being in the service in that kingdom, as long as king James was there in person; but that no sooner was this unfortunate monarch departed, than he was ready to use his utmost efforts, as we shall find he

The project formed by him.

1690. did, to reduce the remainder of that kingdom to the obedience of his successor.

His lordship, being to act, in this expedition, in concert with some other troops, which were sent before, towards that part of Ireland, immediately acquainted the duke of Wirtemberg, and major-general Scravenmore, with his arrival; and, the next day, his lordship finding, that the enemy had a battery of eight guns, to oppose his entry into the harbour, he sent three boats on shoar, full of the most resolute of his men, who, by a continual fire, obliged the Irish to quit their battery.

Drives the enemy from a battery.

The twenty-third, the greatest part of the land-forces were sent up the passages, six miles from Cork, headed by the duke of Grafton; and being come, the next day, within a mile of the town, they began to mount their cannon, and to begin a formal siege, having near 600 seamen, gunners and carpenters, who did them considerable service.

Lays siege to the town.

There being a report, that the duke of Berwick designed to raise the siege, major-general Scravenmore sent a messenger to halten the duke of Wirtemberg's march, and, on the five and twentieth, order'd a party of horse to go and cover the duke's foot. The same afternoon, major-general Tettau, with a detachment of 1000 men having drawn some cannon to the Fair-Hill, resolved to attack one or both of the new forts, and new Shannon castle; but the Irish no sooner observed his men posted, in order to that design, than they set fire to the suburbs, between him and them, quitted both the forts and castles, and retired in haste into the town; upon which he possess'd himself of Shannon-castle, and planted some guns there. About the same time, major-general Scravenmore came with 1200 horse and dragoons, and took up his quarters at Kill-Abby. On the six and twentieth, the duke of Wirtemberg, with the German and Danish forces under his command, and brigadier La Meloniere, with some French and Dutch foot, joined them, according to the orders they had received.

The new fort, and Shannon-castle taken.

The duke of Wirtemberg, and the earl of Marlborough, being both lieutenant-generals, a warm dispute arose between them, concerning the chief command. The duke laid claim to it, with some heat, as a prince; but the earl, with his usual gentlemanlike temper, insisted upon its being his right, not only as he was the elder officer, but as he commanded the troops of his own nation, which were principals in the quarrel, whereas the duke only commanded auxiliaries.

Dispute between the Duke of Wirtemberg and the earl of Marlborough.

The prudent mons. la Meloniere interposing, the earl of Marlborough, lest this untimely dispute should retard the operations of the campaign, was induced, among other instances of his wise and happy conduct, to share the command with him, and, for the service of his country, desisted from a part of his just

By the earl's prudence happily comp. sed.

just right. Accordingly, the earl of Marlborough commanded the first day, and gave the word Wirtemberg; and the duke of that name commanding, the next day, gave the word Marlborough. 1690.

This difference being thus adjusted, and the enemy having, on the twenty seventh, abandon'd their works at the Cat-fort, without a blow struck, the English took possession of it, and having rais'd a battery there, they threw their bombs into the city, and play'd their cannon on the fort, from two batteries, at the same time. Being, likewise, masters of a church, Scravenmore order'd a party of men into it, who, from thence, gall'd the Irish, within the fort: all which, together with another battery, erected by Red-abbey, soon made a breach in the city-wall; and thus, by the united conduct and bravery of the commanders in chief, the besieged were soon oblig'd to demand a parly, and to give hostages for a truce; but they not accepting of the terms offer'd them, the besiegers began to play again, with their cannon, very furiously: and a considerable breach in the walls being made, they were ready to storm the town. The Danes, from the North, and four regiments of English, from the South, under brigadier Churchill, pass'd the river, up to their armpits. The grenadiers, under the lord Colchester, led the van, and marched forward with incredible bravery, tho' expos'd, all the while, to the enemy's fire. They were greatly encouraged by the gallant behaviour of the duke of Grafton, the lord O Brian, colonel Granville, and some other resolute volunteers. In this approach, however, the duke of Grafton received a wound in the shoulder, of which he soon after died. The town of Cork capitulates. The duke of Grafton receives his death's wound. Cork surrenders.

All things being now ready for a general assault, the besieged thought fit to prevent it, by beating a second parly; and at last, the earl of Tyrone, and colonel Rycaut, being sent from colonel Makilicut, governour of the place, agreed to the earl of Marlborough's conditions, which, being sign'd, the 28th of September, were as follows.

- " That the garrison, consisting of 4000 men, should be all prisoners of war, both officers and soldiers. Articles of capitulation.
- " That no prejudice should be done to them, or the inhabitants.
- " That the general would use his endeavours to obtain his majesty's clemency towards them.
- " That all the arms, as well of the inhabitants, as of the garrison, should be secured.
- " That all the protestant prisoners should be set at liberty.
- " That the old fort should be deliver'd up within an hour, and the two gates of the city the next morning.

1690.

“ And that an exact account should be given of the warlike
ammunitions and provisions in the magazines.”

The prisoners of note taken at Cork, were the earls of Clancarty and Tyrone, the governour of the place, colonel Ricaut, and several others.

The earl
prepares to
besiege
Kingsale.

As the earl was resolved to pursue this good success, he immediately sent away a detachment of horse and dragoons, under the command of brigadier Villiers, to summon the town and forts of Kingsale; and his lordship setting out himself, from Cork, the first of October, arrived the same day, at Five-mile-bridge, and, the next, before the town; which the Irish, upon his approach had set fire to, and were retired into the Old fort. He form'd his camp, the same evening, and gave directions to make his approaches towards the New fort, while major-general Tettau was ordered to attack the Old fort.

He found these two forts, which commanded the port, to be much stronger, than the plans had represented them to be; and it was reported, that his lordship himself was heard to say, if he had known their true strength, he had never undertaken the expedition, in a season so far advanced. Being, however, there, this did not discourage his dauntless and enterprizing genius; he resolved to push for it.

The Old
Fort taken
by a stratagem.

General Tettau having pass'd the river, with the troops appointed for that service, in boats, the next morning, made a feint, according to the orders given him, of storming the fort, in the weakest place, where most of the besieged were got together, and in a readiness to receive him. In the mean time, another detachment made a bold assault, in another place, where they were least expected, and, by that means, soon became masters of a bastion. While this was doing, several barrels of powder, accidentally taking fire, blew up near forty of the Irish; upon which the rest retired into an old castle, in the midst of the fort, and immediately submitted to be prisoners of war; having lost about 200 men, out of 450.

The New
Fort besieged,

The earl of Marlborough, resolved to improve this advantage; and the weather being now grown very bad, and provisions scarce, the men withal beginning to be sickly, he sent, hereupon, to summon the New Fort, which was much the stronger of the two; but the governour, sir Edward Scot, haughtily answered: *It would be time enough to talk of that a month afterwards.* Upon this, the trenches were open'd, the fifth of October, and, by the ninth, were advanced to the counter-scarp; but bad weather prevented the cannon from coming up till the eleventh. A considerable breach, and a false attack, being made, every thing was prepared for the storm; but the enemy thought fit to prevent it, by beating a parly. The fifteenth, hostages were exchanged, and the articles, being agreed on,

on, were signed about midnight. The middle bastion was to be delivered up the next morning, and the garrison, which consisted of about eleven hundred men, was to march out, the next day after, with arms and baggage, to be conducted to Limerick. They found in the fort a very considerable magazine, and plenty of all sorts of provision and liquors. 1690.
And taken
by capitulation.

The Irish never attempted to raise the siege; they drew, indeed, their forces together; and, as they durst not venture on raising it, in some measure to divert it, they put the country, the best built of any in Ireland, all around in a flame. Good effects
of these ad-
vantages.

This sea-port was called the Key of Ireland, and by the taking of this and that of Cork, an effectual stop was put to the bringing of any supplies from France, at least on the Southern coasts; and the Irish were confin'd almost to the province of Ulster, where they found more difficulties to subsist, than in any other part of Ireland.

Another good effect of this design was visible even before the troops were landed; for, upon the first news of the English fleet sailing for Ireland, count Lauzun, fearful of being block'd up at Galloway, and withal weary of the service, and glad of an opportunity to get out of it, departed thence, with the duke of Tyrconnel, mons. Boisselau, and the miserable remains of his French troops, leaving the general command of the Irish to the duke of Berwick, which afterwards fell to mons. St. Ruth.

This glorious expedition being happily brought to a conclusion, with very little loss, in almost as short a time, as, at that season of the year, the voyage itself could reasonably be expected to be made; the earl of Marlborough, having left all the troops under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg, who was commander in chief of the German and Danish troops, embarked again, and arrived at Kensington, the eight and twentieth of October. He was very favourably received by his majesty, who had the greatest opinion of his courage and conduct, and was heard to say; *That he knew no man so fit for a General, who had seen so few campaigns.* The earl of
Marlbo-
rough re-
turns to
England.

King Wil-
liam's opi-
nion of the
earl.

The earl did not, however, make any long stay in England; but, having made a report to his majesty of the state of affairs in Ireland, was immediately order'd back again thither, to continue the services he had so happily begun; which he perform'd with great vigour and fidelity. During the course of the whole winter, he prevented the excursions of the Irish rebels, who attempted to commit great ravages in the conquer'd provinces; and rais'd several forts to put a stop to their fury. He returns
to Ireland,

And does
considerable
service.

The next year, his lordship made the campaign under king William. His majesty, who had before been in Holland this spring, at the most illustrious congress, that ever had been seen at the Hague, and was return'd, after about three weeks stay, 1691.
The earl
serves under
the king in
Flanders.

1691. set out again from Kensington, the first of May, accompanied by the lord Sidney, and the earls of Marlborough and Portland. He went first to Loo, where he again shewed the favourable opinion he had of the earl of Marlborough's conduct, by sending him, and the count de Solmes, beforehand, from thence to Flanders, to put all things in a readiness for opening the campaign, and to draw the army together against his arrival.

Is sent to assemble the army.

Proposes to relieve Mons.

But is thwarted by the Dutch.

Prince Vaudemont's character of the earl.

These orders were given, upon the advice his majesty received of the designs of the French upon Mons, which his most Christian majesty afterward besieg'd, in person, and took. The earl was so assiduous in preparing for the relief of this important place; that, if the states-general had given ear to his proposals, in all appearance, the enemy would have been obliged to have quitted their enterprize, and have thought themselves happy, if they had come off so, without an entire defeat: at least, this was the opinion of prince Vaudemont; who being, some time afterwards, at Loo, gave the following glorious character of his lordship, to king William. "There is something (said the prince) in the earl of Marlborough, that is inexpressible; for the fire of Kirk, the thought of Lanier, the skill of Mackay, and the bravery of Colchester, seem to be united in his person: and I have lost my knowledge in physiognomy, which hitherto never deceived me, if any subject you have can ever attain to such military glory, as this combination of sublime perfections must one day advance him to." The prince seems to have had a prophetick spirit. His majesty, smiling, answered, *He believ'd that Marlborough would do his part to make his words good.*

The thirty-first of May, N. S. his majesty left Loo himself, and, passing thro' Breda, headed the confederate army. As nothing happened very remarkable, during this campaign, in which we find any mention made of the earl, I shall only in general observe, that our monarch disappoints Boufflers in his attempt upon Liege; but, in vain, endeavoured to bring the marshal de Luxembourg to an engagement; so that, after several marches and countermarches, the king ended the campaign, with the taking of Beaumont, left the army, the seventeenth of September, and, on the nineteenth of October, landed in England, being accompanied, among other noblemen, by the earl of Marlborough.

The earl returns with the king to England.

1692. The earl of Marlborough in disgrace.

The earl was again nominated to serve under the king, in the quality of a general officer, the next campaign; but, as his faithful services had endeared him to every well-wisher to our establish'd religion and liberties, how great was the surprize and mortification to the nation, to hear, soon after, that, when fortune seem'd to smile most favourably upon him, he was, at once, removed from his employments of lieutenant-general of

the

the infantry, which was given to colonel Talmash, colonel of the third troop of guards, that was conferr'd on the lord Colchester, and of a regiment of fusileers, which was bestowed upon the lord George Hamilton; but his place of gentleman of his majesty's bed-chamber, tho' he was depriv'd of it, remain'd vacant for a time!

Various were the causes which were assign'd for this sudden change, according to the affections people bore him; and some stories were divulged to his disadvantage, tho' with little or no grounds. His lordship's loyalty could not well be arraign'd by his worst enemies: he loved his country too well to be male-content with his king, tho' removed out of his favour, without his deserts: and it is evident, he could be no ways engag'd in the interest of his former master; since, in this very same year, when king James was about to invade England, and a formal declaration was privately handed about in his name, with a pardon annexed, for those who should return to their duty, the earl of Marlborough, by the title of lord Churchill, was excepted out of this pardon. A late controversial writer, after having copied six or seven pages of the various causes mentioned by me, to have been assign'd for this sudden change, goes on, and attempts to contradict what I here assert with regard to the earl of Marlborough being excepted out of the pardon annex'd to the declaration privately handed about in king James's name, and does it in the following manner:

Several reasons assigned for it.

"It is well known (says this author) that the very year in which lord Marlborough was disgraced, it was *universally affirmed abroad, and understood at home*, that certain great men had made their peace with king James, on the condition of inducing the nation to return to their former obedience: it was even whisper'd, that a certain admiral (then believed to be as much in the interest of king William as lord Marlborough himself, and afterwards renown'd for a signal victory over the French) was likewise one of the confederacy.

"Now, notwithstanding the exception to lord Marlborough in the general pardon, quoted above, by mr. Lediard, his lordship's name was *said to be* on this list of converts, as well as the admiral's; and the same thing was afterwards *averr'd* by sir John Fenwick, who fell a sacrifice to his own indiscreet confessions." But with great submission to this author, who is said to be a woman of quality, I humbly conceive, all this proves nothing in contradiction to what I asserted: *It was universally affirm'd abroad, and understood at home, &c.* (Qu. by whom?) *It was even whisper'd, that &c. was likewise one of the confederacy.* (Were whispers ever before admitted as evidence?) *His lordship's name was said to be on the list, &c.* (And so were, at that and every other time, many other things said,

1692. that had not a jot more of truth in them, than there is in this *ipse dixit*. But, to crown the argument, the reader is told, *that poor sir John Fenwick afterwards averr'd the same*; (and so he did many other things, without offering the least appearance of proof, or even circumstance to corroborate his assertions;) so that he fell a sacrifice to his prevarications and false accusations, rather than to his indiscreet confessions, as this suppos'd lady would have it to be believed: and in what manner the house of commons treated these confessions or prevarications we shall see in the sequel.

When my lord Marlborough retired, which was with the calmness of the old Roman dictator, he wished to be succeeded by a better servant, and one more concerned for his majesty's honour.

Some, who pretended to look narrowly into affairs, would have his disgrace owing to jealousies certain foreigners had conceived, of his not being inclined to their interests, and to make way for one of them (by some said to be count Solmes) to command in his room; but this could only affect his employment abroad. The proofs he had given of his consummate knowledge in military affairs shewed, that his majesty's English subjects merited the highest posts in the army; tho', it has been observed, they were not enough countenanc'd by the king. It was said, that all the resentment was, for the liberty he had taken to tell the king, *That tho' himself had no reason to complain, yet many of his good subjects were sorry to see his royal munificence consui'd to one or two foreign lords*. Foreign historians make no scruple to name the earls of Portland and Rochford, both Dutchmen, to be the lords here aimed at: and add, that the king turned his back upon the earl, without making any answer, and soon after sent him a dimission of all his employs, and forbid him the court. Those who ascribe the jealousy or envy of foreign officers as a reason for his lordship's disgrace, think it a confirmation of their opinion, that the earl was not employ'd again, nor called to council, till this motive ceased, and an end was put to the war, by the peace of Ryfwick.

A passage of a late author, to this purpose.

A passage of a late author seems likewise, to justify this opinion. "The king (says this author) was thought to love the Dutch more than the English, to trust more to them, and to admit them to more freedom with him. He gave too much occasion to a general disgust, which was spread, both among the English officers, and the nobility: he took little pains to gain the affections of the nation; nor did he constrain himself enough to render his government more acceptable. He was shut up all the day long; and his silence, when he admitted any to an audience, distasted them as much, as if they had been de-

nied

1692.

“ nied it. The earl of Marlborough thought, that the great
 “ services he had done, were not acknowledged nor rewarded,
 “ as they well deserved, and began to speak like a man dis-
 “ contented. The strain of all the nation almost was, that the
 “ English were overlooked, and the Dutch were the only per-
 “ sons favoured or trusted.

Notwithstanding this observation of our author, which was
 made upon another occasion, he assigns another reason for the
 earl's disgrace: it may not be amiss to give my readers his ac-
 count of it in his own words :

“ An incident (says my author) happen'd, near the end of ^{His opinion}
 “ the session of parliament, that had very ill effects, which I ^{of this mat-}
 “ unwillingly mention, because it cannot be told without some ^{ter.}
 “ reflections on the queen, whom I always honoured, beyond
 “ all the persons I had ever known. The earl of Nottingham
 “ came to the earl of Marlborough, with a message from the
 “ king, telling him, that he had no more use for his service,
 “ and therefore he demanded all his commissions. What drew
 “ so sudden and so hard a message was not known; for he had
 “ been with the king that morning, and had parted with him
 “ in the ordinary manner. It seemed some letter was intercept-
 “ ed, which gave suspicion. It is certain, that he thought
 “ he was too little considered, and that he had, upon many
 “ occasions, censured the king's conduct, and reflected on the
 “ Dutch. But the original cause of his disgrace arose from
 “ another consideration: the princess (Ann of Denmark) thought
 “ herself too much neglected by the king, whose cold way to-
 “ wards her was soon observed: after the king was on the
 “ throne, no propositions were made to her of a settlement,
 “ nor any advances of money: so she, thinking she was to be
 “ kept in a necessitous dependance on the court, got some to
 “ move in the *House of Commons*, in the year 1690, when they
 “ were in the debate concerning the revenue, *that she should*
 “ *have assignments suitable to her dignity.* This both the king
 “ and queen took amiss from her; the queen complained more
 “ particularly, that she was then ill, after her lying in of the
 “ duke of Gloucester, at Hampton-court, and that she her-
 “ self was treating her, and the young child, with the tender-
 “ ness of a mother, and that yet such a motion was made, be-
 “ fore she had tried, in a private manner, what the king intend-
 “ ed to assign her. The princess, on the other hand, said, she
 “ knew the queen was a good wife, submissive and obedient to
 “ every thing that the king desired; so she thought the best
 “ was to have a settlement by act of parliament. On the other
 “ hand, the custom had always been, that the royal family (a
 “ prince of Wales not excepted) was kept in a dependance on
 “ the king, and had no allowance, but from his meer favour
 “ and

1692. "and kindness; yet, in this case, in which the princess was put out of the succession, during the king's life, it seemed reasonable, that somewhat more than ordinary should be done in consideration of that. The act passed, allowing her a settlement of fifty thousand pounds; (which it was generally believed, was chiefly owing to my lord Marlborough's indefatigable industry;) but, upon this, a coldness followed, between, not only the king, but even the queen and the princess; and the blame of this motion was cast on the countess of Marlborough, as most in favour with the princess: and this had contributed much to alienate the king from her husband, and had disposed him to receive ill impressions of him.

"Upon his disgrace, his lady was forbid the court; the princess would not submit to this; she thought, she ought to be allowed to keep what persons she pleaded about herself; and when the queen insisted on the thing, she retired from the court. There were, no doubt, ill offices done on all hands, and there were some that pressed the princess to submit to the queen, as well as others who pressed the queen to pass it over; but without effect: both had engaged themselves, before they had well reflected on the consequences of such a breach: and the matter went so far, that the queen ordered, that no publick honours should be shewed the princess, besides many other less matters, which I unwillingly reflect on, because I was much troubled to see the queen carry such a matter so far; and the breach continued to the end of her life. The enemies of the government tried what could be made of this, to create distractions among us; but the princess gave no encouragement to them: so that this misunderstanding had no other effect, but that it gave enemies much ill-natur'd joy, and a secret spiteful diversion."

Reflections
on his opi-
nion.

Thus this author makes the original cause of the earl's disgrace, to be an incident which happened two years before; tho' during those two years, the king shewed no sign of it; but, on the contrary, gave him all marks of his esteem, and of the high opinion he had of his capacity. Perhaps this might co-operate with the other reasons alledged; and tho' the king may, during that time, have stifled his resentment on this account, in consideration of his great services; yet, when fired by new causes of displeasure, or, at least, what he thought so, it might break a-new into a flame, and help to determine his majesty to proceed in this manner. The author of the continuation of Rabin, tho' he mentions another reason, which I shall, likewise, take notice of below, seems also, to be of opinion, that this was the real, or at least principal cause of his disgrace. His lady underwent the same fate, and was likewise

(as

(as the author I just now mention'd, has also observed, forbid the court; which her royal highness, the princess of Denmark, thought a great hardship upon her. She complain'd of it to the queen; but, having no satisfaction given her, she retired herself from court, till after the death of the queen.

1692.

It was observ'd, that the very morning before the earl's disgrace, he waited upon the king, to introduce the lord George Hamilton, now earl of Orkney, to his majesty; and met with a most favourable reception: but that very afternoon, the same lord George Hamilton was, as I have been inform'd by a gentleman of worth, not only sent to acquaint his lordship, that the king had no farther occasion for his service, but succeeded him as a colonel of a regiment of fusileers. Notwithstanding all that has been said above, this sudden change in the mind of the king, makes it reasonable to believe, that some unforeseen incident at least blew up the coals, at this time, if it was not the sole occasion of his majesty's displeasure.

There has indeed been yet another reason assigned for it; but with what grounds I shall not pretend to determine; viz. That the earl had revealed to his lady a secret, which his majesty had entrusted him with: the author of the continuation of Rapiñ names this secret, and says it was a private design on Dunkirk: which it was pretended the countess discover'd to sir Theophilus Oglethorp's lady. Another reason assigned.

A late author, (suppos'd to have been a woman of quality) whom I have had occasion to mention already, is more particular in her relation of the circumstances of this supposed fact.

“ Both tradition and secret history (says she) shew us, that a design had actually been form'd upon Dunkirk, which but four persons in England were privy to: the king, lord M——h, and two more; that one of these four communicated the secret to his wife, who, as it was said, sold it to lady —— for what she could get; that, in consequence, the said design miscarried, and those concern'd in it abroad were hang'd: that, upon this, the king sent for his three confidants; and having, with some trouble, found out the leak, express'd himself, upon the occasion, in his dry way, as follows; *My Lord, you have put a greater trust in your wife, than I did in mine.*” But by what authority, (for she assigns none) does this woman of quality single out any one of the four persons who were privy to this design, more than any of the other three? and why may not one of those concern'd abroad, who suffer'd for it, be supposed to betray the secret, rather than a nobleman, against whom, for ought I have ever heard, not one probable circumstance, has so much as been alledged, much less proved, to corroborate the assertion?

That

1692.

That there was such a design form'd about this time, which miscarried, is not improbable : and, as it would not have been so very decent, either for the king, or the ministry, to have own'd either of the other reasons, which I have mention'd above ; it may not be unnatural to suppose, that whether the earl, or his lady ever had, or had not, let drop any expression tending to a discovery of this matter, that it may have been made use of as an excuse to cover the real reasons of their disgrace.

A late author says : this event might perhaps be well enough accounted for, by saying, that lord Portland had ever a great prejudice to my lord Marlborough, and that mrs. Villiers (afterwards lady Orkney) was an implacable enemy to his lady : but (continues my author) “ I think it is not to be doubted, that the principal cause of the king’s message, was the court’s dislike, that any body should have so much interest with the princess as the lady Marlborough had, who would not implicitly obey every command of the king and queen. The disgrace of the lord Marlborough, therefore, was designed as a step towards removing his lady from about her.”

Having thus mention’d the various causes which were assign’d for this event, I leave the reader to form his own judgment thereupon, which seems to be the best grounded.

Several persons of distinction interest themselves for the earl.

The earl, in the mean time, had his friends at court, and in the king’s favour, who did not cease to represent to his majesty how little he deserved such treatment. Admiral Russel, in particular, put himself in ill terms with the king, on that account, by pressing to know the grounds of the earl’s disgrace. “ He had not only (says a late author) lived in great friendship with him, but had carried the first messages, that had passed between him and the king when he went over to Holland ; he almost upbraided the king with the earl of Marlborough’s services, who, as he said, had set the crown upon his head.”

It is easy to conceive, that the countess of Marlborough must have been very sensibly affected by this sudden and unexpected change ; but how she bore it cannot be better expressed than in her own words, on a late memorable occasion ; *I solemnly protest (says she) that the loss of my lord Marlborough’s employments would never have broke my rest one single night, upon account of interest : but I confess, the being turn’d out is something very disagreeable to my temper ; and, I believe, it was three weeks before my best friends could persuade me, that it was fit for me to go to a court, which (as I thought) had used my lord Marlborough very ill.*

The earl of Marlborough put in the Tower,

Not long after, the earl of Marlborough, and some other peers, were put in the Tower, upon a false accusation of high treason, which was evidently proved to be a conspiracy of some profligate

profligate wretches, who fancied that forgeries and false swearing would be acceptable and rewarded. There was an association pretended to be drawn against the government, to which the subscriptions were set so dexterously, that those very lords themselves allow'd, they could not distinguish between their true subscriptions, and those which were forged for them. But the manner of the discovery, with several other circumstances, carried such evident marks of imposture, that the lords of the council ordered a strict prosecution of all concerned in it, which ended in a full conviction of the forgery; and those who had combined in it were whipp'd and pilloried, a punishment far from being adequate to their crime.

1692.

On account of a forged association.

The villany detected;

And the authors of it punished.

As some farther particulars of this villanous transaction may not be unacceptable to my readers, I shall give them in the words of a noble author, than whom no one can be suppos'd to have had a more genuine account; especially as it contains a farther justification of my lord Marlborough.

"Soon after the princess's going to Sion, (says my author) a dreadful plot broke out, which was said to have been hid somewhere, I don't know where, in a flower-pot, and my lord Marlborough was sent to the Tower.

"To commit a peer to prison, it was necessary there should be an affidavit from somebody of the treason. My lord R——y, therefore, s——y of s——e, had sent to one Young, who was then in goal for perjury and forgery, and paid his fine, in order to make him what they call a *legal evidence*: For as the C——rt L——rs said, Young, not having lost his ears, was an irreproachable witness. I shall not (continues my author) dwell on the story of this fellow's villany, the b——p of R——r having given a full account of it in print."

These two paragraphs are treated by this noble author's professed antagonist of her own sex, as *happy sneers*, which (adds she) "if they raise a laugh, I suppose it is all they were inserted for; and if (continues she) one bishop, for his own sake, as accused of being one of the conspirators, has disculpated lord Marlborough, together with the other peers, said to be in the same association; and if another, (Burnet) for the sake of truth, has done the same, neither of them has been hardy enough to make this forgery of Young's a device of the government's, or represent it was countenanced by a secretary of state;" from whence she would have it infer'd, that this is a strange circumstance, resting solely on a single authority; but how far this way of reasoning will bear the test, I submit to the judgment of every unprejudiced reader. But to return to our noble author, she goes on:

"Lord

1692.

Character of
Lord Romney.

“ Lord Romney was a third Son of the Earl of Leicester’s Family, and Brother to the unfortunate Algernon Sidney, who lost his Head on the Scaffold. He was reckoned one of the finest Gentlemen at King Charles II’s Court. That King sent him Envoy to the Prince of Orange, at whose Court he was in very great Esteem; but return’d when the Popish Party began to prevail, to look after the private Concerns of his Family, which began to suffer in England. About a Year before the Revolution, he made a Trip to Italy, for the interest of the Prince of Orange, and carried on divers intrigues with the Princes who were then entering into that Confederacy, under the Pretence of visiting the Carnival of Venice; and made two or three Journies in Disguise, into England. *He was, indeed, suppos’d to be the great Wheel on which the Revolution rolled.* He was very much in the Favour of King William, who made him a Colonel of his Foot-Guards, Secretary of State, Gentleman of his Bedchamber, and Warden of the Cinque Ports: He likewise once sent him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and afterwards made him Groom of the Stole, Master of the Ordnance, and Lieutenant-General of his Army. He always lived up to his Employment, and was look’d upon as a very upright Man, tho’ not of the greatest Capacity. He was likewise suppos’d to be a Person of strict Honour; but his known Faculty of promising every body, and doing nothing for any body, does not so perfectly bespeak this Character in his Favour; and he is likewise said to have been very much addicted to Drinking, insomuch that, for many Years, he hardly pass’d a Day without disguising himself. At the Queen’s Accession he lost all his Employments but that of the Foot-Guards, which he kept till his Death.”

But to return to our noble Author. She goes on:

“ Whether my Lord Marlborough’s Conspiracy with this Young was what the Q——n meant in her Letter to the P——ts, where she speaks of *the cause my Lord Marlborough had given the K——g to do what he had done, and of his Unwillingness to come to such Extremities, tho’ People did deserve it*, I know not. Nor indeed could I ever learn what Cause the King assign’d for his Displeasure. But it is natural to think, he would give the best reason he could for using in that Manner a Man who had done so much for the Revolution. Every one knows that my Lord Marlborough had considerable Employments under King James, and might have hoped to be as great a Favourite as any body, could he have assisted in bringing about that unhappy Prince’s Scheme of fixing Popery and arbitrary Power in England. It was highly improbable, therefore, that he, who had done so much, and sacrificed so much, for the Preservation of the Religion and

“ Liberty

“ Liberty of his Country, should, on a sudden, engage in a Conspiracy to destroy them. And tho’ these Considerations had no Weight with the King, they had so much with my Lord D——re, my Lord Br——rd, and the late Duke of M——u, that they thought it inf——s to send my Lord Marlborough to Prison upon such Evidence; and therefore, when the Warrant for his Commitment come to be sign’d at the Council-Table, they refused to put their Hands to it, tho’ at that Time, they had no particular Friendship for him. My Lord Br——rd’s Behaviour was very remarkable, for he made my Lord Marlborough a Visit in the Tower, while others were fearful of doing themselves hurt at Court, if they appear’d but to be known to his Lordship.”

“ The Parliament was, on this account, opened under great Disadvantages. The Peers, who had been falsely accused, were, indeed, discharged from their Imprisonment, but it was upon Bail only; so it was said to be contrary to the Nature and Freedom of Parliaments, for Prisoners to sit in it. It was confessed, that in times of Danger, and such was the foregoing Summer, it must be trusted to the Discretion of a Government, to commit such Persons as were suspected: But when the Danger was over, by our Victory at Sea, those against whom there lay nothing besides Suspicions, ought to have been set at Liberty, and this was thought reasonable. The Lords passed some Votes, asserting their Privileges; and were offended with the Judges, for detaining some in Prison, tho’ there was no Reason nor Colour for their Displeasure. But where the Privilege, or the Dignity of Peerage is in Question, it is not easy to keep the House within Bounds.

“ The Debate went off in a Bill, that indemnified the Ministry for those Commitments; but limited them, for the future, by several Rules; all which Rules were rejected by the Commons. They believed those Limitations gave a legal Power to commit, in such Cases where they were observed; Whereas they thought, the safer Way was, to indemnify the Ministry, when it was visible they did not commit any but upon a real Danger, and not to set them any Rules; since, as to the committing of suspected Persons, where the Danger is real and visible, the publick Safety must be first look’d to, and supersede all particular Laws.

The earl of Marlborough having pass’d, the Remainder of the Reign of King William and Queen Mary, in a quiet Retirement, without appearing in any remarkable Scene of Action, I shall conclude this Chapter, with just mentioning the Death of Queen Mary. This amiable, virtuous Princess died of the Small Pox, the eight and twentieth of December, 1694.

C H A P. II.

Transactions during the Reign of King WILLIAM III.

1695.
Opposition
made to the
Validity of
the King's
Title, after
the Queen's
Death;

And to the
Essence of
the same
Parliament:

But in vain.

The Earl
of Marlbro'
not con-
cern'd in
these Oppo-
sitions.

The Earl
of Marlbro'
accused by
Sir John
Fenwick;

THE Death of Queen Mary, tho' it gave Occasion to what we may call a new Reign; yet made no Alteration but in the Royal Title, which now, instead of that of William and Mary, was changed to William III. There were not, indeed wanting, restless Spirits, who, notwithstanding the Order of Succession, settled and established at the Revolution, pretended to insinuate, that the Princess of Denmark ought immediately to succeed her Sister, who alone had a Right to the Throne; and as King William acceded to it, in her Right only, that Right ceased by her Death, and of course devolved to the next Heir. These Pretences being directly opposite to an express Act of Parliament fell away of Course: But the same Party, which made this Opposition to King William's Right, being defeated in their Expectations, rais'd another Objection, which, at first View, seemed to carry something more of Reason with it, viz. That the present Parliament, having been conven'd in the Name of William and Mary, was of Course dissolved, by the Death of this Princess. This Position, had it taken Place, might, at this Time, have been of infinite Prejudice to the King and Nation. All publick Affairs must have been suspended, at a Time when every Interruption would have been pernicious. New Elections might have caused great Disorders, throughout the whole Kingdom, and a new Parliament might have been of yet worse Consequence: But it happily appear'd, that the same Act, which vested King William and Queen Mary with the Royal Dignity, vested King William with the sole and whole Administration of the Government, which fully answered this Objection, and put an End to that pernicious Project.

The Earl of Marlborough having been disgrac'd by King William, in the Manner I have described above, without any particular Cause being assign'd; and as well he, as his Countess, being so immediately attach'd to the Interest of the Princess of Denmark; it might have been expected, that he would have been at the Head of these Oppositions: But the Good of his Country was always a Consideration with him, primary to all other, and I do not so much as find him mentioned on this Occasion.

In the Year 1696. the Earl of Marlborough was again falsely accused of being in King James's Interest, by Sir John Fenwick; which happened in the following Manner.

1696.

When Fenwick was first taken, he wrote a Letter to his Lady, to inform her of his Misfortune, and acquainting her, that he looked on himself as a dead man, unless powerful Application could be made for him, or some of the Jury could be bribed to starve out the rest. This Letter was intercepted. At his first Examination, before the Lords Justices, he flatly denied every thing; but, when this Letter was shewn him, he was confounded. In his private Treaty with the Duke of Devonshire, he insisted upon an Assurance of Life, upon his Promise of discovering all he knew. This the King refused, and would have it left to himself to judge of the Integrity and Importance of these Discoveries. Fenwick resolving, therefore, to throw himself on the King's Mercy, sent his Majesty a Paper, in which, after a bare Account of the Consultations among the Jacobites, he said in general, there was in England, a settled Number of Persons to manage the Affairs of King James: And being afterwards put upon to name those Persons, and to descend to Particulars, he gave in another Writing, wherein, among other Things, he pretended, that King James, and those who were employed by him, had assured the Jacobites, that the Earls of Shrewsbury, Bath, and Marlborough, the Lord Godolphin, and Admiral Russel, were reconciled to him, and were now in his Interests, and acting for him; That Shrewsbury came again into the Office of Secretary of State, by the Operation and Consent of King James; and that his Grace was in Treaty with that Monarch, before he laid down the Seals; That the Lord Marlborough had promis'd King James some Service, which had inclin'd his Majesty to promise him his Pardon; That the Earl of Bath was to betray Plymouth, into the Hands of the French King; That Admiral Russel and the Lord Godolphin had likewise undertaken particular Services; And that Commissary Crawford had sent over to France a List of the Forces in England. These Informations, at first, startled not only the Court, but the King himself, and gained Sir John Fenwick some Time: But as he did not offer the least Appearance of Proof, or Circumstance, to corroborate his Assertions, not even that could amount to a Presumption, to support his Accusation, this pretended Discovery could, at most, go no farther than to raise the King's Jealousy of those persons; but, with every impartial Person, it could be look'd on as no more than a mean Prevarication, without any Grounds. And his shuffling Behaviour afterwards, before the House of Commons, was more than a sufficient Proof of it. As such, likewise, that House treated it; and, to do Justice to the Loyalty of these injured Noblemen, and entirely to clear them, from these false Accusations, voted; That the Papers which had been read, entitled, *Sir John Fenwick's Informations*, accusing several Peers of the Realm, of Disloyalty, were false and scandalous.

But acquitted by the Parliament.

1696.



alous, tending to the Subversion of the Government, to raise a Jealousy between the King and his Subjects, and to stifle the Truth of the Controversy. And these Prevarications are supposed to have been one great Inducement, with many Members, to concur in the Bill of Attainder, which brought him to the Scaffold.

A late Author says, Fenwick was put upon this Artifice to save his Life, or at least to gain Time, by the Earl of Monmouth, formerly known by the Name of Lord Mordaunt; who (he adds) was the Contriver of it, more out of Spleen or Revenge against certain Persons, who he thought were more favoured than he, than to serve Fenwick. To this End, he drew up certain Instructions, which he put into the Hands of the Dukes of Norfolk, to be conveyed to the Prisoner; who finding it accompanied with Threats and Promises, according to the Use he should make of those Instructions, he thereupon formed the Accusation I have given an Account of above.

The Earl
of Marlbro'
made Go-
vernour to
the Duke of
Gloucester;

It has been observed, that King William, ever after the Death of his beloved Consort, Queen Mary, of blessed Memory, had shewn a more than ordinary Fondness for the Duke of Gloucester, who was now entering on the tenth Year of his Age, and had given such Proofs of a forward Genius, that it was high Time to take him out of the Hands of the Lady Fitzharding, his Governess. The King, therefore, applied himself to the forming of a Family, and a Court, for this hopeful young Prince. It was then, that several great Men, who were the truest Patriots about the King, again represented to his Majesty, that it was Pity that so able a Man, as the Earl of Marlborough, should be laid by, as useless and forgotten, and propos'd bringing him again to the King's nearer Conversation, by persuading his Majesty to constitute him Governour to his Highness, the Duke of Gloucester. Others, indeed say, that it was merely to oblige his affectionate Mother, the Princess. Be this as it will, the King was pleased, on the nineteenth of June, tho' many others had made Interest for this important Charge, to appoint the Right Honourable, John Earl of Marlborough, to be Governour to his Highness; and that it was a Mark of the good Opinion his Majesty had for his Lordship's Zeal for his Service, and his Qualifications for an Employment of so great a Trust, that his Majesty gave him this Employ, preferable to many Competitors of the highest Distinction, is evident, because, when he deliver'd the young Prince to him, he said: *My Lord, teach him but to be what you are, and my Nephew cannot want Accomplishments:* Than which, his Majesty could not have bestowed a greater Enconium upon him. The same

same Evening, his Lordship was sworn of the Privy Council, 1698. and took his Place there, accordingly.

What Sense the Nation in general had of the Earl of Marlborough's Qualifications for so high a Trust, as Governour to the Prince, who was next to the presumptive Heir to the Crown, we may see by the following Instance of the Approbation the House of Commons express'd on this Occasion. Bishop Burnet was appointed, at the same Time, to be his Highness's Preceptor, with which her Royal Highness, the Princess, was not altogether satisfied; but the House of Commons shewed a greater Dislike of the Choice, when it being moved, whether a Scotchman, and a Person who had such Notions of Government (some added Religion too) as the Bishop had published, in a Pastoral Letter, which had been censured by that House, was qualified to be near a Prince, who was next to the presumptive Heir of the Crown? Tho', indeed, the Affirmative carried it, in Favour of the Prelate; yet it was with this Proviso, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Marlborough, and the Earl of Dorset, should overlook his Conduct.

And Privy-Counsellor. Sense of the House of Commons, with regard to the Earl of Marlbro'.

Bishop Burnet made Preceptor to the Duke of Gloucester.

The Parliament dislike him.

The Author of Bishop Burnet's Life, affix'd to the second Volume of his History of his own Times, gives, however, a very different Account of this Matter, as far as regards the Bishop, back'd by the Authority of some Letters, of which, he says, he has the Originals in his hands. To avoid the Censure of Partiality, as the above seems to cast some Reflection on the Bishop, I shall add that Account.

In the Year 1698, when it became necessary to settle the Duke of Gloucester's Family, the king sent the Earl of Sunderland, with a Message to the Princess of Denmark, acquainting her, "That he put the whole Management of her Son's Household into her Hands; but that he owed the Care of his Education, to himself, and his People, and therefore would name the Persons for that Purpose." Accordingly, the Earl of Marlborough being nominated his Governour, the Bishop of Salisbury was appointed his Preceptor. He was then retired into his Diocese, having lately lost his Wife by the small Pox. He took that Occasion, therefore, to wave the Offer of this important Charge; tho' he was assured, the Princess had testify'd her Approbation of the King's Choice. He wrote to the Earl of Sunderland, to use his Interest, that he might be excused, and in return received from him the following Letter.

His Son's Account of this Matter.

Which he endeavours to decline.

My Lord,

June 29.

A Letter from the Earl of Sunderland to Bishop Burnet.

"I Am extremely troubled for your Loss, it being, by all that I have heard, a very great one: But you must not leave serving the Publick, upon any private Consideration. I intend

1698. "tend to be in Town next Week, and if I have any Credit
 "at all, you may be assured, that you shall be sent for, and
 "shall come thither, unless you will fall out with all your
 "Friends, and with the King in the first Place. I am, with
 "great Truth,

My Lord,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

SUNDERLAND.

The Bishop wrote, likewise, to his Friend, Archbishop Tenison, desiring him to wait on the King, in his Name, and intreat his Majesty, to allow him to decline this Employment: The Archbishop replied, and offered many Arguments to persuade him to accept of it; which only produced a second Letter, stronger than the former, and to the same Purpose: To which his Grace, by King William's Direction, returned the following Answer.

Lambeth, June 28. 1698.

My Lord,

A Letter
 from the
 Archbishop
 of Canter-
 bury, to Bp.
 Burnet.

"I Received your Second, in which you seem to insist on the
 "Contents of the First; upon that Account I waited on
 "the King, not being willing to decline doing, what you so
 "earnestly press'd. The King express'd himself, with great
 "Tenderness upon this Subject; he commanded me to let you
 "understand, that he had sent for you, before this Time, if this
 "Misfortune had not happened, and that he still desires you
 "to come, as soon as with Decency you can. He looks up-
 "on you, as a Divine, who in such Cases had comforted many,
 "and thinks it will look best, not to suffer such a Cross to get
 "such Power over you, as to make you decline so publick a
 "Service. He spoke to this Effect, without my urging my
 "private Opinion, which is, what it was in my First. I
 "heartily pray for you, I pity you as my own Brother, but
 "I cannot bring myself in this to be of your Lordship's Opi-
 "nion. It is true, if no Steps had been made in this Affair,
 "your Excuse would the easier have made its Way; but
 "Things are so far advanc'd, it seems not proper to go
 "back. If upon this, that hopeful Prince shall fall into such
 "Hands, as are unfit, your Lordship would then reflect, upon
 "your having declined the Service, with Pain and Grief.
 "Pray, next Post, let me have some Answer, our good Master,
 "the King, may be pleas'd with. I am,

My Lord,

Your affectionate Brother,

THO. CANTUAR.

As

As the rest of the Bishop's Friends concurred in the same Strain, earnestly pressing him, not to refuse a Station, wherein he might do his Country such singular Service, as in the right Education of the Duke of Gloucester; he thought it might be accounted Obstinacy not to submit. He, therefore, signified his Compliance, in his Answer to the Archbishop of Canterbury; who thereupon wrote him another Letter, which I shall here insert.

1698.

Kensington, July 4. 1698.

My Lord,

LA TE last Night, the King spoke again about your coming up; the Time you mention (Friday Fortnight) he thinks much too long; he, therefore, commanded me to send an Express to you, in order to your coming up as soon as possibly you can: He having Time little enough to settle that Matter, before his going beyond the Sea, which will not now be long; because the Parliament may speedily end, perhaps this Day. He considers very graciously the Com-mendableness of your Submission, in these Circumstances, which is indeed worthy of you. Pray hasten as much as possibly you can, and may God bring you safely hither. I am,

Your affectionate Brother,

THO. CANTUAR.

P. S. *The Parliament rises To-morrow, and the King goes soon to Windsor; where you may wait on his Majesty.*

When our Prelate, upon his Arrival at Windsor, had his first Audience of the King, he assured his Majesty, it was no longer his Intention to decline so honourable an Employment, as educating a Prince so nearly related to the Crown; since his Royal Master thought him worthy of that Trust; but as the Discharge of his Duty in this Station must confine him constantly to Court, which was inconsistent with his episcopal Function, he desired Leave to resign his Bishoprick. The King was much surprized at this Proposal, to which he would by no Means consent: However, finding our Author persisted in it, he was, at length, prevailed on, to agree, that the Duke should reside all the Summer at Windsor, and that the Bishop should have ten Weeks allowed him every Year, to visit the other Parts of his Diocese.

The sixteenth of July, his Majesty declared in Council, that he intended to go over to Holland, for a short Time, and had nominated nine Lords Justices for the Administration of the Government, during his Absence, of whom the Earl of Marlborough was one. This sudden Change of Scene, in Favour of

Bp. Burnet
the Employ.

The Earl
of Marlbro'
made one of
the Lords
Justices of
England.

1698. **a Nobleman**, who had been so long absent from Court, and was look'd on as, in a Manner, forgotten, gave Occasion to many Reflections. As it was a Thing not done without the greatest Deliberation, no doubt his Majesty had his solid Reasons for it; and considering the Earl's known Integrity and Capacity, in the Management either of Civil or Military Affairs, it is rather Matter of Wonder, how the King could let him remain so long in Obscurity, and useless to his Country, which it ever was his utmost Endeavour to serve. What Prince Henry said to his Father, King James the First, concerning Sir Walter Raleigh, might, in some Measure, be applied to this Case.

The Earl of Marlbro' a second Time one of the Lord's Justices; The thirty-first of May, 1699, his Majesty, being again going for Holland, named Lords Justices of England, for the Administration of the Government, during his Absence, among whom the Earl of Marlborough was again one.

1700. **The Publick Affairs** requiring the King's Presence in Holland, And a third Time. in the Year 1700, on the 27th of June, his Majesty, among others, again, in Council, declared the Earl of Marlborough, one of the Lords Justices of England, for the Administration of the Government, during his Absence: And, the same Year, he had the Affliction, in common with the Nation (tho' on Account of his being so near his Person, in a heavier Degree) to lose his Royal Pupil, the Duke of Gloucester, who died the

Death of the Duke of Gloucester. nine and twentieth of July, a Prince of as great Hopes, as any Age had produc'd, having before his Death, under his Lordship's Tuition, discovered so manly a Genius, and such excellent Qualities, as would have verified the favourable Opinion the King had conceived of his Lordship, for this important Post.

The Earl of Marlbro' declared General of the Foot, and Commander in Chief in Holland. Upon the Death of the King of Spain, and the French King's receding from the Treaty of Partition of the Spanish Monarchy, Europe being threatned with a new War, and the King being sensible of his own declining State of Health, his Majesty was pleas'd, on the first of June, to declare the Earl of Marlborough, *General of the Foot, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in Holland.*

And appointed Ambassador & Plenipotentiary there. The 28th of the same Month, his Majesty was, likewise, pleas'd to appoint his Lordship, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, for the Negotiations at the Hague. Evident Marks, that his Majesty was fully convinced of his Lordship's extraordinary Capacity, as well in Civil as Military Affairs.

He departs with the King for Holland. His Lordship embark'd with his Majesty at Margate, the first of July, and came two Days after, to the Hague. He took his Residence in Prince Morrice's House, near the Court, which the States, out of a peculiar Respect to his Majesty, and Esteem for his Lordship, lent him, where he received the Visits of all the Foreign Ministers.

The

The nine and twentieth of August, his Lordship set out, to view the English Forces at Breda, and in other Garrisons, which had been sent, that Summer, from England, pursuant to Treaties subsisting between England and Holland. 1701.

Views the English Troops in Garrison. Returns to the Hague.

The first of September, his Lordship returned to the Hague, and, the twenty-second of the same month, having some important Matters to consult with the King, he waited on him at Loo, where his Majesty then resided. He left that place, a few Days after, and went to Breda, to prepare every Thing in the Camp, near that Place, for his Majesty's Reception. The thirtieth of September, the King reviewed the Forces, and with his chief Officers, were entertained, at Dinner, by the Earl of Marlborough, at his Lordship's Quarters. Entertains the King at his Quarters.

The third of October, the Earl set out from the Camp, and, after he had conferred with the States-general, and the foreign Ministers, at the Hague, returned to England, on the sitting of the Parliament. Returns to England.

The War, with which England was threatned, began now to approach daily, and, indeed, to become inevitable. For, upon the Death of King James II. the sixth of September, O. S. the French King took the impolitick Step (as it was generally thought to be, at that Time) to declare the young pretended Prince of Wales to be King of England, Scotland and Ireland; by which he drew upon himself, immediately, that Swarm of Enemies, which, soon after, compos'd the Grand Alliance, and which he should rather have endeavoured to keep at Bay, till the Duke d'Anjou was fix'd more firmly on the Throne of Spain. The Death of K. James. The French King proclaims the pretended Prince of Wales, King of Engl. &c.

This hasty and unexpected Proceeding of France was so represented by the King, that he immediately sent an Express to the Lord Manchester, his Ambassadour in France, to come directly away, without taking Leave; and his Lordship, having received these Orders, sent the following Letter to M. de Torcy, Secretary of State for foreign Affairs. The English Ambassadour in France recall'd,

My Lord,

“ **T**HE King my Master, being inform'd, that His most Christian Majesty had acknowledg'd another King of Great Britain, thinks that his Glory and Honour permits him no more to have an Ambassadour near the King, your Master; and has sent me Orders to depart immediately; whereof I do myself the Honour to acquaint you, by this Letter; and, withal, to assure you, that I am, &c. His Letter to M. de Torcy.

The French King, who was then at Fontainbleau, tho' he could reasonably expect no other Proceeding on King William's Side, seemed surpriz'd at this sudden Resolution; he assembled

1701. his Council, and was two or three Days deliberating, before M. de Torcy sent the Ambassadour any Answer; but then he received the following.

My Lord,

M. de Torcy's Answer. " I HAVE nothing more to add, to what I had the Honour to tell you, eight Days ago, of the sincere Desire the King has always had, to preserve, with the King, your Master, the Peace confirmed by the Treaty of Ryswick. I pray you only, as to me in particular, to be persuaded, that in what Place soever you be, you will have none that shall be with more Sincerity, than I shall be all my Life-time, &c.

A Remark upon it.

By this evasive Answer, it is plain, the French King was sensible his Proceeding would not bear a Discussion; but his mentioning the Peace of Ryswick, and his Master's Inclination to preserve the Peace confirmed by it, is a Master-piece of Assurance: For could any thing be more contrary to his most Christian Majesty's solemn Engagements at that Treaty, than his quickly after promising the late King James, on his Death-bed, never to abandon the Pretender; but always to acknowledge and entertain him as a King of England, and declaring, that he hoped to see him treated after the same Manner, by the whole World?

The French Secretary ordered to depart England,

The Lord Manchester, having, hereupon, obtained his Passports, made haste to leave that intriguing Court, and, before the twenty-third of September, Notice was given, by his Majesty's Command, to Mons. Poussin, the French Secretary here, that he should immediately leave the Kingdom. Much about the same Time, that this beggarly Frenchman (as a certain Author calls him) departed, there was a scandalous Paper printed, as it was supposed, by his Orders, entitled, *The French King's Reasons for owning the pretended Prince of Wales, for King of England.*

The Indignity offered by France, resented by the Nation.

The Nation, in the mean Time, was highly enraged at this Indignity offered by France, and shewed their Resentment, in the numerous Addresses directed, on this Occasion, to the Throne, from all Parts of the Kingdom, full of Loyalty and Affection.

That from the City of London, which set the first Example, may serve as a Specimen of the rest, and was as follows.

Great Sir,

Address of the City of London,

" WE are deeply sensible, how much we are in Duty bound, highly to resent that great Indignity and Affront, offered to your most sacred Majesty, by the French King, in giving the Title of King of England, Scotland and Ireland,

“ Ireland, to the pretended Prince of Wales, contrary to your Majesty’s most just and lawful Title, and to the several Acts of Parliament for settling the Succession to the Crown, in the Protestant Line.

1701.

“ By this, it is apparent, he designs, as much as in him lies, to dethrone your Majesty, to extirpate the Protestant Religion, out of these your Majesty’s Kingdoms, and to invade our Liberties and Properties; for the maintaining whereof, your Majesty hath signalized your Zeal, by the often hazarding your precious Life.

“ We, therefore, your Majesty’s loyal Subjects, do sincerely, unanimously, and chearfully, assure your Majesty, that we will, at all Times, and upon all Occasions, exert the utmost of our Abilities, and contribute whatever lies in our Power, for the Preservation of your Person (whom God long preserve) and the Defence of your just Rights, in Opposition to all Invaders of your Crown and Dignity.”

This Address having been transmitted to the King to Holland, his Majesty gave special Directions to the Lords Justices, to acquaint his loyal City of London, with the great Satisfaction he had upon receiving it.

The King, all this while, bestowed his Application, to perfect the Alliances he was negotiating abroad, and particularly that between the Emperour, England and Holland, which was concluded in September. This Treaty was framed in the Nature of Proposals, upon which France might come in, and accordingly the same were communicated to the Spanish Ambassadour; but, in case of Refusal, it was agreed, that Satisfaction should be given to the House of Austria, in relation to the Spanish Succession, to recover Flanders out of the Hands of the French, and that the English and Dutch should keep whatever they could conquer in the West-Indies.

Treaty between the Emperour, England and Holland.

At the opening of the New Parliament, the last Day of the Year, his Majesty made his last most memorable Speech from the Throne, which was extremely grateful to both Houses (as well as the whole Nation) and was answered the following Days, by Addresses and Resolutions, which shewed how unanimous they were, in their Sentiments for revenging the Affront offer’d the Nation by France. I shall mention only one Resolution of the House of Commons, of the tenth of January, viz. “ That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleas’d to take Care, that it be an Article in the several Treaties of Alliance, with his Majesty and other Potentates, *That no Peace shall be made with France, until his Majesty, and the Nation, have Reparation for the great Indignity offered by the French King in owning and declaring the pre-*

Opening and Resolutions of the New Parliament. 1702.

“ tended

1702. "tended Prince of Wales, King of England, Scotland and Ire-
land."

Preparations
for a War.

In pursuance of the several loyal Resolutions of both Houses, correspondent to his Majesty's most gracious Intentions, for the Honour, Interest and Security of the Nation, all necessary Preparations were making for a necessary War; but, before it broke out, it pleased God to take away his Majesty, on the eighth of March.

Death of
K. William.

Conclusion
of the III.
Book.

This was the State and Disposition of the Nation, at the Death of King William; and I have been the more particular in these Circumstances, because they were the Groundwork of that great War, which broke out, at the Beginning of the ensuing Reign, and in which our Hero performed such great and glorious Services for the Nation, and its Allies, and deservedly attained to that high Pitch of Honour and Rank, as was the Admiration of the whole World.

END of the Third BOOK.



BOOK



BOOK IV.

TRANSACTIONS *during the first four Years of the Reign of Queen ANN.*

CHAP. I.

Transactions in 1702, till the Siege of Liege.



NOW come to the Period of this great Man's Introduction Life, in which he shone forth with an astonish- to Queen ing Lustre and Glory, and in which will ap- Ann's Reign. pear such a Succession of noble Actions, pursued with an unparallel'd Intrepidity, and matchless Conduct, wise Undertakings, crown'd with deserved Success, and incontestable Victories, in such Numbers, as will scarce be found in any History, ancient or modern, recorded of the most illustrious Hero, within the short Space of so few Years. I shall, therefore, display them in the clearest and truest Light, and wish nothing more, than that I may be able to find Expressions, in some Measure, at least, adequate to the Greatness of the Subject.

It will, however, be previously necessary, in order to give Recapitula- the Reader a clearer Idea of the Causes of this War, which tion of some furnish'd our Hero, with so many glorious Opportunities of ex- Affairs-ercising his Courage and Conduct, to recapitulate, in as brief- which pre- ceded the a Manner as possible, some few Events of the preceding Reign, Death of K. after William.

1702. after the Peace of Ryſwick, • The great Bone of Contention, which threaten'd to ſet all Europe into a Flame again, was the Succeſſion to the Crown of Spain, after the Death of Charles II. who was in an ill State of Health, and out of all Hopes of leaving Iſſue. The firſt Step taken to prevent it was by his Britanniſh Majeſty, in engaging the King of Spain, to declare the electoral Prince of Bavaria, to be his heir and Succeſſor, to the Excluſion of the Princes of France. This cauſed great Uneaſineſs at the French Court, where nothing was thought of but the Means of revenging this Indignity; till the Count de Tallard (then Ambaſſadour at the Engliſh Court) contriv'd the famous Project of a Partition-Treaty, which was, at length, agreed to. By this Treaty, Naples and Sicily, the Towns depending upon the Monarchy of Spain, on the Coaſts of Tuſcany, and the Marquiſate of Final, on that Side of Spain, and the Province of Guiſuſcoa, with Fontarabia, St. Sebaſtian, and Port Paſſage, on the other Side of Spain, were allotted to the Dauphin, in Conſideration of his Claim to the Crown of Spain. That Crown, and the other Kingdoms and Places, both within and without Europe, were to deſcend to the electoral Prince of Bavaria; and the Duchy of Milan, was allotted to the Archduke Charles, the Emperour's ſecond Son.

Death having, however, taken away the young Succeſſor to the Monarchy of Spain, who departed this Life, the ſixth of February, 1699, N. S. a ſecond Treaty of Partition was concluded between England, France and Holland; by which, inſtead of the electoral Prince of Bavaria, the Archduke, Charles of Auſtria, was to have the Dominions allotted that Prince by the former Treaty, the Duchy of Milan was to devolve to the Duke of Lorrain, in lieu of his own Country, which was to be given to France, and the Prince de Vaudemont was to have the Country of Bilche. But this, as well as the former Treaty, were deſign'd by France, no otherwiſe than as preſent Amuſements, while he was puſhing on the Intereſt of Philip, Duke of Anjou, ſecond Son of the Dauphin of France. And the King of Spain dying the firſt of November, N. S. following, a Will was trump'd up, by Cardinal Portecarrero, by which the deceas'd King is ſaid to have declar'd this Prince Succeſſor to all his Dominions. Accordingly, the ſixteenth of the ſame Month, the Duke of Anjou was declared and ſaluted King of Spain, at the Court of France, notwithſtanding the Treaty of Partition, ſo lately made. Nor did the French King ſtop here; for he ſoon after, cauſed his own Troops to take Poſſeſſion of the, Spaniſh Netherlands, and, by Stratagem, and the Connivance of the Elector of Bavaria, to ſeize ſeveral ſtrong Towns, partly gariſon'd by the Dutch, for the Defence and Security of their Country; whereby the States were brought under a Neceſſity

Necessity of acknowledging the Duke of Anjou's Title to Spain, as King William, tho' highly exasperated at this flagrant Breach of the French King's Faith and Honour, was, likewise obliged, for the present, to do, not being then in a Condition to shew a Resentment. 1702.

However, to be in a Condition, as soon as possible, to demand and exact Satisfaction from the faithless Monarch of France, King William immediately set about to form that grand Alliance, which afterwards brought Lewis the XIVth to his lowest Ebb. To this End it was, that the Lord Marlborough was sent to Holland, in June 1701, with the Character of Ambassadour extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary; and the Death of King James II. in September, with what ensued thereupon, in France, hastened the Negotiations; the Treaty between the Emperour, England and Holland being sign'd a few Days after, as I have mentioned in the foregoing Chapter.

King William having perfected his Alliances abroad, returned to England, the fourth of November, and having dissolved the Parliament, summon'd a new one, to meet the thirtieth of December: but while they were shewing their Zeal for the common Good, by declaring their Resolutions to stand by and defend his Majesty's Title to the Crown, and to make good all the Alliances he had enter'd into, for reducing the exorbitant Power of France, the King was taken away by Death, as I have related at the Conclusion of the foregoing Book.

This was the State of Affairs, and thus was the Nation dispos'd, at the Death of King William; and the Accession of her Majesty Queen Ann to the Throne made no great Alteration in them; both she and the Parliament continuing to pursue those Measures, the late King had so happily begun, effectually to secure the Liberties of Europe. The Circumstances which attended her Majesty's Accession and Proclamation, her first Speech to both Houses of Parliament, and the several Addresses which ensued, being rather Subjects for general History, than for this, I pass them by, and shall only insert the Speech she deliver'd, the Day of her Accession (March 8th) to her Council, as it shews how early she resolv'd to pursue the Measures, I have just mention'd, and particularly to oppose the great Power of France; and as it justifies the Steps she took in Pursuance of this her early Resolution.

My Lords,

" I AM extremely sensible of the general Misfortune to these
 " Kingdoms, in the unspeakable Loss of the King, and of
 " the great Weight and Burden it brings in particular to myself,
 " which nothing would encourage me to undergo, but the great
 " Concern I have for the Preservation of our Religion, and the
 " Laws

1702.

“ Laws and Liberties of my Country ; all these being as dear
 “ to me, as they can be to any Person whatsoever. You may
 “ depend upon it, that no Pains, no Diligence, shall be want-
 “ ing, on my Part, to defend and support them ; to maintain
 “ the Succession in the Protestant-Line, and the Government
 “ in Church and State, as it is by Law establish’d. *I think it*
 “ *proper, upon this Occasion of my first speaking to you, to declare*
 “ *my own Opinion of the Importance of carrying on all the Pre-*
 “ *parations we are making to oppose the great Power of France :*
 “ *And I shall lose no Time in giving our Allies all Assurances, that*
 “ *nothing shall be wanting, on my Part, to pursue the Interest of*
 “ *England, together with theirs, for the Support of the common*
 “ *Cause.*

“ In order to these Ends, I shall be always ready to ask the
 “ Advice of my Council, and of both Houses of Parliament ;
 “ and desirous to countenance and employ all those who shall
 “ heartily concur, and join with me in supporting and main-
 “ taining the present Establishment, against all Enemies and
 “ Opposers whatsoever.

I proceed now to Matters which more immediately regard our
 Hero.

Testimonies
 given by the
 late King, of
 the Earl of
 Marlbo-
 rough’s
 Capacity.

It has been reported, that King William, but a short Time
 before his Death, in the most earnest and affectionate Manner,
 recommended the Earl of Marlborough to the Princess of Den-
 mark, who was to succeed him, *as the properest Person to com-*
mand her Armies, in the War, which was upon the very Point
of breaking out, but of which, he plainly foresaw, Death would
prevent his having any Share in the Glory. Some say, the King
 recommended him to her Majesty, on his Death-bed, *as the*
fittest Person, in all her Dominions, to conduct her Armies, and
preside in her Councils ; as being a Man of a cool Head, and a
warm Heart, proper to encounter the Genius of France, and suppress
her Designs of swallowing all Europe. How far this Recom-
 mendation co-operated with her Majesty’s own Judgment and
 Choice is not material ; but, upon her Accession to the Throne,
 she cast an early Eye of Favour upon him, and made him Par-
 taker of the first Honours she bestowed ; for within a few Days
 after, (viz. the fourteenth of March) he was elected into the

The Earl of
 Marlbo-
 rough
 elected
 Knight of
 the Garter,
 and declared
 Captain-
 General.

Most noble Order of the Garter, into which Order, he was after-
 wards installed, by his Proxy, Sir Benjamin Bathurst. The Day
 following, he was declared *Captain General of all her Majesty’s*
Forces in England, or which were employed abroad, in Conjunction
with the Troops of her Allies.

Her Majesty’s earliest Care was to cultivate the Harmony and
 good Intelligence which her glorious Predecessor had established
 with the States General of the United Provinces ; to which
 End,

End, the third Day after his Decease, she wrote a Letter to them, to inform them of this melancholy Event, and of her Sentiments in that critical Juncture, of which, as it was the Fore-runner of the Earl's Ambassy thither, I shall give my Readers a Copy :

1702.



High and Mighty Lords, our most dear Friends, Allies, and Confederates.

“ **I** T is not without a sensible Grief, that we find ourselves obliged to acquaint you with the afflicting News of the Death of the most High, and most Mighty Prince, William III. King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, our most dear Brother, of glorious Memory. He was seized on Wednesday last, with a Fever, which so much encreased the following Days, that notwithstanding all the Remedies that were made use of, he expired on Sunday at eight o’Clock in the Morning. This is certainly a very great Loss to all Europe, and in particular to your State, whose Interest he always maintained, with so much Valour, Prudence, Zeal and Conduct. And as it has pleased God, that we should succeed him in these Kingdoms, we shall, also, succeed him in the same Inclination, to preserve a constant Union and Amity with you, and maintain all the Alliances that have been made with your State, by our said most dear Brother, and other our Predecessors; and likewise to concur with you, in all the Measures that shall be necessary, for the Preservation of the common Liberty of Europe, and for reducing the Power of France within due Bounds. This we desire you to be fully assured of, and that we shall always look upon the Interests of England, and those of your State, as inseparable, and united, by such Ties, as cannot be broke, without the greatest Prejudices to both Nations. We pray God to keep you, High and Mighty Lords, our most dear Friends and Confederates, in his holy Protection.

The Queen's
Letter to
the States-
General.

“ Given at our Court, at St. James's, March 10, Anno Dom. 1702. and the first of our Reign.”

This Letter was sent to Mr. Stanhope, with new Credentials, as her Majesty's Envoy extraordinary, who immediately delivered both to the States General. The News of the King's Death had cast a terrible Damp on their High Mightinesses, and occasioned great and just Alarms throughout all their Provinces; they, therefore, made her Majesty's Letter publick, to dissipate the Reports which had been industriously spread abroad, by the Emissaries of France, that England would not prosecute the Measures agreed upon, between the late King, and his Confederates,

Good Effect
it had in
Holland.

1702. derates, to reduce the exorbitant Power of France; and it had the desir'd Effect, in removing, in a great measure, those Fears; which some had too hastily imbibed.

Resolutions
of the States
General.

This Letter, likewise, made so lively an Impression on the Minds of the States themselves, and so far recovered their drooping Spirits, that on the five and twentieth of March, N. S. the States of Holland and West-Friesland went in a Body to the Assembly of the States General, where having condoled their irreparable Loss, they represented; "That in this dangerous Conjunction, nothing could prove more effectual, for their Preservation, than a perfect Unity, mutual Confidence, and a vigorous Resolution, for the Defence of their Country, and by adhering firmly to those Measures already entered into, and such as should be judg'd farther expedient for the Good of the common Cause; declaring withall, that they were ready to perform their Part, and rather to sacrifice all their Blood and Treasure, than to see their State, their Liberty, and their Religion destroyed."

This Representation was highly applauded by the States General, who returned Thanks to the States of Holland and West-Friesland, for their zealous Resolutions in that perilous Conjunction, and assured them of their hearty Concurrence therein, for the Safety and Welfare of the State, and strenuously carrying on the common Cause; and they ordered Letters to be sent to the other Provinces, to invite them to give the same Assurances. The City of Amsterdam, to signalize themselves more particularly on that Occasion, signified to the States-General, that they would not only consent to such Resolutions as should be thought necessary, at that Time, but would advance Money to those Provinces, which could not so readily furnish out their *Quota's* that should be granted. Their High Mightinesses, soon after, publish'd their Resolutions, at large in print, to the same Effect, and concluded; "That they were resolved religiously to maintain their Treaties and Alliances enter'd into with their Confederates, steadfastly to pursue the Contents thereof, vigorously and cordially to put them in Execution, to persevere in the Measures already taken, and agree to such other Measures as should be thought convenient; and that Notice should be given of this their true Meaning and Intention, to all their Allies and Confederates."

The Earl of
Marlb. sent
Amb. and
Plenipoten-
tiary to Hol-
land.

The Queen, in the mean Time, justly considering of how great Importance it would be to the common Cause, to have all Apprehensions and Jealousies entirely removed, resolved to send an Ambassy to Holland, which would leave no farther Grounds for them. For this weighty Trust, she, following the Example of her great Predecessor, thought none more proper than the Earl of Marlborough, whose consummate Genius had already approved

approved him as great a Minister, as a Commander ; Qualities rarely to be found in one and the same Person. Her Majesty, therefore, sent the Earl to Holland, with the Character of *Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States General.*

1702.

His Excellency arrived at the Hague, the eight and twentieth of March, N. S. and after having had several Conferences with the Grand Pensionary, and other Ministers, on the thirty-first, he was conducted to his publick Audience of the States General, with great Solemnity, and a pumerous Attendance, where he made the following Speech to their High Mightinesses.

Arrives at the Hague.

Has a publick Audience.

High and Mighty Lords,

IT having pleased God, in his divine Providence, to take to himself his Majesty, King William, of glorious Memory, to the great Loss of his kingdom, the State of your High and Mighty Lordships, and of all Europe ; the Queen, my Mistress, who, as it has pleased the same Providence, succeeds on the Throne of her Ancestors, as your High and Mighty Lordships have been informed by her Majesty's Letter, has commanded me, at the same Time, I express to your Lordships, her Majesty's great Affliction upon this Subject, to make known to you the Interest her Majesty takes in that which this great Misfortune occasions to your Lordships in particular.

His Speech to the States General.

" The first of her Majesty's Cares was, to let your High and Mighty Lordships understand her sincere Desire and Inclination to entertain, with you, the same Union, Friendship, and strict Correspondence, as has subsisted, during the Course of the preceding Reign, as being persuaded, that nothing in the World can be more useful and beneficial, for the Good of both Nations, whose Interests are the same.

" Her Majesty has, therefore, commanded me to acquaint your High and Mighty Lordships, that she is firmly resolved to contribute all that lies in her Power towards the advancing and increasing the said Union, Friendship, and Correspondence, and to make that a constant Maxim of her Government.

" Her Majesty has farther ordered me to assure your High and Mighty Lordships, that she will not only exactly and faithfully observe and execute the Treaties and Alliances, made between the Kings her Predecessors and your High and Mighty Lordships, but that she is likewise ready to renew and confirm them : As also to concur with you in all the Measures, which have been taken by the late King of glorious Memory, in Pursuance of the said Alliances.

1702.

" Her Majesty is likewise disposed to enter into such other stricter Alliances and Engagements, which shall conduce to the Interests of both Nations, the Preservation of the Liberty of Europe, and reducing, within just Bounds, the exorbitant Power of France.

" In the mean time, her Majesty is ready, from this Moment, and without any Delay, to concur with your high and mighty Lordships and the other Allies, to this End, with all her Forces, as well by Sea as by Land.

" And her Majesty, to shew her Zeal the more, has been pleased to authorize me to concert, with your high and mighty Lordships the necessary Operations.

" These Motives obliged her Majesty to order me to depart, with all Diligence, in order to come hither, and give your high and mighty Lordships all possible Assurances thereof, without stopping at the ordinary Formalities.

" And I look upon it as an extraordinary Happiness, that her Majesty has done me the Honour, to employ me in this Commission, since it gives me the Opportunity of expressing to your high and mighty Lordships the Zeal I have for your Service.

The President of the State's Answer.

To this Speech, Monsieur Dyckvelt, President of the Assembly, made an Answer, in the Name of the States; " Expressing their great Affliction for the Death of the late King; their Congratulation of her Majesty's Succession to the Throne; their hearty Thanks for the Assurance of her Friendship; and their own Resolution, readily to concur with her Majesty in a vigorous Prosecution of the common Interest: " To which he added; " That his Person would be highly acceptable to them, not only for the Queen's Choice of him, and for the Sake of King William, who first invested him with that Character, but for his own Merit.

Intrigues of France:

The French King, being not a little surprized at these Proceedings of the Queen of Great Britain, and finding that the Death of King William would not have the Effect he had vainly imagin'd, put all the means in agitation he could possibly contrive, to break the growing Union between England and Holland (which was the only humane means left to put a Stop to those great and pernicious Designs he had formed.) Among others, the very day the Earl of Marlborough had his publick Audience, the Sieur de Barre, who was left at the Hague, by Count d'Avaux, as Secretary of the Ambassy, to take Care of the Affairs of France, and had now the Title of Resident, presented a long Memorial to the States, to endeavour to draw them off from their Engagements with England. This memorial, however, had a contrary Effect to what France hop'd

Prove of no Effect.

1702.

hop'd from it. The States look'd, with Indignation, on the contumelious Insinuations with which this Memorial was stuff'd, as if they had acted only by the constraining Influence of the late King, and received, with the like Disdain, the insulting Menaces contained in it; they, therefore, return'd an Answer, so pertinent and becoming them, as dash'd all Hopes of France on that Side. In this Memorial they set forth, how exact they had been in observing their Treaties and Alliances, and justly retorted on France, that if she had been really inclined to establish the Peace of Europe, and re-enter into their ancient Amity with the Republick, she would not have recall'd the Count d'Avaux, without, at least, making some Proposals towards a Peace. French Writers, and particularly Monsieur de Quincy, attribute this Stedfastness of the States General, to the Declaration made to them by the Earl of Marlborough, in the Name of the Queen, and say, that was the cause of their rejecting every Proposal made by their Grand Monarch.

The Earl of Marlborough staid but few days in Holland, tho' to very good Purpose; and having settled several important Affairs, with the Deputies of the State, especially for the Opening of the Campaign, and the intended Siege of Keyserwaert, which, by his Lordship's Advice, was to be the first Scene of Action, he left the Hague, in order to embark for England, where he arrived in Safety, the fifth of April. During his Excellency's Stay at the Hague, their High Mightinesses, and every one, expressed a more than ordinary Satisfaction in his Conduct, and, notwithstanding the ill-grounded Jealousies some had conceived against him, but a few Years before, seemed to place an entire Confidence in him, as if they foresaw the great Services he would do them, in the Course of the War. In short, he managed all Affairs with such Dexterity and Prudence, that all he proposed was readily enter'd into, the Confederacy was confirmed, the Quotas of the several Allies adjusted, and an Armament agreed to, by Sea and Land, before it was known, in some Parts of this Kingdom, that he was entered upon those Negotiations. An almost infallible Presage of the great Success which was to follow them: For Measures so prudently concerted could not fail of an adequate Support, from the Person who was the principal Contriver of them; and an Alliance so well cemented, and so strictly united, by the indissoluble Bonds of Friendship and Interest, could not but furnish unquestionable Hopes of attaining to the Ends proposed.

Among other Matters of great Importance, which were brought upon the Carpet, during the Earl's Stay at the Hague, was that of choosing a Commander in Chief, who might properly be placed at the Head of an Army, compos'd of so many several Nations. This was determined, by the Earl's prudent

The Earl of Marl. returns to England.

The great Esteem the States express'd for him.

His Dexterity in the Management of Affairs.

The Dutch make him Commander in Chief of their Army.

1702.

The Point
of Pre-emi-
nence set-
tled.

The Earl
assists at K.
William's
Funeral.

The Earl
of Marlboro'
with other
Peers, in-
spect the
late King's
Papers.

Their Re-
port.

Management, in his own Favour, and this, as important 'as ho-
nourable, Post, with a Salary of 10,00*l.* per Ann. was con-
ferr'd upon him, partly on Account of the high Consideration
due to his Royal Mistress, and partly in Regard to the great
Experience, which all the World allowed him to have in the
Art of War; of which the Recommendation of the late King
could not but enhance the Idea, among the Foreign Powers,
who were Parties in the Grand Alliance. Having gained this
Point, and being sensible, that nothing could be of so bad Con-
sequence to the common Cause, as a Misunderstanding among
the General Officers, he took Care, before his Departure from
Holland, to settle the Point of Pre-eminence, or Rank, in such
Manner, as conduced to his Sovereign's, as well as his own
Honour.

The twelfth of the same Month, the Funeral-Osequies of the
late King were performed, in a very private Manner; the Royal
Corpse being carried, late at Night, from Kensington, to the
Collegiate Church of Westminster, and deposited in the Royal
Vault in King Henry VII's. Chapel. His Royal Highness,
Prince George of Denmark, followed, as chief Mourner, sup-
ported by two Dukes, and attended by sixteen of the first Earls
of England, among whom the Earl of Marlborough was one, as
Assistants.

A Report having been industriously spread, *That a Design had
been formed* (with the Knowledge and Approbation of the late
King) *to exclude the Queen from succeeding to the Crown; some
added, to imprison the Queen, and to bring the House of Han-
nover immediately into the Succession, among other Peers, the
Earl was one, who was authorized by her Majesty, to inspect
King William's Papers; it having been said, that some Wri-
tings were in his strong Box, which discovered the Scheme: But
to the Honour of their late Sovereign, they severally declared,
to the House of Peers, That, among the late King's Papers, they
did not find any Papers, in the least tending to the Prejudice of her
Majesty, or her Succession to the Crown, or to her Prejudice in any
Respect, whatsoever, or which might give any Ground or Colour,
for such Report.* Upon which, a Vote passed in the the House
of Lords, that these Reports were groundless, false, villanous
and scandalous to the late King's Memory, and highly tending to
the Disservice of her present Majesty: And it was ordered, that
the Matter of Fact, and the Resolution of the House thereupon,
be laid before her Majesty, with their humble Desire, that she
would be pleased to order Mr. Attorney-General to prosecute,
with the utmost Severity of Law, the Authors or Publishers of
such scandalous Reports. To which her Majesty answered, that
she was very ready to do any Thing of this Kind, and would give
Directions accordingly.

The

The twenty-third of April, being St. George's Day, her Majesty's Coronation was performed, with the usual Solemnity, at Westminster-Abby, at which the Earl, and his Countess assisted, in their proper Rank. 1702.

This Ceremony being over, the Queen set about to form her Ministry. The Coldness, of which I made Mention above, between the late King and her Majesty, continued to the Death of that Monarch; for tho' a seeming Reconciliation was made, after Queen Mary's Death, yet it went little farther than what Civility and Decency required. She was not made acquainted with publick Affairs, nor was she encouraged to recommend any to Places of Trust and Advantage: The Ministry had even no Orders to inform her how Matters went, nor to oblige those about her. The Earl of Marlborough was the only Person, about her Majesty, whom Care had been taken to please, with which in the latter Part of the King's Reign, he was fully satisfied. Her Majesty's Court, as Princess, was then very thin: she lived in a due Abstraction from Business; so that she neither gave Jealousy, nor encouraged Faction: Yet these Things (says a late Author) had made those Impressions on her, that had, at first, ill Effects, which were soon observed and remedied. I shall not enter into a particular Detail of what Alterations the Queen made, nor of the Motives which may probably have induced her to some Things; but shall confine myself to what more immediately concerned the Earl of Marlborough.

Among other Changes, the Lord Godolphin was made Lord-Treasurer, at which he shewed an Uneasiness, and long resisted the Acceptance of it; but the Earl press'd it in so positive a Manner, that he insisted upon it, he could not go beyond Sea, to command the Army, unless the Treasury was in his Hands; by which he might be sure that Remittances would be punctually made him.

" Sidney, Lord Godolphin, was the second Son of a very good Family in Cornwall, and was Page to King Charles the Second: He always applied himself, with great Assiduity, to the Improvement of Knowledge, and took Care to be perfect Master of whatever he undertook. King Charles employ'd him, in his very early Years, in publick Affairs, and sent him to Holland, on a Negotiation, preceding the Treaty of Nimweguen; and likewise created him a Baron. During that and the two succeeding Reigns, he was frequently employed in the Management of the Revenue, which no Man in England knew better than himself. In King James's Reign, he was Chamberlain to the Queen, and in King William's was frequently call'd to the Cabinet, and made one of the Lords Justices, in his Absence. He had a wonderful clear Understanding; but was slow of Speech; with a serious

The Earl of Marlboro' assists at the Queen's Coronation. The Queen forms her Ministry.

The Lord Godolphin made Lord Treasurer.

His Character.

1702.

“ and awful Deportment, and stern Countenance: He was an
 “ Enemy to Flattery, Ostentation, and Violence, and generally
 “ did more than he promis’d: He was, indeed, of pretty difficult
 “ Access; but as that was equally denied to Persons of all De-
 “ grees of Life, it was the less regarded. The Lord Marl-
 “ borough made a most judicious Choice in recommending him
 “ to the Queen’s Favour, to be Lord High Treasurer; and the
 “ Queen, being sensible of his Merit, deservedly vested him with
 “ that Office, in which, as we shall see in the Sequel, he great-
 “ ly improv’d the Revenue, and brought it into an excellent
 “ Method, notwithstanding the great Debts with which the
 “ Nation was burden’d.

The Prince
of Denmark
said to de-
sign com-
manding the
Army.

I have already said, that the Earl was declar’d Captain-Gener-
 ral; but the Prince had the Title of Generalissimo of all the
 Queen’s Forces, by Sea and Land, and soon after was made
 Lord High Admiral; and the Duke of Ormond was appointed
 to command in Chief a Land-Army, which was to be put on
 Board the Fleet. It was, for some Time, reported, that the
 Prince would command the Armies of the Allies, in Person;
 but this soon fell away, and it was said, on the contrary, that
 the Dutch were not willing to trust their Forces to the Command
 of a Prince, who might be above being limited by their In-
 structions, or bound to obey their Commands.

The Dutch
against it.

The Queen made the Earl of Nottingham, and Sir Charles
 Hedges, Secretaries of State; but she continued most of the
 great Officers of the Household, all the Judges, except two, and
 most of the Lords Lieutenants of Counties; nor did she make
 any Change in the foreign Ministry. It was generally thought,
 that the Earl of Rochester (who was continued Lord Lieutenant
 of Ireland) and his Party, were for severe Methods, and for a more
 entire Change, to be carried quite thro’ all Subaltern Employ-
 ments; but that the Earl of Marlborough, and the Lord Go-
 dolphin, were for more moderate Proceedings. But to return to
 other Affairs.

Moderation
of the Earl
of Marlbro’.

Debates, in
Council,
about de-
claring War.

The second of May, it was moved in Council, to declare
 War against France and Spain. Some Members of that illustri-
 ous Body represented the Inconveniences which would attend it,
 and moved, that it would be safer for the English to act in this
 Conjunction, as Auxiliaries only: Of these my Lord Rochester
 appear’d to be one of the most strenuous, and, as he represented
 these supposed Inconveniences in a particular Manner, an Ab-
 stract of what he said on this Occasion, will give the Reader an
 Idea of what was urg’d against the then favorite Scheme of de-
 claring War against France and Spain.

He particularly set forth. “ That the Causes alledged in sup-
 “ port of this (as he call’d it) dangerous Measure, did not so
 “ nearly affect us: That as to the French King’s seizing the Mo-
 “ narchy.

1702.

"narchy of Spain, we had, in some Measure, justified his Con-
 duct therein, by acknowledging his Grandson to be King
 thereof; and that, after this, his seizing Cadiz, Milan, the
 Spanish Netherlands and the West-Indies, could be looked up-
 on in no other Light, than as necessary Steps to secure the
 Possession of that Crown to him. That these were indeed
 Steps that greatly concern'd both the Emperour and the
 Dutch, but that they affected us very little, or not at all,
 if these Powers could but themselves make good their Fron-
 tiers; and that if, to prevent the Consequence, we should
 think ourselves oblig'd to become Parties, the 10,000 Men,
 which, by Virtue of a Treaty still subsisting between us, we
 were obliged to furnish the Dutch, would be, to all Intents
 and Purposes, a sufficient Aid, and fully equal to our Con-
 cern in the Quarrel; which, in Fact and strictly speaking,
 was no more than his Most Christian Majesty's declaring the
 Pretender to be King of England, &c. and that a little Ma-
 nagement, at this important Crisis, would easily procure us
 any Satisfaction we should insist upon, for the Affront: That,
 nevertheless, if we were determined to embroil ourselves
 again, we ought rather to do it as Auxiliaries than as Prin-
 cipals, and rather with a Sea than a Land-Force. To sup-
 port these his Arguments, he represented the exorbitant Ex-
 pence, and the Success of our last Enterprizes on the Con-
 tinent; which bore no Proportion thereto; but plainly ap-
 peared to be calculated for the Advantage of the Dutch more
 than ourselves: He mentioned the Difficulties and Animosities,
 which every Year were occasion'd thereby, the Grievance
 they were esteem'd, and the vast Debt they had burden'd
 the Nation with. He shewed farther, that a Land-War
 would cost us twice as much, as it would cost any other
 Prince or State in the Confederacy; and that, therefore,
 if we would be meddling on the Continent, which he thought
 neither necessary nor expedient, it would be better for us
 to furnish our Contingent in Money: But what, he chiefly
 aim'd at, was to shew, that Land-Wars were none of our
 Province, and that the Sea was our only Element; that there
 indeed we might make it a common Cause, and, by the same
 Means, both benefit ourselves, and distress the Enemy." These
 supposed Inconveniences were generally refuted by several great
 Men, on the other Side of the Question, particularly by the
 Dukes of Sommerfet and Devonshire, and the Earls of Marl-
 borough and Pembroke.

"Charles, Duke of Sommerfet, of the ancient Family of Character
 Seymour, so much taken Notice of by our Historians in the Duke of
 Reign of King Edward VI. was made Knight of the Garter, Sommerfet.
 in the Reign of King Charles II. He married the Heiress of

1702.

“Piercy of Northumberland; and thereby acquir’d a great Aug-
 “mentation to his Estate. In the Reign of King James, being
 “in Waiting in the Bed-chamber, at the Arrival of the Pope’s
 “Nuncio in England, and refusing to assist at the Ceremony of
 “the Introduction, he was dismissed from all his Employments.
 “At the Revolution he did not, indeed, enter into the Mea-
 “sures which were pursu’d; but, for a Time, warmly oppos’d
 “King William’s Ministry; was concern’d in Impeaching the
 “Partition, and protested against acquitting those who advis’d
 “it. However, when Lewis XIV. sent the Duke of Anjou to
 “Spain, he returned to the Service of his Country, and was made
 “President of the Council, in which Office, he joined with re-
 “markable Zeal, in the Means that were there concerted, for
 “putting a Stop to the encreasing Power of France. On the
 “Queen’s Accession to the Throne he was made Master of the
 “Horse.

Character
 of the Duke
 of Devon-
 shire.

“William, Duke of Devonshire, always shew’d himself a
 “strenuous Assertor of the Liberties of his Country, and the
 “Protestant Religion, for which he underwent many Hardships
 “in King James’s Reign. At the Revolution, he took up
 “Arms, for the same Cause, and by King William was created
 “a Duke, honour’d with the Garter, and made Lord Steward
 “of the Household, in which Office he continued all that Reign,
 “and yet enjoys the same.”

Earl of
 Pembroke’s
 Character.

I shall not need to say any Thing here of the Character of my
 Lord Marlborough, having so frequent Opportunities of display-
 ing it, by his Actions, in every Part of his Life. “Thomas
 “Earl of Pembroke, a Representative of the ancient Family of
 “the Herberts, in Wales, was made Lord Privy-Seal, by King
 “William, and soon after President of the Council. He was first
 “Plenipotentiary at the Treaty of Ryswick. He presided some
 “Years at the Board of Admiralty, and the most able Seamen
 “generally said, that he wanted nothing but the Experience
 “gained only by going frequently to Sea, to make the best of
 “Admirals. He was a very good Judge of all the Sciences,
 “and a great Encourager of Learning and Learned Men. He
 “was a profess’d Lover of the Constitution of his Country, but
 “without declaring himself of any Party, was equally esteem’d
 “by all Parties. He was meek and courteous in his Behaviour,
 “plain in his Dress, and, tho’ of sound Judgment, and good
 “Understanding, was of few Words.”

These were the Noblemen (and these the Characters of those)
 who were the most strenuous in maintaining the Opposition to the
 Lord Rochester and his Adherents, and they shew’d, not only, that
 it was befitting the Honour of the Nation, to make good the
 late King’s Alliances; but that France would never be reduc’d
 within due Bounds, unless the English acted as Principals in this

War;

War; and they, at length, brought the Majority of the Board to their Opinion; upon which, her Majesty gave Orders for drawing up a Declaration of War against France and Spain. Her Majesty was, however, graciously pleased to communicate her Intention to both Houses of Parliament, together with a Convention between her Majesty, the Emperour, and the States General, to that End: Which they approved of, and the Queen, being assured of the Concurrence and Support of the Commons, caused the Declaration, which she had before given Directions to be drawn up, to be solemnly proclaimed, before the Gate of the Royal Palace of St. James, at Chancery-Lane End, and at the Royal Exchange; of which Declaration, as it shews the Motives which induced her Majesty to enter into this War, it will be necessary to give my Readers a Copy.

1702.

The Earl of Marlboro's Opinion prevails;

And is approved by Parliament.

A N N R.

“ **W** Hereas it has pleased Almighty God, to call us to the Government of these Realms, at a Time, when our late dear Brother, William III. of glorious Memory, had in pursuance of the repeated Advices of the Parliament of this Kingdom, entered into solemn Treaties of Alliance with the Emperour of Germany, the States General of the united Provinces, and other Princes and Potentates, for preserving the Liberty and Balance of Europe, and for reducing the exorbitant Power of France; which Treaties were grounded upon the unjust Usurpations and Encroachments of the French King, who had taken, and still keeps Possession of a great Part of the Spanish Dominions, exercising an absolute Authority over all that Monarchy, having seized Milan, and the Spanish Low Countries, by his Armies, and made himself Master of Cadiz, of the Entrance into the Mediterranean, and of the Ports in the Spanish West-Indies, by his Fleets; every where designing to invade the Liberties of Europe, and to obstruct the Freedom of Navigation and Commerce. And it being provided, by the third and fourth Articles of the forementioned Alliance, That, if in the Space of two Months, which are sometime since expired, the Injuries complained of were not remedied, the Parties concerned should mutually assist each other, with their whole Strength: And whereas, instead of giving the Satisfaction, that ought justly to be expected, the French King has not only proceeded to farther Violences, but has added thereunto a great Affront and Indignity to us, and our Kingdoms, in taking upon him to declare the pretended Prince of Wales, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and has also influenced Spain to concur in the same Affront and Indignity, as well as in his other Oppressions; we find ourselves obliged, for maintaining the publick

Her Majesty's Declaration of War against France and Spain.

1702.

“publick Faith, for Vindicating the Honour of our Crown,
 “and for preventing the Mischiefs, which all Europe is
 “threatned with, to declare, and we do, hereby, declare War
 “against France and Spain. And placing our entire Confidence
 “in the Help of Almighty God, in so just and necessary an
 “Undertaking, we will, in Conjunction with our Allies, vigo-
 “rously prosecute the same, by Sea and Land, being assured
 “of the ready Concurrence and Assistance of our Subjects, in
 “a Cause they have so openly, and so heartily, espoused. And
 “we do, hereby, will and require our Lord High Admiral of
 “England, our General of our Forces, our Lieutenants of our
 “several Counties, Governours of our Forts and Garrisons, and
 “all other Officers and Soldiers under them, by Sea and Land,
 “to do and execute all Acts of Hostility, in the Prosecution of
 “this War, against France and Spain, their Vassals and Sub-
 “jects, and to oppose their Attempts; willing and requiring all
 “our Subjects, to take Notice of the same, whom we hence-
 “forth strictly forbid to hold any Correspondence or Com-
 “munication with France or Spain, or their Subjects. But be-
 “cause there are remaining in our Kingdoms many of the
 “Subjects of France and Spain, we do declare our Royal In-
 “tention to be, that all the Subjects of France or Spain, who
 “shall demean themselves dutifully towards us, shall be safe
 “in their Persons and Estates.

“Given at our Court at St. James’s, the fourth Day of
 “May, 1702, in the First Year of our Reign.

The Emperour and the States General published their Decla-
 rations of War the same Day: But the French King did not
 publish his till the third of July.

An Address
 of both
 Houses of
 Parliament.

War being declared, both Houses joined in an Address to the
 Queen, in which they represented; “That nothing would more
 “contribute to the effectual carrying it on, and reducing her
 “Enemies to the greatest Streights, than an entire Prohibition
 “of all Correspondence with France and Spain, on the Part of
 “the Allies; and therefore, they humbly advised her Majesty,
 “to engage the Emperour, the States General, and her other
 “Allies, to join with her, in prohibiting all Interchange, be-
 “tween the Subjects of her Majesty, and her Allies, and the
 “Subjects of France and Spain; and also to concert such Me-
 “thods with the States General, as might most effectually se-
 “cure the Trade of her Subjects and her Allies.” To all
 which, her Majesty readily promised to comply; adding, that
she was too much concerned for the publick Welfare, to omit any
necessary Precaution, for the Protection of our Trade. But not-
 withstanding this Matter was, afterwards, strenuously urg’d by
 the

Her Ma-
 jesty’s An-
 swer.

the Lord Marlborough, the Dutch were too self-interested to engage in a total Prohibition of Commerce and Correspondence with France and Spain.

1702.

As the Earl of Marlborough was detained some Time in England, in concerting the necessary Measures with the Ministry, before he could cross the Sea, to take upon him the Command of the confederate Army, I shall be obliged to give a brief Account, of what was doing in the mean-time, that the Reader may thereby form a more accurate Idea of the State of the Campaign, when his Lordship arrived at the Army.

The French King being sensible what a formidable Alliance was making against him, left no Stone unturned to draw over some of the German Princes to his Interest; and in this Attempt, he succeeded, not only with the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, but with the two Dukes of Wolfembutte, Rudolph and Anthony, who held the Regency together, to raise Forces in the Empire, in his Favour. The Duke of Zell was, hereupon, directed, by the Emperour, to make an Incurſion into their Country, and to oblige them, by Force of Arms, to abandon the Interest of France.

Defection of
some of the
German
Princes.

This had its desired Effect; for after the Duke of Zell had made himself Master of several strong Holds, in the said Principality, and block'd up the Capital of Wolfembutte itself, Rudolph resolved, notwithstanding the Obſtinacy of his Brother, to come to an Accommodation; and, whether terrified by the impending Danger, or desirous of having the Regency solely in his own Hands, set a Treaty on Foot. This Treaty ended in an Agreement, between the Elector of Hannover, and the Duke of Zell, on one Side, and Rudolph of Wolfembutte, on the other, that Anthony should be excluded the Regency, which Rudolph, upon quitting all his Engagements with France, should take into his own Hands; and that the Elector and Duke should take into their Service 1,000 Horse, and 2,400 Foot, of the Wolfembutte Troops, which were raised with French Money, and should thereupon withdraw their Forces out of that Principality.

All Germany was now united, in Favour of the Emperour, excepting the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, the latter of whom had put Liege, and all the Places he had on the Rhine, excepting Benn (which afterwards followed) into the Hands of the French. Among these, was the strong Town of Keyser-swaert, which, while in the Hands of the Enemy, exposed not only the Circle of Westphalia, but the Dominions of the States General; for their Places on the Wahl, not being in the best Condition of Defence, were laid open to the Excursions of that Garrison.

State of Affairs before
the Earl of Marlboro'
headed the
confederate
Army.

1702.

Disadvan-
tages under
which the
Confederates
began this
War.

It may not be improper to remark here, under what Disadvantages the Confederates began this War; as it enhances the Glory of those Heroes who, notwithstanding so many Difficulties, carried it on with so much Success and Advantage. In the former War, not only Spain, but the united Force of the whole Empire, and for a considerable Time, the Duke of Savoy, acted in Concert with England and Holland, against the common Enemy. On the contrary, now a Prince of the House of Bourbon sat on the Spanish Throne, a French Army had over-run the State of Milan, and, to this Army, the Duke of Savoy (who was allied to France, by the double Marriage of his two Daughters) had join'd his Forces. Of the nine principal Members of the Empire, Two, the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, had declared for France, and the latter, as I have said above, had admitted French Forces into all his fortified Towns, under the specious Name of Troops of the Circle of Burgundy. A Third, the Elector of Saxony, King of Poland, was at War with Sweden and the disaffected Poles, for his tottering Crown, and could not, therefore, send his full Proportion of Troops against France. The Emperour had sent his Veteran Forces, under the Command of Prince Eugene, to keep the French at a Bay in Italy; and all the Spanish Towns, on the Frontiers of Holland, were garrison'd with French Troops. But, notwithstanding all these visible Disadvantages, by the wise and steady Councils of England, the prudent Management of her Majesty's Treasury, *the just Measures concerted by the Earl of Marlborough, with foreign Powers*, the Valour and Resolution of the Confederate Troops, and the Experience and good Conduct of their Commander, it was soon concluded, by all who were Judges of these Matters, that the Allies would, in the End, by an Over-match for France.

Division and
Disposition
of the con-
federate
Army.

Success of
General
Cohorn.

At the End of April, the Dutch formed three Armies; one commanded by the Prince of Nassau-Saarbruck, which undertook the Siege of Keyserwaert, in the Name of the Elector Palatine, for the Emperour; under whom the Dutch served as Auxiliaries, they having not yet declared War against France and Spain. Another Army was formed under the Earl of Athlone, which lay in the Duchy of Cleves, to cover that Siege; and a third, consisting of 10,000 Men under the Command of General Cohorn, that broke into Flanders, forced and demolished the Lines, between the two Forts of St. Donat and Isabella, which the Enemy had been many Months raising, with great Labour and Expence, and laid the greatest Part of the Châtelanie of Bruges, under Contribution. However, after these Successes, upon the Approach of the Marquis de Bedmar, and the Count de la Motte, with the French Troops under their Command (who were superiour in Number to him) he was forced

to retire under the Walls of Sluys; but to prevent the Enemy's taking Fort Donat, he first laid the Country under Water, and forc'd the Spaniards to retire towards Ghent.

1702.

The Marquis de Quincy gives a particular Relation of a Design General Cohorn had formed of surprizing the Castle of Namur, by means of a Gentleman in the Neighbourhood, whom he had brought over to his Purpose, and who having a Relation, an Officer, in the Place, by Means of him, and two of the Burghers, who engaged in the Design, an Agreement was made with a Spanish Captain of the Garrison, who, in Consideration of 10,000 Pistoles, a considerable Part of which he actually received, and the Command of a Regiment promis'd him, undertook to deliver the Castle into the Hands of the Dutch Troops; but after having got as much Money as he could, he betray'd the Design to the Governour, which put an End to the Attempt.

He forms a Design on the Castle of Namur:

But is betray'd.

Marshal de Boufflers drew his Troops together, and having laid up great Magazines, in Ruremond and Venlo, pass'd the Maese, with his whole Army. The Duke of Burgundy (the present King of France's Father) was come Post from Paris to command it, and to learn the Art of War, under the Direction of the Marshal de Boufflers. The States were apprehensive, that so great a Prince would, at his first Appearance in the Field, have undertaken something worthy of himself, and believing the Design might be upon Maestricht, threw 12,000 Men into that Place.

Motions of the French Army.

The sending away so large a Detachment, the auxiliary Troops from Germany not coming so soon as were expected, and contrary Winds having stopp'd a good Part of our Army, were the Occasions, that the Earl of Athlone was not strong enough to enter into Action with the Marshal de Boufflers. So he encamp'd at Clarenbeck, between Nimeguen and Cleve, to watch his Motions; while he lay encamp'd at Santen, near Cleves, they were very watchful of each other, and the Earl of Athlone, having detach'd Major-General Dompere, with 1000 Horse, towards the Enemy, he happen'd to meet a Party of about 600 French Horse, whom he attack'd and totally defeated, killing 200 on the Spot, and taking near as many Prisoners; with the Loss of not above 30 Troopers and Dragoons kill'd.

A French Party defeated.

The Siege of Keyferswaert went on but slowly; the Trenches were open'd the eighteenth of April, with little Loss, and, the twentieth, the Besiegers did great Execution, by the vast Number of Bombs, which they threw into the Town; but the Enemy made a vigorous Sally, and tho' they were twice repuls'd, with great Bravery, by the Dutch, not being succour'd in Time, and being inferiour to the Enemy, in Number, they were forced to quit their Post, and make a retreating Fight;

Siege of Keyferswaert.

till,

1702.

till, at length, the Cavalry coming up, the Enemy were, in their Turn, constrain'd to retire with great Precipitation. The twenty-first and twenty-second, the Enemy made two Sallies more; but with much the same Success: And, in the latter, were pursued to the Counterscarp. As the Earl of Marlborough had no Part in this Siege, I shall not continue to give the farther Circumstances of it; but only, in general, observe, that tho' the Besiegers propos'd, at first, to be Masters of the Place in three Weeks, they were mistaken in their Calculation, the Garrison having made a vigorous Defence, for about two Months: And it had like to have proved but a bad Beginning of a new War, and the first Campaign; yet all the Wit and Foresight of Man could not have prevented it; for who can contend with the Elements? It was owing, in great Part, to the Badness of the Weather, but more to the Obstructions caused the Besiegers by Count Tallard, who, with a flying Camp, having hovered, for some Days, about Dusseldorp, posted himself on the other Side of the Rhine, over-against the Camp before Keyferswaert, from whence he, in particular, very much annoyed the Prussian Quarters. Keyferswaert is a little Town, situate on the North Banks of the Rhine, about two Leagues below Dusseldorp, belonging to the Elector of Cologne. It is an Oblong, of one Street only, defended on the Land-side, by three Bastions and four Ravelins, and, towards the Rhine, by two Bastions. The Extremity or Point of an Island, below the Place, may either be of Advantage or Prejudice to it, according to the Use, that is made of it. The French possess'd themselves of this Place for Cardinal Furstemburg, in 1688; but the Elector of Brandenburg retook it, in 1689, and deliver'd it to the Elector of Cologne, who received a French Garrison into it, in 1701. The Island I mentioned above was first possess'd by the French and fortified; but taken afterwards by the Prussians. As the Rhine is very broad and deep in that Place, Count Tallard found it easy, in the Night-time, by Means of Boats, to throw as many fresh Men, and as great a Quantity of Provisions and Ammunition into the Town, as he thought fit, which the Besiegers were not able to prevent. On the other hand, the King of Prussia, who was in Wesel, furnished the Besiegers, with all they wanted, from thence.

The Confederates had reduced Keyferswaert to a Heap of Rubbish, and battered the Outworks with 48 large Cannon, and 30 Mortars, when, on the ninth of June N. S. they resolv'd to make a general Attack on the Counterscarp and Ravelin. This they executed with unparallel'd Bravery: The Conflict was very bloody and obstinate, for two Hours together; during which Time, nothing was to be seen but Fire and Smoak, and many brave Officers lost their Lives, on both Sides.

At

Keyferswaert described.

The Counterscarp taken by Storm;

1702.

At length, however, the Besieged were obliged to give Ground, and leave the Assailants Masters of both, and they lodged themselves accordingly. Among the Officers, who distinguish'd themselves on this Occasion, none behaved with more remarkable Conduct and Bravery, than the Prince of Nassau-Saarbrug, who commanded, and who perform'd Prodigies, giving his Orders, with great Contempt of Danger, and wonderful Presence of Mind: And the Earl of Huntington, who gave no less Proofs of his Valour, tho' but as Volunteer, and was dangerously wounded: Nor did they alone distinguish themselves; for all the other Officers, and even the common Soldiers, behaved, in this Action, beyond Expectation. This Advantage cost the Confederates, however, very dear, for they had above 2500 Men killed or wounded in the Action; but it, likewise, so much weaken'd the Garrison, that they were forced to capitulate, the fifteenth. They obtain'd honourable Terms, and march'd out, the seventeenth, after a Siege of two Months; and the Place was razed according to Agreement.

And the
Town by
Capitula-
tion.

If we will believe F. Daniel, the Marquis de Quincy, and other French Writers, this Place cost the Allies more Men, than they might probably have lost in a pitch'd Battle, the Number of the Slain amounting, according to them, to 7 or 8000 Men. It is certain the Besiegers lost a great many Men, considering the Smallness of the Place; but I never found that the Number amounted to half what the French Historians would make us believe.

Upon the taking of the Counterscarp, Count Tallard, finding he could be of no farther Service to the Besieged, join'd the grand Army, under the Command of the Duke of Burgundy, which, by the calling in of all their other Detachments, became greatly superiour to that of the Confederates, under the Earl of Athlone; and they were so sensible of it, that they resolved to put in Execution, without Delay, the *Grand Coup d'Eclat* (or bold, surprizing Stroke) which they had, for some Time before, boasted of; and of which I shall now give my Readers an Account.

The Duke of Burgundy's Army having been re-inforced, as I have observed above, by several Detachments, and particularly by the Troops of the French King's Household, the Marshal de Boufflers decamp'd from Santen, the tenth of June, N. S. about eight o'Clock in the Morning, without Sound of Trumpet, or Beat of Drum, and directed his March thro' the Plains of Gock, seeming to encline towards the Mocker-Heyde, close by Nimeguen, as if his Design was to get between the Confederate Army, under the Command of the Earl of Athlone, and Nimeguen, and by that Means to cut them off from their Provisions, Ammunition and Forrage, which would have very much exposed

A bold At-
tempt of the
Marshal de
Bouffler's;

1702.

exposed that City, as well as several other neighbouring Towns.

Disposition
of the con-
federate Ar-
my there-
upon.

The Earl of Athlone, having timely Notice of the Enemy's March, and rightly judging what their Design was, called a Council of the General Officers, in which it was unanimously resolved, that the Confederates should begin their March, about eight the same Evening, in the following Order. The Baggage was sent away to Nimeguen, leaving Cranenburg, on the Right; and four Battalions were detached to Grave; the first Line marched in one Column, between the Woods, at the Head of the confederate Camp, at Cranenburg; in which Woods, the French had, by that Time, posted a numerous Body of Foot and Dragoons; while the second Line march'd between the first Line and Cranenburg, leaving the Town on the right Hand. The Prince of Wirtemberg was detach'd, with a great Body of Horse, upon the Left of the Confederate's March; and Colonel Frederick Hamilton, with three Batalions of English, under the Lord Cuts, was, likewise, detach'd to secure the Prince's Retreat, and to take Care of the High-way of Norgina, by which the Enemy might, otherwise, have easily fallen on the Confederates, in their March, which two Detachments both rejoined the Earl upon his Entrance into the Mocker-Heyde. About Day-break, the Earl made a Halt, and receiving farther Intelligence of the Strength of the Enemy, it was resolved, that the Cavalry should be drawn up, in Order of Battle, to cover the March of the Infantry, which, at the same time, was directed to keep along the rising Grounds, making Halts, and putting themselves in Battle-Array from time to time, as the Generals, who led them, should think fit, and keeping always in Sight of the Horse, that they might be ready to support them, if they should be attack'd. About eleven, in the Morning, the Foot had gained the narrow Passes, and lined the Hedges; and the French Horse advancing, in great Numbers, with the Troops of the Household at their Head, press'd hard upon the Earl, who was at the Head of the Horse, and behaved with great Resolution; however, he made his Retreat in good Order, passing thro' the Lane, along which the Foot were posted, and keeping at the same Time, as broad a Front as the Ground would permit. In the mean Time, a considerable Body of Horse was ordered to the rising Ground on the right Hand; whereupon, the Troops of the French King's Household, charging some of the Dutch Squadrons, just as they were wheeling, in Pursuance of their Orders, push'd them upon the Foot, and put two or three Battalions into Confusion; but, by the Conduct of the General Officers, no farther Mischief ensued, and the Enemy were soon repulsed. On the other Side, there happened a rude Encounter between some of the Squadrons of the French Household, and some Danish Horse,

The Design
frustrated.

with

1702.

with some of the Earl's Carabineers, who so vigorously maintained their Ground, that the French were beaten back, tho' with equal Loss; and the French themselves were oblig'd to own, that they could not enough admire the Courage of these Troops: Both Parties having charged, Hand to Hand, without firing. By this time the Confederates were got under the Cannon of Nimeguen, which, soon after, began to play upon the Enemy; and the Burghers of that City signaliz'd themselves, on this Occasion, in an extraordinary Manner; for tho' they had not a Gunner in the Town, they manag'd their Artillery with a surprizing Success. The English, who had the Honour to close the Retreat, maintain'd their Post in excellent Order, being assisted by the Prince of Wirtemberg, who put a Stop to the Troops of the Household, which were advanced very near them, and preparing to charge them, towards the End of their March. Twenty Battalions of Foot were thereupon posted in the Outworks of Nimeguen, and the whole Army was under Arms, all that Night, as the Enemy was likewise.

The next Morning, a great Body of French Horse and Foot advanced towards the Allies, as if they intended to attack them; but this they did only to cover the March of their own Army, which filed off towards Cleves, venting their Rage at their Disappointment, upon the defenseless Country, which they rifled and laid waste; destroying the Park, and all the delicious Walks and Avenues to that charming Place. If we will give Credit to the Marquis de Quincy, the French made a Booty, upon this Occasion, of the Value of above 500,000 Crowns, and near 20,000 Oxen. Thus was the important City of Nimeguen (which, if taken, would have afforded the French an Opportunity to penetrate into the very Heart of the United Provinces) almost miraculously preserved, being but in an indifferent Condition, and the Enemy missing but half an Hour of arriving in the Outworks, before the Earl of Athlone. The Design was well laid, and, as we see, wanted very little of being as well executed. It must have had fatal Effects, had it succeeded; for the French would either have got into Nimeguen, or have forced the Earl of Athlone to fight, at a great Disadvantage; but the Earl so carefully watched their Motions, that he got before them; tho', by this Means, as we have seen, he was obliged to abandon Cleves, to the Fury of the Enemy. The Burghers, seeing their imminent Danger, did Wonders, upon this Occasion, it being they themselves, who, at the first Approach of the Enemy, broke open the Doors of the Arsenal, and bringing out the Cannon, Bullets, and Ammunition, haul'd the same, without Horses, and planted them on the Ramparts and Outworks; so that, in a little Time, they fired upon the Enemy, with 160 Pieces.

1702.

I have not found any certain Account, what was the Loss, on either Side, in this Action. If we will believe the Marquis de Quincy, the French lost, at most, but 150 Men, and 50 Horses, and the Allies, at least, 11 or 1200. But, all Circumstances considered, this Computation is too extravagant to gain Credit.

Prudent
Conduct of
the Earl of
Athlone.

The prudent Conduct of the Earl of Athlone, on this Occasion, raised his Credit, as much as it sunk that of Boufflers, who, tho' he had a superiour Army, animated by the Presence of so great a Prince, yet was able to do nothing. Every Thing he undertook was unsuccessful, and his Parties, which engaged with those of the Earl of Athlone, were almost always beaten.

• Landau be-
sieged.

While these Things were transacting on the Lower Rhine, Prince Lewis of Baden decamped, on the sixteenth of June, N. S. from Langencandel, and posted his Army before Landau, where he spent the rest of the Month, in raising Batteries, and making his Approaches. Landau is a small, but strong City of Germany, in the Lower Circle, and Palatinate of the Rhine, once Imperial; but subject to the French ever since the Treaty of Munster. It stands on the River Queich, about eight Miles South of Neustadt, about thirteen West of Philipsburg, and about sixteen South-West of Spire. Of this Siege I shall only mention, that the King of the Romans was present at it, and that it surrender'd the twelfth of September.

The Earl of
Marib. made
Master-Gen-
eral of the
Ordnance.

Arrives at
the Hague.

Thus was the State of the Campaign, before the Earl of Marlborough (to whom I shall now return) left England. He set out for Holland, the twelfth of May, her Majesty having, for the better Support of his Dignity, conferred upon him the Place of Master-General of the Ordnance. His Lordship, upon his Arrival at the Hague, having the Character of Ambassadour as well as Captain-General, had several Conferences with the Deputies of the States, before he departed for the Army; in which he gave them all possible Assurances of her Majesty's Affection, and Resolution to support them in all Emergencies. The Earl of Athlone, was set on, by the other Dutch Generals, to insist on his Quality of Velt-Marshal, and, as such, to share the Command with the Earl of Marlborough, by Turns. His late Conduct had brought him into a high Reputation; however, the States obliged him, in this, to yield to the Earl, whom, notwithstanding this Opposition, they declared, as I have said above, Generalissimo of all their Forces, and sent Orders to all their Generals, and other Officers, to obey him. Their Prudence and Policy in this was generally applauded; for as, on the one hand, no Person was better qualified for the supreme Command, than his Lordship; so, on the other side, nothing could endear them more to her Majesty, to whom this additional Honour, conferred on her General, could not but be

Is declared
Generalissi-
mo of the
Dutch For-
ces.

highly

highly acceptable, as it was, likewise, to the English Nation in general. 1702.

The Earl, on his Side, made so modest and becoming a Use of the Power put into his Hands, as soon gain'd him the Hearts of all the General Officers who were under him; and, to the Earl of Athlone, in particular, he behaved in so courteous and obliging a Manner, that the Command seemed to be equal between them.

His prudent Conduct.

All Things being now regulated with the Deputies of the States, his Lordship left the Hague, the thirtieth of June, N. S. and went to Breda, from whence he sent what Detachments could be spared, from that Place, and other Garrisons, to the Camp at Nimeguen. He follow'd thither himself, the second of July, where the next Day, the Earl of Athlone, Lieutenant-General Dopf, and the other General Officers, made him a Visit. At an Interview with them, he gave the necessary Orders for drawing the Army together. Nineteen Battalions of the Troops which had been employ'd at the Siege of Keyserfwaert, the Troops of Hesse and Lunenburg, the English Forces from Breda, under Major General Lumley, and other Troops, having joined the Army, a Camp was formed at Deckenberg, and Budweick, consisting of seventy-six Battalions of Foot, and 120 Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, amounting together, to about 60,000 Men, with sixty-two Cannon, eight Mortars, and Hawbitzers, and four and twenty Pontons. Thither the Earl went, likewise, and, on the eighth, he called a Council of War, of all the General Officers, to concert the farther Operations of the Campaign.

He goes to Nimeguen, and takes upon him the Command of the Army.

Force of the Confederate Army.

I cannot forbear observing, upon this Occasion, the Disingenuity of a French Officer and Author (the Marquis de Quincy) who, speaking of the Earl of Marlborough's Arrival, to command the Army, to depreciate his Capacity, says; "This new General, who had not yet appear'd at the Head of an Army, attain'd to this high Pitch of Honour, by the Influence his Lady had with the Queen of England." But in this he shews himself an imperfect, as well as partial Historian. The Author of the Continuation of Rapin shews he was better acquainted with this great Man's Character, when, speaking of the Wisdom of the Queen's Choice of him, to be her General, he says; "Never was there a better Choice of a General; by this Choice alone, Queen Ann outdid all her Predecessor had ever done for the Glory and Advantage of the Nation: This great Man (adds he) was born to acquire an immortal Glory at the Head of Armies. It was a Happiness to France, and a Misfortune to England, and her Allies, that King William (who was almost always unfortunate) did not place him at the Head of his Troops. This Hero was of a noble and

Disingenuity of a French Author.

1702.



“ martial Presence, and of a ready and penetrating Understanding. His Intrepidity render'd him incapable of being either disturb'd or deceiv'd, in the Measures he took; he was not, however, so attach'd to them, but that he could change them, when Circumstances requir'd it. He was quick-sighted to a Miracle; he no sooner cast his Eye on an Army, an Intrenchment, or a Place, but he knew the Fort and the Foible, the good and the bad State of it: He was active, vigilant, bold in his Designs, but bolder, yet always with Prudence and Circumspection, in the Execution of them; and what is more, he was inspired with a certain Confidence, a sort of Assurance of Victory, that he knew how to infuse into his Soldiers; to all these great Talents we may add Humanity and Courtesy. So far from insulting the Vanquish'd, he had a sincere Compassion for them, and endeavour'd to alleviate their Misfortunes, &c.”

The Earl goes in Pursuit of the Enemy.

The Earl of Athlone was always inclined to cautious and sure, tho', at the same Time, feeble Counsels; but the Earl of Marlborough, when the Army was thus brought together, finding his Force if not superiour in Number to that of the Duke of Burgundy, yet justly so by other Advantages, march'd his Army, on the sixteenth, over the Maese, and encamp'd at Over-Affelt, near Grave, within two Leagues and a half of the Enemy, who had entrench'd themselves between Gock and Genep.

Force of the Enemy's Army.

Upon this Occasion, he is reported to have said to the Field-Deputies of the States-General, *That the French should be no longer their bad Neighbours, and that he would oblige them to march farther off from that Country, with a Witness*: Whether our Hero did give the Deputies this Assurance, I shall not pretend to determine, and the less, because it seems, in some measure, to exceed the Bounds of his accustomed Modesty; but that he perform'd what is here insinuated, we shall soon see.

The late D. of York serves under the Earl.

I have not any where found the Force of the Enemy's Army, at this Time, certainly determin'd. One Author, upon Hear-say, computes it at 80 Battalions of Foot, and 150 Squadrons of Horse, having with them 92 Cannons, 21 Mortars and Hawbitzers, and 32 Pontons: But sure, with so great a Superiority, they would have stood their Ground, their Troops not being yet discourag'd by any very ill Success.

The Earl had a great Number of illustrious Volunteers in his Army, who were desirous of improving in the Art of War, under so renowned a General; among these was Prince Ernest Augustus of Hannover (afterwards Duke of York, and Bishop of Osnabrug, the late King's younger Brother) whom he declared Major-General of the Army, which his Highness was pleas'd to accept of. At the same Time his Lordship appointed

Colonel

Colonel Withers, Colonel Stanley, and Colonel Frederick Hamilton, Brigadiers of three English Brigades.

1702.

The six and twentieth, the Confederate Army repass'd the Maese, below the Grave, and on the eight and twentieth, encamp'd at Geldorp, upon which Motion, the French went over the same River, about Venlo. Two Days after, the Allies removed from Geldorp to Gravenbroeck, where finding a French Garrison, in the Castle, seated in a Morass, and surrounded by a double Ditch, and good Pallisadoes, a Detachment under the Command of the Lord Cuts, briskly attack'd it, and with the Assistance of four Cannon and two Hawbitzers, after a short Resistance, obliged the Garrison, consisting of a Captain and 100 Men, to surrender at Discretion. The same Day the British Artillery arrived in the Camp from Holland, under Convoy of two English Regiments of Horse, and two of English Foot, which had left England the Beginning of June.

The Earl continues to pursue the French.

Takes the Castle of Gravenbroeck.

The second of August, N. S. they advanced to Petit Brugel, following the French, who retreated as they advanced, so close, that they were obliged to abandon the Spanish Guelderland, which was thereby left to the Discretion of the Confederates. The Earl was for venturing, upon any Terms, on a decisive Action, for which End, the whole Army was order'd to their Arms, the next Morning early: But the Dutch were fearful of putting things to such a Hazard, and would not consent to it. The Pensionary, and those who were at the Helm, at the Hague, proceeded with the more Caution, because, upon the King's Death, those who had always opposed him, begun to form Parties in several of their Towns, and were designing a Change of Government; so that any publick Misfortune in their Conduct, would have given great Advantages to those who lay upon the watch for them. The Pensionary was more particularly aimed at, and this made him the more unwilling to run any Risque. Those who pretended to be good Judges thought, that if the Earl of Marlborough's Advice had been followed, Matters might have been brought to a happy Decision; and the more, as it afterwards appear'd, that the French Army was not above half got to their Camp, greatly fatigued by an almost continual March, of two Days and two Nights, and in the greatest Consternation: But as the Earl was prudent in his Conduct of the Army, so he was careful not to take too much upon himself.

The French retreat.

The Earl is for engaging them: But the Dutch are against it.

From Petit-Brugel, the Army march'd, in order to demolish the Walls of Peer and Bray, in the Bishoprick of Liege, two small Towns which had been of great Service to the Enemy, in securing their Convoys. The twelfth, the Confederate Army encamp'd at Everbeck; and, on the twenty-second, at Holchen, where they found the French seemingly preparing to receive

Farther Motions of the Confederate Army.

1702.

ceive them, being very advantageously posted, and having received divers Re-inforcements, making about 18 or 20,000 Men : So that they were now in a Condition, if Courage had not been wanting, to venture an Engagement. The Earl of Marlborough rang'd his Troops in Order of Battle, and in that Manner continued his March. The Duke of Burgundy, and the French Generals, ranged their Army, likewise, in Order of Battle ; tho' they very well knew there could be no Action ; the two Armies being separated by Marshes and Defiles, in such Manner that it was impossible for either to attack the other, without a very great Hazard. In this Posture both Armies remained two Days cannonading each other, and expecting which would begin the Attack : But the French, not willing to run the Risque, tho' they were so well secured, decamp'd silently in the Night, and took Post at Berringen.

The French to do some Honour, at least, to the Duke of Burgundy, for this his first Campaign, pretended it was the Allies who declin'd the Battle. " The Enemy (says a late Author) " continued in Order of Battle, during the whole Time the two " Armies cannonaded one another, and if they had but advanced " never so little towards us, an Engagement would have ensued ; " but they would not come out of their advantageous Camp. " The Duke of Burgundy took a View of this Situation, the " next Morning, at Break of Day ; but he found it impossible " to attack them. The Enemy having, however, made a " Motion, the 24th, we were in Hopes then, we should have " been able to have come at them ; but having Intelligence, by " several Ways, that they had, on their Left, a Morass that " was unpassable, and a Water on their Right, so that it would " have been very difficult to come near them ; it was determin'd " to retreat, in order to secure a Convoy, which was expected " to join the Army." The same Author, with equal Justice, pretends, that the Allies had 7 or 800 Men kill'd or wounded by their Cannon ; but that, on their Side, they had only 106 kill'd, and 140 wounded. A very pretty Gloss to cover a precipitate Retreat ! A Retreat (I say) so precipitate, that the Baggage not being able to follow quick enough, the Duke of Burgundy, according to their own Accounts, was obliged to sleep in the open Air.

Brigadier Ross, with some Squadrons, fell in with their Rear, and charg'd them, in their Flight, for upwards of a League together ; but without any considerable Advantage, with such Precipitation they fled before him : A great Number of the Enemy's Troops took, however, this Occasion to desert. The Confederate Army was at this Time encreas'd to 24 Battalions, and 150 Squadrons, having with them 92 Cannon, 21 Mortars and

and Hawbitzers, and 40 Pontons ; but the French Army was, likewise, by this Time, augmented more than in Proportion. 1702.

The Duke of Burgundy, in the mean Time, finding himself thus obliged to retreat, as the Confederate Army advanced, thought it very unbecoming his Dignity to continue in the French Army under these Disadvantages ; so he left the Marshal to command, and ended his first Campaign very ingloriously ; and, it is plain, the French King was dissatisfied with the Conduct of Boufflers ; for he never repos'd any Confidence in him afterwards. This may be said of the Marshal de Boufflers, in general, that as long as he only commanded a flying Camp, to surprize a Post, bombard a City, or perform any other Expedition of that Nature, he justly acquired a Reputation : But the Office of a General, which requires great Judgment, as well as Valour, was too much for him, and he soon sunk under the Weight of it.

The Duke of Burgundy sick of the Campaign.

Character of the Marshal de Boufflers.

The Dutch, who were in the deepest Consternation, but a few Weeks before, on the Retreat of their Army, under the Cannon of Nimeguen (before the Earl of Marlborough arrived) had now the Pleasure to see the Enemy flee in their Turn ; and thus were the United Provinces preserv'd by the Earl's Prudence and Vigilance, whilst the Duke of Burgundy, who, as I have said above, came to the Army to be taught how to fight, learnt nothing from the Marshal de Boufflers, but how to avoid an Engagement.

Happiness of the Dutch under the Conduct of the Earl of Marlboro'.

The Earl of Marlborough went on, taking several Places, which made little or no Resistance ; but finding, at length, that the French were not to be brought to an Engagement, on equal Terms, and the Deputies of the States General, who followed the Army, having represented to him, that it was much more for the Advantage of Holland, to dispossess the Enemy of the Places they yet held in the Spanish Guelderland, whereby the free Navigation on the Maese was interrupted, and the important Town of Maestricht, in a manner block'd up, he therefore, dispos'd all Things for the Siege of Venlo. General Schultz, in the mean Time, with a small Detachment, six Cannon, and two Hawbitzers, took the Town and Castle of Wert, which capitulated after a short Resistance.

His Success.

The Castle of Wert taken.

Some Accounts say, that when the Confederate Army march'd, the twenty-second of August, N. S. from Everbeck to Holchteren, the Earl was resolv'd to force the French to quit their Camp at Bergeick, or cut off their Convoys. That when the former came to their Ground, the Enemy appear'd, as I have said above, in Battle Array, behind several Morasses and Defiles ; whereupon the Confederates actually advanced against them ; but their Eagerness to fight was put a Stop to by the Badness of the Ground, upon which Account, they could not

1702.

The French
avoid a Bat-
tle.

The Earl of
Marlboro'
decamps.

Some Off-
cers disgust-
ed at it.

Extract of a
Letter from
the Earl of
Albemarle
to Monf. *
at Zell.

Siege of
Venlo.

come at the French without great Disadvantage ; tho' the Ar-
mies were once so near together, as to cannonade one another a
whole Day together. The Earl of Marlborough saw now very
plainly, that they were as assiduous to avoid a Battle, as he to
engage them to it ; for they always retired before him, or post-
ed themselves in unaccessible Places : He therefore thought fit
to decamp from thence, the nine and twentieth, and march'd
to Asch ; resolving to drive the Enemy from their Holds on the
Maese, and secure the Navigation of that River, and the Com-
munication with Maastricht.

Several Officers, shew'd however, a Dislike at the Earl's De-
camping, and thought the Enemy might have been attack'd,
without too great a Hazard ; but the Earl knew, by what had
pass'd before, that the Deputies would never have consented to
it.

The Lord Albemarle, in a Letter to Monf. * * * * at Zell,
of the fifth of September, has the following Expressions, on this
Occasion ; *Voila notre brave Prince Eugene, qui a fait des Mer-
veilles ; Je me mange le Cœur de Chagrin, de ce que je vois, que
nous profitons ici si peu de notre Avantage ; car huit ou dix jours
passés, lorsque nous étions en présence de Ennemis, nous ne devions
pas les avoir laissé échaper, comme nous avons fait, & on aura
cette negligence à se reprocher long tems.* (That is, " Our brave
" Prince Eugene has done Wonders ; I could almost die with
" Vexation to see we are so little the better here, for our Ad-
" vantage ; for when we were, eight or ten Days ago, within
" Sight of the Enemy, we ought not to have let them escape,
" as we did ; and we shall have Reason, a long while, to blame
" ourselves for this Neglect."

The same Day, the Town of Venlo was invested by Monf.
Obdam, with a Detachment of English and Dutch, command-
ed under him by the Lord Cuts, on one Side of the Maese, by
Fort St. Michael, and by the Margrave of Brandenburg, the
late King of Prussia's Brother, with his Prussian Majesty's For-
ces, commanded, under him, by the Baron de Heyde, on the
other. General Cohorn had the Direction of the Attacks, and
the Prince of Nassau Saarbrug had the Command of the Siege.
Upon this, the Duke of Burgundy, who had before quitted
the French Army, returned to Paris, to avoid being Witness of
the Taking of that Place. The French, however, pretend,
that the Reason of the Duke of Burgundy's leaving the Army
was, because he had been obliged to make Detachments from
it, to reinforce all the Garrisons of the Spanish Netherlands,
the Bishoprick of Liege, and Electorate of Cologne, which had
so weakened his Troops, that there were no more Laurels to be
gather'd in this Campaign. But it would be very difficult to
say where he gather'd any before.

Venlo

Venlo is a very strong Town in the Low Countries, in the Territory of Ruremond, in Spanish Guelderland. It stands on the River Maese, near the Bishoprick of Juliers, ten Miles South West of Guelders, and eleven North of Ruremond. The Troops employ'd in this Siege, at both Attacks, consisted of two and thirty Battalions, and six and thirty Squadrons, with 64 Cannon, 24 Mortars, and Hawbitzers, and a great Number of Cohorn-Mortars. The Town and Fort were commanded by the Count de Varo, Major-General L'Abadie, and two Brigadiers, having under their Command six Battalions of Foot, and two Squadrons of Horse, with 38 Cannon, and 12 Mortars mounted, and great Store of Ammunition.

1702.
A Description
of the
Place.

The seventh of September, N. S. the Trenches were opened, on both Sides the Maese, without any Loss, the Confederates having cast up such high Works as almost covered them, before they were perceived by the Enemy. The eighth, the Besiegers were reinforced, by a Body of Munster Troops, consisting of 2000 Foot, and 500 Horse; and, the following Days, the Attacks were carried on with great Vigour: But the most memorable Action, which happened during this Siege, was perform'd by the Lord Cuts.

The Trenches open'd.

" This Lord Cuts was a Cambridgeshire Gentleman, who enter'd early into the Service of the Duke of Monmouth, and attended his Fortunes abroad. He served the Duke of Lorrain in Hungary, as Aid-de-Camp. At the Revolution, he came over with King William, had a Regiment of Foot given him, and was afterwards made an Irish Peer. He was likewise, in the Sequel, made Governour of the Isle of Wight, had the second Regiment of Foot-Guards, and was first promoted to the Post of Major-General; but afterwards, on the Accession of Queen Ann to the Throne, she made him Lieutenant-General of the Forces in Holland. He was affable, familiar, and truly brave. He had a Flow of Wit, which, however, was too much temper'd with Vanity and Self-Conceit. Few considerable Actions happened, in which he had not a Share, and he was wounded in every Action in which he served. He had always the Character of a vigilant Officer, and he was famous for carrying military Orders into Execution: With all this he was an agreeable Companion; but so very expensive, that tho' he had a very good Estate, he was always in Debt."

Character of
Lord Cuts.

On the eighteenth, his Lordship was commanded to attack Fort St. Michael, between the Bastion, which is next the Plain, and the Ravelin, which lies on the North-side of it, having under his Command Brigadier General Hamilton, with the Royal Regiment of Ireland, and General Hukelom's Regiment, and a Lieutenant Colonel, with 172 Grenadiers and 100 Fusiliers,

Fort St. Michael storm'd by the Lord Cuts and the English.

1702.



fileers (some Accounts say 200 of the former, and 150 of the latter) most English, under a Lieutenant-Colonel; as also 300 Workmen, with a competent Number of Engineers, under Colonel Blood. His Lordship's Orders were to make a Lodgment, from the Point of the Ravelin to the Bastion, leaving him at Liberty to proceed farther, if he found it practicable; and, at the same Time, the Prince of Anhalt, with the same Number of Troops, was to make an Attack, between the Bastion and the Ravelin, on the North Side, with the like discretionary Orders, either to lodge himself, or to advance, as he should see Occasion. The Signal for both Attacks, which was to be the Blowing up a Barrel of Powder, and the Discharge of all the Batteries of the Besiegers, both Cannon and Mortars, was accordingly made a little before six in the Evening.

Prudent
Manage-
ment of the
Lord Cuts.

The Lord Cuts, who, at first, had no Thoughts of taking the main Fort, had given Orders, on his Attack, to the Officers who led the Grenadiers, first to clear the Covered Way of the Enemy; and, if they saw it practicable, when that was done, to attack the Ravelin, Sword in Hand, assuring them, in the Hearing of all the Grenadiers, that, *as soon as he saw fifty of the latter, upon the Top of the Ravelin, he would sacrifice himself and his Troops, rather than not sustain them*; and that, therefore, they might go on with Undauntedness, if they found it possible to pass: His Lordship heightened their Courage and Alacrity, by promising Rewards, in her Majesty's Name, to all who should signalize themselves. His Lordship's Orders were executed, with inexpressible Vigour and Chearfulness, and, as soon as the Grenadiers, whom his Lordship, with distinguish'd Intrepidity, and admirable Presence of Mind, sustained with fresh Numbers, had cleared the Counterscarp, with their Fire, and avoided a Mine, which was unsuccessfully sprung by the Enemy, they boldly attack'd the Ravelin, Sword in Hand, encouraging and assisting one another, upon the Assurance of being seconded.

Bravery.

This the Lord Cuts perceiving, he according to his Promise, march'd with all his Forces, engag'd the Enemy, and was soon Master of the Ravelin. The French then made a great Fire upon the English, from the Rampart of the Fort; upon which, the Lord Cuts sent Orders to the Officers, that were at the Head of the Grenadiers, to throw in their Grenadoes, and attack the Fort, Sword in Hand, if it were possible to find a Passage; which they did, by charging and following the Enemy so close, that they had not Time to break the Bridge, tho' it was hotly disputed by Fire, and Push of Pike, especially by the Enemy's Grenadiers from the Flank of one of their Bastions: But the Bravery of the English Grenadiers surmounted all Difficulties, by following the Example of their Officers, and some brave English and other Volunteers of Distinction, as the Prince Ernest Augustus, late Duke

Duke of York, the Earl of Huntington, the Lord Lorn (now Duke of Argyle) the Lord Mark Kerr, the Prince d'Avergne, Sir Richard Temple Baronet (now Lord Viscount Cobham) Colonel Webb, and Mr. Dalrimple. Some of them attack'd the Bridge, and others clamber'd up the Ramparts, after having thrown in their Grenadoes, and forced their Way into the Fort. The Earl of Huntingdon call'd to the Soldiers, who had got over the Pallisadoes, to help him over, and promis'd all the Money he had about him, which he gave them very generously, and led them on with much Bravery and Success. The Enemy continued to defend themselves, till the English pour'd in so fast upon them, that they were no longer able to resist; which as soon as the Lord Cuts perceived, he check'd the Fury of the Soldiers, and put a Stop to the Slaughter. The English took about 200 Prisoners, of whom, 30 were Officers, with a Brigadier-General, and the Governour; but all the rest, that were in the Fort, to the Number of 600, were killed, or drowned, in endeavouring to escape, except twelve (the French say eighty) who pass'd the Maese in small Boats.

1702.
Brave Action of the Earl of Huntingdon.

The Fort taken.

The French, to depreciate the Honour gain'd by the Allies, and more particularly by the English, in this Action, pretend, that being sensible of the Weakness of the Garrison of the Fort, Orders had been given them, that Morning, to abandon the Cover'd-way and Half-moons, to cut off the Draw-bridges, and to make what Fire they could from the Body of the Place; that they were just about executing these Orders, when the Allies attack'd the Cover'd-way of the Fort; and that the whole Garrison consisted only of Men, just come out of the Hospitals of Ruremond and Venlo, not perfectly recovered.

Pretences of the French to lessen the Honour of it.

When the Lord Cuts found himself entirely in Possession of the Forts, having left 400 Men in the Out-works, he posted a Guard at the great Port towards the Town, and a small Guard at each Sally-Port, seized the Magazines, sent out a Hundred Grenadiers to discover, on the Side of the Maese, if any of the Enemy were there, drew up the rest of his Troops, upon the Rampart, towards the Town, turned the Enemy's Cannon upon themselves, made a Discharge to give Notice to the Camp that all was well, and continued under Arms all Night. In the Magazine of the Fort, and round the Rampart, were found 30 fine Brass Cannon, six Mortars, and a large Quantity of Powder, Ball, Corn, Meal, Brandy, and other Provisions.

Of the English, in this Action, two Captains were wounded, two Lieutenants, and one Ensign killed, and three wounded; one Serjeant killed, and three wounded, 130 Men kill'd, and 32 wounded; and the Lord Cuts's Aid de Camp, Captain Bolas, with Mr. Eley, an English Volontier, kill'd on the Spot.

Loss of the English in this Action.

1702.

Bravery of
the late
Duke of
York,

And of Col.
Blood.

Bravery and
Skill of
Monf. de la
Martinerie.

Gallant
Conduct of
the Prince
of Anhalt.

Vento fur-
renders.

The Loss of the Dutch was no less than that of the English.

Never was more Bravery shewn, than on this Occasion, by all, both Officers and Soldiers, of the respective Nations, under his Lordship's Command, but especially the English. Among the rest, the Prince of Hannover, a Volontier at this Siege, pass'd the Night before the Attack in the Trenches, with the Lord Cuts, behaved himself with a great deal of Gallantry, and staid most of the Night with his Lordship in the Fort. Colonel Blood, who acted as first Engineer, under General Cohorn, and was to have made the Lodgment, when he saw that the Lord Cuts had quitted that Design, to push on farther, as we have seen, shew'd the Part of a brave Officer, charging with the Men, Sword in Hand, and killing an Officer of the Enemy's Grenadiers, who made a vigorous Opposition with his Party; and Monf. de la Martinerie, a French Protestant Engineer, lately sent from England by his Royal Highness, was also very serviceable in this Action, as well by his Bravery as his Skill: For it was partly thro' his Advice, that the Lord Cuts resolv'd to make himself Master of the Fort; rightly conjecturing, that if the Enemy made a vigorous Resistance at the Ravelin, and were beaten off, as, indeed, they were, they would be so fatigued, as not to be able to hold out long in the Fort; and it happened so accordingly. This was a bold and glorious Action, chiefly owing to the Bravery and Conduct of the Lord Cuts, who himself behaved in so gallant a Manner, as justly deserved a general Applause.

Whilst these glorious Actions were performing on the Side of the Lord Cuts's Attack, the Prince of Anhalt behaved himself with Gallantry suitable to his Birth, and his Troops, encouraged by his Example, attack'd the Enemy with all imaginable Vigour, and carried the Ravelin, on their Side, Sword in Hand; but the French having broke the Bridge, between that Ravelin and the Fort, tho' some of the Prussians leap'd into the Ditch and swam over, it was impossible for the rest of their Troops to pass.

The Besiegers employed the four following Days in firing furiously from their Batteries upon the Wall of the Town, in order to widen the Breaches; and all other necessary Preparations were made for a general Assault, to which the Soldiers shew'd an eager Desire. The twenty-third, the Confederates, having received Advice of the Surrender of Landau, express'd their Joy for the News, in Order of Battle, with the triple Discharge of all their Cannon and small Arms. This the Besieged, as it was reported, took to be a Signal for the approaching Storm upon the Town; because the Attack of Fort St. Michael, which had very much intimidated the Garrison, begun in the

same Manner; they, therefore, immediately beat a Parley, and surrender'd the Place, on the five and twentieth. French Writers themselves allow, that the great Motions they observed in the Camp of the Besiegers, the 23d in the Evening, which they apprehended was in order to a general Assault, determin'd them to beat a Parley, and desire to capitulate. Pursuant to the Capitulation, they were conducted to Antwerp, with their Arms and Baggage; but without any Cannon or Mortars, as they at first insisted on, and which the Prince of Nassau Saarbrug would, upon no Account allow them. During this Siege, which lasted four Weeks, the Besieged are computed to have lost as many Men, and more commission'd Officers, than the Besiegers.

The Earl of Marlborough was no sooner informed of the Surrender of Venlo, than his active Genius put him upon making the best of the Remainder of the Season, and pushing on to new Conquests. He, therefore, ordered those English, Dutch and Prussian Forces, which had taken Venlo, to invest Ruremond (or Roermond) another Town of Spanish Guelderland, of equal, or more considerable Importance, tho' not so well fortified as Venlo; a place generally reckoned the second City of Guelderland, standing upon the Maese, at the Confluence of that River and the Roer; eleven Miles South of Venlo, and one and twenty South of Guelders: It has several stately Monasteries, among which, that of the Carthusians is the most considerable. The Town was invested, the nine and twentieth of September, N. S. and the Confederates, as soon as the Trenches were opened, attacking it with a more than common Vigour, or rather Fury, the Garrison, consisting of four Battalions of Foot, commanded by the Prince de Hoorn, found it was to no Purpose to attempt a long Resistance. They, therefore, beat a Parley, the sixth of October, and, the next Day, surrendered the Town upon Articles, the Garrison being conducted to Lovain.

During this short Siege, Stevenswaert, a small, but very strong Town, or rather Fortrefs, seated on a small Island, in the Middle of the Maese, above five Miles to the South of Ruremond, defended by a Colonel, with 400 Men, being likewise vigorously attack'd, by General Schultz, with a Detachment, and taken by Capitulation, the Navigation of the Maese was thereby opened, and made free, between Maestricht and Holland: And, all this while, the Marshal de Boufflers sat still, without making any Motion for the Relief of these important Places, or even so much as to aim at Offering the Allies any Diversion.

Ruremond,

Ard Stevens-
waert, be-
sieged and
taken.

CHAP. II.

The Siege of Liege, with other Transactions, to the Conclusion of the Year 1702.

1702.

The Siege of Liege resolved upon.

A short Account of that City.

WITH these considerable Conquests, the Deputies of the States would very willingly have sat down contented; but the Earl of Marlborough, wisely foreseeing how valuable a Conquest the fine and noble City of Liege would be, and how highly it would redound to the Reputation of the Confederate Arms; and, besides, the great Importance of it, as he might put a great Part of his Army in Winter there, resolved to attempt it, and thereby put a glorious End to the Campaign. This Place, which is number'd among the great Cities of Europe, has, in the City and Suburbs, above a Hundred Churches, eight of which are Collegiate, and 32 Parochial; and the Place is besides very rich and populous. It is situated in a pleasant Valley, environed with Hills, the River Maese entering it, in two Branches, accompanied with lesser Streams, which form many delightful Islands. On the Brow of a Hill, which hangs over it, is a Citadel of great Strength, which commands it. It has a famous University, endow'd with large Ecclesiastical Revenues.

Motions of the Marshal de Boufflers to prevent the Siege.

He retreats with great Precipitation.

A memorable Instance of the Earl of Marlborough's great Conduct.

Marshal de Boufflers, who soon suspected the Earl's Design, was, at length, roused from his Lethargy, and thought it high Time to do something, for the Security of that important Place, which, he justly apprehended, was in no small Danger. Being, therefore, accompanied by the Duke de Maine, and some Engineers, they took with them, he went twice to view the Fortifications of the Citadel, viz. the seven and twentieth of September, and the second of October. He likewise visited the most considerable Posts, between that City and Maastricht, making Shew at least, thereby, as if he intended to encamp there; but finding it impracticable, and being informed, that the Confederate Army was marching towards Liege, he retreated to Tongren, with great Precipitation, and, entrench'd himself there; but upon the farther Motions of the Confederate Army, not thinking himself safe enough there, he decamp'd, with his Army, from thence, and went towards Brabant, to defend such Places, as, at that Time, our brave General had no Thoughts to attack. And here, it was observable, how much the Earl of Marlborough's Intelligence and Conduct was superiour to that of the Marshal's, how he out-did him in every March, and how active he was in circumventing all his Designs, of which we have the following very memorable Instance: *His Excellency, having*

Notice

Notice where the Marshal designed to be one Day at Noon, marched so early, and was so posted, that Boufflers, with his Army, came within Shot of the Confederate Troops, before he knew where he was, and would, in all Probability, have been ruined, Horse and Foot, if the too cautious Dutch Generals (who were influenced by the Deputies of the States, attending the Army) could have been prevailed upon to venture a Battle: But that being prevented, the Marshal stole out of the Trap, by Favour of a dark Night.

1702.

Nor was the indefatigable Vigilance of our great Commander less conspicuous, in the extraordinary March he made from his Camp at Soutendale to Liege, before which Place he sat down, with his Army, the twelfth of October, N. S. The Duke decamped, with the Grand Army, about one in the Morning, and march'd, in two Columns, towards that important Place. He cross'd the Jecker, a little above Maestricht, leaving the Maese to the Left. About four, in the Afternoon, he came within Cannon Shot of the Citadel; and, about Sun-setting, both Columns joining, the Camp was formed along the Hill, near it, on the North Side; by which Means, the City, Citadel, and Lower Fort, were, in a manner, all block'd up. The Governour, and Commander in Chief, was Lieutenant-General Violane, who had twelve Battalions of Foot under his Command, and had, in the two Citadels, near 50 Pieces of Cannon and Mortars mounted, with great Store of Ammunition, and all other Necessaries.

The Confederate Army comes before Liege.

The thirteenth, the whole Army decamp'd, and advanced a little nearer to the City: At their Approach they found the Suburb of St. Walburg set on Fire by the French Garrison; and the Governour retired, with eight Battalions, into the great Citadel, having put the Remainder into the smaller Citadel, called the Chartreuse. The Chapter and Magistracy, having, the Evening before, sent Commissioners to the Earl of Marlborough, desiring to treat, and their Request being readily granted, this Day, three of the Chapter, and as many of the Magistracy, came out again, and the Articles being agreed on, they were signed by his Excellency, by the Deputies of the States General, and by the Commissioners from the Chapter and Magistracy. In Pursuance of these Articles, one of the Gates of the City was delivered up to the Confederates, the same Night, at ten o'Clock, and, on the fourteenth, they took Possession of the whole Town, with three English Regiments of Horse, and as many Battalions of Foot, under the Command of the Lord Cutts; the Keys having been delivered to the Earl of Marlborough with great Submission.

The City surrenders.

The eighteenth of October, N. S. in the Evening, the Trenches were opened before the Great Citadel, by four English Battalions, on the Right, commanded by Lieutenant-General

The Citadel besieged.

1702.

neral Sommerfelt, and the like Number of Dutch, on the Left; commanded by Lieutenant-General Fagel. The very same Evening, the Allies attacked an Entrenchment of the Enemy's, which occasioned a great Fire, on both Sides; but, at length, the French were beaten off, and, having attempted to regain that Post, they were repulsed, with considerable Loss.

The twentieth, at Sun-rising, the Batteries of the Besiegers being all erected and compleat, and mounted with 44 Cannon, and 12 Mortars, they began to play against the Citadel with great Fury, and thereby blew up a Magazine of the Enemy's, with upwards of 1000 loaded Bombs and Grenadoes, and several Barrels of Powder.

The twenty-first, the Besiegers continued to cannonade the Citadel more furiously than the Day before, and dismounted all the Enemy's Batteries, except two Pieces of Cannon, and two Mortars.

The same Evening, the Confederates throwing in some Bombs into the Place, set on Fire another of the Enemy's Magazines; in which were 6000 Grenadoes ready fill'd, and a great Quantity of Powder, which blew up, with a frightful Noise. The Attack was carried on that Night, with great Success, notwithstanding the French made a Shew of falling upon the Besiegers; but so thick a Fire was poured upon them, that they were glad to retreat, without effecting their Design.

The twenty-second, the Besiegers Batteries, which they had now considerably augmented, continued to batter the Citadel, with great Fury, and two more Magazines were set on Fire, by their Bombs. The same Evening, their small Mortars for Grenadoes (an Invention ascrib'd to Monsr. Cohorn) being ready, all the Batteries began to play, with so much Order, Dispatch, and Success, that the like was hardly ever before seen.

The twenty-third, Monsr. Cohorn perceiving that the Batteries had made a considerable Breach, resolved, with the Approbation of the Earl of Marlborough, to attack the Counterscarp, that Evening: And, accordingly, four Battalions, with a Detachment of 500 Grenadiers, on the Right, commanded by Lieutenant-General Sommerfelt, and the like Number on the Left, headed by Lieutenant-General Fagel, were appointed for that Attack, which began a little before four o'Clock, in the Afternoon. The Cannon and Mortars having plaid, till that Time, with so good Success, that four other Magazines were blown up.

The Counterscarp stormed;

The Signal being given, the Confederates advanced, with great Boldness and Unconcern, towards the Enemy: So strict an Order was likewise observed, that not a Musket was fired, tho' the French sufficiently provoked them to it, by the continual Fire on their Side. Being advanced to a proper Distance, they attacked the Counterscarp with so much Fury, that the French

French could not defend their Post, but soon abandon'd it. The Allies, in the mean time, instead of lodging themselves upon it, got into the Cover'd-way, pass'd the Ditch, mounted the Breach, at once, and took the Place by dint of Sword.

1702.

And together with the Citadel, taken Sword in Hand.

In the Heat of the Action, the Lord Cuts, who was in the City, with ten Battalions, detach'd 1200 Men, to the Assistance of the Assailants : These rush'd suddenly and unexpectedly into the Citadel, on that Side near the City ; which contributed not a little to the Success of the Attack ; for the Enemy were so surprized and daunted, to find themselves fallen upon, in this Manner, on every Side, that they quitted the Breach much sooner than there was otherwise Reason to expect they would have done.

Monf. de Violaine, the Governour, who, but five Days before, upon a Summons sent him to surrender, gave the Earl of Marlborough the haughty Answer, *that it would be Time enough to think of that six Weeks after*, was so surprized at this vigorous Attack, and unexpected Boldness, that he immediately beat a Parley : But the victorious Allies, being already in the Place, would hear nothing of it, and had killed all they met, if the French had not thrown down their Arms and beg'd Quarter, which they obtained. At the Conclusion of this glorious Action, a small Mistake happened, which was fatal to some of the Victors, who, firing some small Arms after they were in Possession of the Place, gave Occasion to those who were in the Batteries to believe, that the Enemy had rallied again, on the farther Side of the Citadel ; upon which, they poured in a whole Shower of Bombs, at random, which falling among Friends and Foes, did some Damage, before the Mistake was discovered.

An Accident occasioned by a Mistake.

All the Troops, and particularly the English, behaved themselves to Admiration, and, besides Honour, got a very considerable Booty ; for, besides 36 Pieces of Cannon, and a great Quantity of Arms and Ammunition, in the Cash of Treasure alone, they found 300,000 Florins in Gold and Silver, and Notes for 1,200,000 Florins upon substantial Merchants at Liege, which was as good as Money ; besides a valuable Parcel of Plate belonging to the Governour ; and it was affirmed, that *one of our Grenadiers got 1000 Louis d'Ors in a Bag*. Among the rest, the extraordinary Bravery of the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, deserves to be recorded ; for his Highness went Voluntier in the Attack, at the Head of the Grenadiers, and mounting the Breach, the very first, snatch'd the Colours from the French Officer. The Loss of the English (besides Mr. Wentworth, Brother to the Lord Raby, and formerly Page to King William, who went Voluntier in the said Attack) was 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 3 Captains, and 6 Subal-

A large Booty found in the Citadel.

Bravery of some Officers.

1702.

terms slain, 24 Officers wounded, 143 private Soldiers kill'd, and 360 wounded. What the Enemy lost was computed at double that Number; over and above which, the Governour and the Duke of Charost (who were carried to the Earl of Marlborough's Quarters) with the Remainder of eight Battalions, whereof three were French, which were in the Citadel, were made Prisoners at Discretion.

The Citadel being thus taken, after a Fight of about three Quarters of an Hour, the Victory of the Confederates was, soon after, compleated, by the Surrender of the Chartreuse, which they design'd to have attack'd two Days sooner, had not the stormy Weather, which happened, the six and twentieth, and seven and twentieth, damaged their Bridge of Boats.

The Chartreuse surrenders.

On the nine and twentieth, about ten in the Morning, their Mortars began to play, which having set the greatest Part of the Building in Flames, and, about two in the Afternoon, the Cannon of the Besiegers having begun to play, and batter the Place, the Garrison immediately desired to capitulate. Hostages being, hereupon, exchanged, it was agreed, that one of the Gates should be delivered to the Confederates, in the Morning, and that the Garrison, which insisted to go directly to Namur, should march out, the thirty-first, in the Evening, with their Arms, Colours flying, Drums beating, and two small Pieces of Cannon, and be conducted, by Tongres, Vogelfanck, and Herenthal, to Antwerp.

The Confederates being thus become Masters of the City of Liege, together with the great Citadel, his Excellency, the Earl of Marlborough, wrote the following Letter to the States General.

High and Mighty Lords,

The Earl of Marlborough's Letter to the States General.

I WRITE this to congratulate your High and Mighty Lordships, upon the happy Success of the Arms of the Allies, who, notwithstanding the great Number of the Soldiers in Garrison, have taken the Citadel, this Evening, by Assault, with the greatest Gallantry imaginable, and made the Governour, and those who remained, Prisoners at Discretion. Monsieur de Cohorn is going this Moment to give Orders for carrying the Cannon on the other Side, in order to attack the Chartreuse, and make Use of this good Weather while it lasts. I cannot give your High and Mightinesses the Particulars of this glorious Action, being not willing to stay the Courier, who is going to you with this

“ News,

News, longer than only to assure you, that I am, with the greatest Respect, 1702.

High and Mighty Lords,

*At the Camp before
Liege, O^r. 23d,
1702.*

Your most humble, and
Most obedient Servant,
MARLBOROUGH,

To which the States returned the following Answer.

My Lord,

“ **W**E believe it would be superfluous to tell your Excel-
“ lency, that the good News which you have been
“ pleased to send us, in your Letter of the 23d Instant,
“ was agreeable to us; since an Action so well laid, so vigo-
“ rously executed, and attended with that good and glorious
“ Success, cannot but be so in the highest Degree; we like-
“ wise, on our Part, congratulate with you, since this great Ac-
“ tion adds no less to the Glory of your Excellency, and to the
“ Reputation of the Arms of the Allies, under your prudent
“ Conduct, than it is advantageous to the common Cause, and
“ to our State in particular. We wish your Excellency the
“ same good Success before the Chartreuse, and in all your En-
“ terprizes; and we desire, you will believe, that we are truly,

The Answer
of the States.

Your Excellency's

*At the Hague,
O^ctob. 26.
1702.*

Most affectionate to serve you,

THE STATES GENERAL
of the United Provinces
of the Low Countries.

With such Success, ended this prosperous Campaign, in which many Places were taken, with an inconsiderable Loss of Time and Men. The Earl of Marlborough's Conduct and Deportment had entirely gain'd him the Affection of the Army: The States were highly satisfied, as they had Reason to be, with all he had done; and what heighten'd the Honour he had gain'd the more was, the Earl of Athlone did him the Justice to confess, that the Success was wholly owing to him; since he had differ'd in his Opinion from the Earl in every thing, that was undertaken: This, indeed, is saying much to the Advantage of our Hero; but to compleat his Glory, I shall add one Observation more: When he came to take the Command of the Army, he found it flying before the Enemy; and hardly thought secure, tho' under the Cannon of a considerable Fortrefs: But no sooner had he taken that Command, than the pale-fac'd Goddess,

The Earl of
Marlb. be-
lov'd by the
Army, and
respected by
the States.

1702.

A Medal
struck on the
Success of
the Cam-
paign.

FEAR, took up her Abode with the Enemy. They were as assiduous to avoid a Battle, as he to seek it; they even neglected Advantages they might have taken, and suffered him to undertake and execute, just what he himself would.

The Success of this first Campaign, of her Majesty's glorious Reign, occasioned the striking of a handsome Medal, according to the following Description.

On the Face is a Busto of the Queen crowned, with her usual Title.

On the Reverse, a Town besieged, and battered with Cannon and Mortars, with this Motto, VIRES. ANIMUMQUE MINISTRAT. That is, *She gives Strength and Courage.*

In the Exergue, CAPTIS. COLONIA. TRAJANA. VENLOA. RUREMUNDA. STEPHANVERDA. LEODIO MDCCII. That is, *Keyserfwaert, Venlo, Stevensfwaert, and Liege taken, 1702.*

The Confe-
derate Army
separates.

The third of November, N. S. the Confederate Army separated near Liege, and so put an End to a Campaign, glorious beyond Expectation; which was, however, succeeded by an Accident, that had almost, at once, lost the Advantages and Honour got in it. The Day the Army separated, the Earl of Marlborough went to Maestricht, where, thinking it the easiest and quickest, as well as the safest Way of returning to the Hague, he embarked the very same Evening, on the Maese, for Holland. He had a Detachment of 25 Soldiers, commanded by a Lieutenant, in the Boat with him, to serve as a Convoy. The next Morning he came to Ruremond, where he joined Monf. Cohorn: And having dined with the Prince of Holstein-Beck, Governour of that Place; they continued their Voyage together, having a Company of sixty Men in a larger Boat, which went before theirs. There was likewise a Troop of fifty Horse ordered, to ride along the Banks of the River, for his Excellency's Guard. About seven, that Evening, they came to Venlo, where the Party of Horse being relieved, by a like Number, out of that Garrison, they pursued their Way down the River. The great Boat, in which General Cohorn was, outfailed the other, and the Troopers on Shoar mistook their Way in the Night. The French had yet the Town of Guelders in their Hands, which was, indeed, the only Place they had left in Spanish Guelderland. A Party of five and thirty Men, from thence, was lurking on the Banks of the River, near three Leagues below Venlo, waiting for an Adventure; and the Company being all asleep, they seized, by Surprise, between eleven and twelve at Night, the Rope by which the Boat was drawn, and hauled it on Shoar. They immediately made a Discharge of their small Arms, and threw several Grenadoes into the Boat, by which some of the Soldiers were wounded. This
done,

The Earl of
Marlboro'
taken by a
French Par-
ty;





1702.

done, they enter'd and seiz'd the Boat, with all who were in it, before they could get in any Order to make an Opposition.

Thus had a small Number of Men the Fortune to take that General Prisoner, whom the whole French Army had not the Courage to look in the Face, the whole Summer. With the Earl, were Mons. Obdam, one of the Dutch Generals, and Mons. Gueldermalsen, one of the Deputies of the States General. They did not know the Earl, but the other two they knew; who both had Passes, according to a Civility, usually practised by the Generals on both Sides. The Earl of Marlborough's Brother had one; but, his ill State of Health having made him leave the Campaign, it remained in the Hands of his Secretary, and now served the Earl. The Date, indeed, was expired; but the Calmness, and wonderful Presence of Mind, with which he produced it, together with the Hurry they were in, and the Night, happily prevented that from being discovered. They, therefore, only rifled the Boat, searched the Trunks and Baggage, emptied them of what Plate and Things of Value they found, and took Presents from those whom they believed to be protected by their Passes; and then, after having stopp'd them several Hours, and taken his Excellency's Guard of Foot Prisoners, letting them go, they happily escaped the Danger.

But gets out of their Hands again.

The Governour of Venlo having early Notice, that his Excellency was taken; but not being informed of the Circumstances which followed, presumed he was carried Prisoner to Guelders: He, therefore, march'd out immediately, with his whole Garrison, to invest that Place. The News of it coming, likewise, to the Hague, in the same imperfect Manner, put the States under no small Consternation. They immediately assembled, and resolved to send Orders to all their Forces, to march immediately to Guelders, to threaten the Garrison with the utmost Extremities, unless they should deliver the Prisoners, and never to leave the Place, till either they had taken it, or the Generals were set free. But, before these Orders could be dispatch'd, the Earl of Marlborough came to the Hague, where he was received with inexpressible Joy, not only by the States, but by the Inhabitants, who begun to look upon him as their Guardian Angel, and, upon that Occasion, so crowded the Streets, to give his Excellency a hearty Welcome, that it was not without great Difficulty, he could get through them to his Lodgings; to such a Degree was he beloved, and of so high Esteem was the Name of Marlborough, with People of every Condition.

Consternation of the Dutch on this Occasion;

Removed by his Arrival at the Hague,

The Grand Pensionary Heinsius, when he complimented him, in the Name of the States, on his happy Escape, said: *That his Captivity had well nigh enslaved, not only their Provinces, but put it in the Power of France, to have extended her uncontrollable*

The Grand Pensionary's Compliment to the Earl.

1702.

His modest
Answer.

Dominion over all Europe, by detaining his Person, whom they could not but look upon as destin'd by PROVIDENCE, to be its Instrument, in ascertaining the Liberty of the better Part of the Christian World. To which his Excellency made the following modest Answer ; That he should always take Pride in being serviceable to the Common Cause, and their High Mightinesses in particular : But he thought what had been applied to him, in Justice, belonged to the Queen, his Mistress, who, by God's Assistance, might be the Instrument of the divine Will ; but, for his Part, it was Glory sufficient for him, to be her Majesty's Agent.

To keep up the Connexion of my History, it will be necessary, before I mention the Earl's Return to England, just to hint at what had pass'd, during this Campaign, in several other Parts of Europe ; without the Knowledge of which, the Reader may not be able so well to account for some Things which follow.

Affairs of
the Empire.The Elector
of Bavaria
seizes Ulm,
&c.

I mentioned above, that the Siege of Landau had been undertaken by the Imperialists, and that very strong and important Place obliged to surrender, after a Siege of almost three Months : But, to counterbalance this Advantage, a few Days before that Place surrendered, the Elector of Bavaria, who had been a long Time suspected by the Allies, of being in the Interest of France, surprized and took Ulm, a large and strong Imperial City, the Capital of the Circle of Suabia. This City, which is rich and populous, as well as large and strong, is adorn'd with many stately Edifices, and particularly with a Cathedral, reckoned the finest in Germany. It stands on the Rivers Danube and Iller, near forty Miles West of Augsburg, about fifty almost South-East of Stutgard, and near sixty almost North-East of Constance. The Elector, being thus possess'd of this important Place, declared openly against the Confederates, threaten'd the Circles of Suabia and Franconia, in Case they did not observe an exact Neutrality, and, by his Actions and Declarations, struck Terror and Amazement, throughout the whole Empire. However, by the Diligence and Valour of Prince Lewis of Baden, and the other Imperial Generals, especially at the bloody and unequal Battle of Friedlingen, where the French were routed, all the Endeavours of the French and Bavarians, to join each other, were frustrated, for this Winter, and the French obliged to pass the Rhine. In this, it is certain, a very great Point was gain'd, in Favour of the Allies ; notwithstanding which, Mons. de Villars had the Vanity to claim the Victory, and assign'd a Reason for it, viz. *the Taking of Friedlingen the next Day*, which, however insignificant, had an Air of Plausibility ; and it answered his End, as it procured him the Marshal's Staff. I think it the more necessary to mention this Event, as being the Fore-runner of one of the greatest Scenes of Action, which will, in the Sequel, be recorded in this History.

The

The Diet of the Empire was so incens'd at the Treachery of the Elector of Bavaria, in seizing Ulm, that, after a warm Debate thereupon, it was resolv'd by a Plurality of Voices, to declare War against the French King, and the Duke d'Anjou, which was done accordingly; and a Memorial was order'd to be drawn up, requesting his Imperial Majesty, to proceed against the Elector, according to the Constitutions of the Empire. The Ministers of the Elector of Bavaria and Cologne were, hereupon, forbid appearing any more in the general Diet; notwithstanding which, the Elector of Bavaria protested against these Proceedings of the Diet, and particularly against their Declaration of War; he alledg'd, "That an offensive War like this, ought to be resolv'd upon by common Consent, and not by Plurality of Voices." To which it was answer'd; "That the King of France had attack'd the Empire, by invading, not only in his own Name, but in the Name of the Duke d'Anjou, his Grandson, several Fiefs of the Empire, in Italy, the Archbishoprick of Cologne, and the Diocese of Liege, as also by disturbing the Trade of the Rhine, and committing several other Hostilities, which render'd this War defensive and not offensive, on the Side of the Empire." But no Regard was had to his Protest. And as for the Empire's Declaration of War, it was publish'd and notified to the Cardinal of Lamberg, the Emperour's Commissioner, on the 30th of September, N. S. by the Direction of the Elector of Mentz, in the Name of the Diet of Ratisbon.

1702.

The Empire declares War against the French King, and the Duke d'Anjou.

The Occasion of this Defection of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne has been differently reported; but the Continuator of Rapin, in French, gives us one so very singular, that I cannot forbear mentioning it. He not only supposes it to proceed "from a Discontent at the Crown of Spain's being lost to their Family, by the Death of the Prince of Bavaria; but insinuates, as if they thought there was something mysterious in that Prince's premature Death, and imagin'd foul Play in the Case, to make Way for the House of Austria; and that they thereupon conceiv'd such a Prejudice against the Imperial Family."

Towards the latter End of the Year, Count Tallard took the strong Castle of Traerbach, upon the River Mosel, after a stout Resistance; and, on the other Side, the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel took Zinch, Lintz, Brizich and Audernach, all small Places which the French had possess'd themselves of upon the Rhine. Thus stood Matters, at this Time, in Germany.

In Italy was, this Year, fought the fierce and bloody Battle of Luzzara, near which Place, Prince Eugene of Savoy attack'd, with 25,000 Men, the Army of the French and Spaniards, which consisted of about 40,000, commanded by King

Assists in Italy.

Philip of Spain, in Person, and the Duke de Vendome, but without any great Advantage on either Side; tho' Prince Eugene did far more, than could be expected from him, all Circumstances considered. Some Accounts, however, give the Prince the Victory, and say the French were defeated. The Truth is, Night put an End to the Engagement, and the French thought fit to retreat, under Favour of it. The French and Spaniards, being much more numerous, dislodged the Germans, afterwards, at Times, from several small Places, Prince Eugene being strangely neglected by the Court of Vienna: Which was all that passed, on that Side, worthy of a general Remark.

The Earl of Marlborough was look'd upon, from the very Beginning of her Majesty's Reign, both at home and abroad, as the chief Favorite, and design'd Head of Affairs, as well in the Army, as in the Council, or in the latter, to have, at least, the greatest Influence. It would be superfluous, to give any Instances of this being the general Opinion at home, I shall, therefore, confine myself to one from abroad.

It was very much apprehended, at the Hague, and the Protestant Courts of Germany, and especially that of Hannover, that her Majesty had a Design of proposing to her Parliament the Royal Dignity, for the Prince of Denmark. Mons. d'Alonne, then at the Hague, in a Letter of the eight and twentieth of October, to a Person very much in the late King's Favour, at Hannover, has the following Words: *Je vois, par votre precedente Lettre, Mons. du 19, que la Cour d'Hannovre n'a point trouvé de Difficulté à menager jusqu'à cet heure celle d'Angleterre, mais qu'elle se trouvera dans un grand embarras, si la Reine propose, en Parlement, la Royauté du Prince, et qu'alors Elle ne pourra pas se résoudre à passer sous Silence une pareille atteinte à son droit. Cela seroit assurément facheux, et il y a même grand Apparence que cela arrivera, si l'on en peut croire tout le Parti Tory, qui ne le dissimule aucunement: Et, en ce cas, il ne seroit pas étonnant, que vous parlassiez, &c.* (That is, "I see, by your former Letter, Sir, " of the 19th, that the Court of Hannover has found no great " Difficulty, to keep up a good Intelligence, hitherto, with that " of England; but that would cause a very great Uneasiness " there, if the Queen should propose to the Parliament, the Royal " Dignity, for the Prince, and that your Court could not then re- " solve to pass by an Attempt so prejudicial to their Right, in " Silence. It would, indeed, be very disagreeable, and it seems " very probable, that there is such a Design, on the Carpet, " if we may give Credit to the whole Tory-Party, who are far " from seeking to conceal it. In this Case, it would not be " thought strange, if your Court should begin to open their " Mind, &c.") Mons. d'Alonne then goes on, to give his O-
pinion,

Apprehen-
sions of the
Queen's
aiming at
the Royal
Dignity for
the Prince.

Extract of a
Letter
from Mons.
d'Alonne at
the Hague,
to Mons.
*** at
Hannover,

1702.

pinion, when, and in what Manner, it might be proper for the Court of Hannover to open their Mind, with what he thought might be alledg'd, and propos'd on this Occasion: And then adds, *Il faut songer qu'il n'y a point du tems à perdre, & que le menageant bien, l'on pourra encore s'en aider avant l'Ouverture du Parlement, & même en faire parler icy à My Lord Marlborough, par Mons. de Bothmar, d'un air de Constance, par Rapport à ses droites Intentions, & en même tems, d'un Ton bonnêtement ferme à l'égard du Sujet.* (That is, "You must consider, there is no Time to lose, and that, by improving it, some Advantage may be made before the Opening of the Parliament, and Mons. de Bothmar may speak to my Lord Marlborough here, with an Air of Confidence in him, as far as regards his upright Intentions, and, at the same Time, in a decent Strain of unshaken Resolution, with respect to the Subject.") In the Postscript, Mons. d'Alonne adds, *En parlant à my Lord Marlborough de cette Affaire, & aux Ministres de Londres, il ne sera pas difficile de menager toujours delicatement la Personne de la Reine, en faisant semblant que l'on ne croit pas, que c'est le dessein de sa Majesté, mais bien celui d'un parti considerable, qui le veut a mauvais dessein, Sa Majesté étant trop juste à pouvoir penser, moins encore de vouloir rien au prejudice du plus proche Successeur.* (That is, "In speaking of this Matter to my Lord Marlborough, and to the Ministers at London, it will be no difficult Matter always to shew the most tender Regard for the Queen's Person, by appearing not to believe this to be a Design of her Majesty's, but of a considerable Party, who desire it for no good End; her Majesty being too just, but to think, much less to intend, any Thing, to the Prejudice of her immediate Successor.")

Regard had to the Earl of Marlborough's Influence in this Respect.

Thus we see what was thought abroad of the Influence our Hero might have, in an Affair of so great Importance: But all this Precaution was probably unnecessary; the Matter was never propos'd, and perhaps never thought of. Mons. d'Allonne was likewise mistaken, as to what he advis'd to be done before the Opening of the Parliament; for it was opened two Days after the Date of that Letter; as he acknowledged in another Letter, to the same Person, of the fourth of November, N. S. And nothing of that Nature, as I have already observed, being propos'd, or so much as hinted at, either in the Queen's Speech, or otherwise, by any Member of either House, these Apprehensions were entirely dissipated; and Mons. d'Allonne, in another Letter, to that Gentleman, of the eleventh of November, N. S. allows they were ill-grounded, and adds, that a Person of very good Knowledge and Intelligence had, among other Things, wrote him these Words: *We are not much*

The Apprehensions appear to be without Grounds.

1702. *in Pain, for any Attack that may be intended by some Persons, upon the Bill of Succession.*

The Earl of Marlboro' returns to England.

I return now to the Earl of Marlborough, who having finished his Negotiations at the Hague, and concerted Matters with the Deputies of the States, for the Operations of the future Campaign, departed thence, and arrived at London, the eight and twentieth of November.

The House of Lords congratulate her Majesty, on his Success.

Before his Return, the new Parliament met, the twentieth of October, and, three Days after, the House of Lords waited on her Majesty with their Address, wherein *They congratulated the prosperous and glorious Success, with which it had pleased God to bless her Majesty's Arms, in Conjunction with her Allies, under the Command of the Earl of Marlborough.* And the House of Commons, in their Address, which they presented a few Days after, had the following remarkable Paragraph: *This Misfortune (viz. the Disappointment at Cadiz) cannot make us forget, That the Protection and Security of our Trade, the vigorous Support of your Majesty's Allies, and "the wonderful Progress of your Majesty's Arms, under the Conduct of the Earl of Marlborough," have signally retrieved the ancient Honour and Glory of the English Nation.*

A remarkable Paragraph in the Address of the House of Commons.

The Word *retrieved*, in this Address, occasion'd a Debate in the House of Commons, it being alledg'd, that it seem'd to cast a Reflection on the Memory of King William, and the Word *maintain'd* was propos'd to be inserted in the room of it; but, upon a Division, it was carried for *retriev'd*, by a very great Majority.

A Thanksgiving appointed for the Success of her Majesty's Arms under the Earl of Marlborough, &c.

The fourth of November, Mr. Secretary Hedges, by her Majesty's Command acquainted the House of Commons, *That her Majesty had appointed Thursday, the twelfth of the same Month, to be observ'd in London and Westminster, and the Places adjacent, as a Day of publick Thanksgiving to Almighty God, on Occasion of the great Successes of her Majesty's Arms, and those of her Allies, and particularly that of her Troops, under the Conduct of the Earl of Marlborough, &c. and that her Majesty would be pleas'd to go that Day to St. Paul's Church.* Whither the House resolv'd to attend her.

The Queen goes to St. Paul's.

The appointed Day being come, her Majesty went, accordingly, to St. Paul's, in great State, attended by both Houses of Parliament; and the publick Demonstrations, given by the Inhabitants of London and Westminster were suitable to so great and solemn an Occasion.

There was a pyramidal Illumination hung up at Ludgate, and the following Inscription affix'd to one Side of the Gate:

An Inscript-
tion affix'd
on one Side
of Ludgate.

A N N A
Britanniæ Magnæ Regina,
Et conjux vere illustris,
G E O R G I U S
Daniæ Princeps ;
Nec non inclyti Heroïs,
Tyranni Gallici Debellatores,
Jacobus Dux ORMOND,
Joannes Comes MARLBOROUGH,
Georgius ROOK Miles,
Classis Triumphantis Præfectus,
Vivant & Floreant.

As threat'ning Spain did to Eliza bow ;
So France and Spain shall do to ANNA now :
France that protects false Claims t' another's Throne,
Shall find enough to do to keep her own.

The thirtieth of November, Sir Edward Seymour, Comptroller of her Majesty's Household, reported to the House of Commons, that the Committee appointed by the House, had attended the Earl of Marlborough with their Thanks, for the great and signal Services, by him performed for this Nation, and that, thereupon, his Lordship had express'd himself to the following Effect : viz. *That nothing could add to the Satisfaction he took in the Queen's most gracious Acceptance of his hearty and sincere Endeavours for the publick Service, but the obliging and favourable Sense which that House was pleas'd to express of them, of which Honour, no Man could be more truly sensible than himself. That our Success was chiefly to be imputed to God's Blessing upon her Majesty's happy Conduct, and the great Bravery of her own Troops, and those of her Allies.*

The Earl of Marlboro' receives the Thanks of the House of Commons.

His Answer.

Upon the 2d of December, the Queen (to shew what a Sense she had of the Earl of Marlborough's Service) was pleas'd to declare, before a Committee of Council, *That she was so satisfied of the eminent Services of my Lord Marlborough to the publick, and to herself, both in the Command of the Army, and the entire Confidence he had settled between her and the States General, that she intended to make him a Duke*: Which she did, accordingly, by the Title of Marquis of Blandford and Duke of Marlborough ; and his Grace was, likewise, this Year appointed one of the Commissioners for treating of a Union with Scotland. On the 10th, her Majesty sent the following Message to the Commons, in his Lordship's Favour.

The Earl of Marlboro' made a Duke : And one of the Commissioners for treating of an Union.

1702.

ANN R.

The Queen's
Message to
the Com-
mons in his
Favour.

“THE Earl of Marlborough’s Services to her Majesty, and to the Publick, have been so eminent, both in his Command of the Army, and in his having established an entire Confidence, and good Correspondence, between her Majesty, and the States General, that she has thought fit to grant the Title of a Duke of this Kingdom to him, and to the Heirs Male of his Body, and also a Pension of 5000 Pounds *per Ann.* upon the Revenue of the Post-Office, for the Support of this Honour, during her Majesty’s natural Life. If it had been in her Majesty’s Power, she would have granted the same Term in the Pension, as in the Honour, and she hopes you will think it so reasonable, in this Case, as to find some proper Methods of doing it.”

A Report was spread, on this Occasion, that the Queen intended to give the Duke of Marlborough all the Gold taken by the Duke of Ormond at Vigo. This would indeed, have been a very signal Mark of her Majesty’s royal Favour, and of the Opinion she had of his extraordinary Merit; but as very few gave any Credit to this Report, it is very easy to surmise with what Intention so idle a Story was propagated.

Debates
thereupon.

The Duke
desires the
Queen to
forego her
Message.

A second
Message.

This Message occasioned great Debates in the House. Be this as it will, the Duke of Marlborough, as soon as he was informed thereof, waited on her Majesty, and *pray’d her, rather to forego her gracious Message, on his Behalf, than to create any Uneasiness on his Account; since it might embarrass her Affairs, and be of ill Consequence to the Publick:* And there being no Likelihood, that the Commons would comply with her Majesty’s Desire, the fifteenth, she sent them another Message, whereby she acquainted them, *That the Duke of Marlborough had declined her Majesty’s Message to them.* “It has, indeed, been said, that, after the Reading of it, the House seemed, for some Time, to be in a Maze, and kept so long silent, that the Speaker stood up, and look’d round, to see if any Body would speak to it: And, at length, Sir Edward Seymour having broke the Ice, the Debate run very high upon the Occasion; and, amongst others, common Fame gave out, that Sir Christopher Musgrave should say, that tho’ he had accepted of an Employment at Court, yet he never did it with a Design that his Mouth should be sewed up in that House, when any Thing was offer’d that he thought detrimental to his Country; that he would not derogate from the Duke’s eminent Services, but that he was very well paid for them, &c.” Nevertheless, the Commons being in a grand Committee, the Motion was made, the same Day, that an Address be presented

to

to her Majesty, setting forth the Reasons why they could not comply with her Majesty's first Message. This Motion was agreed to, on the sixteenth, and a Committee appointed to draw up the Address, which was as follows:

1702.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons in Parliament assembled, humbly beg Leave to declare our unanimous Satisfaction in the just Esteem your Majesty has been pleased to express, of the eminent Services, performed by the Duke of Marlborough, who has, not only by his Conduct of the Army, *retriev'd* the ancient Honour and Glory of the English Nation, but, by his Negotiations, establish'd an entire Confidence, and good Correspondence between your Majesty, and the States General, and therein vindicated the Gentlemen of England, who had, by the vile Practices of designing Men, been traduced, and industriously represented, as false to your Majesty's Allies, because they were true to the Interest of their Country.

The Commons Address to the Queen.

"It is to their unexpressible Grief, that your Majesty's most dutiful Commons find any Instances where they are unable to comply with what your Majesty proposes to them; but they beg Leave humbly to lay before your Majesty, the Apprehensions they have of making a Precedent, for the Alienation of the Revenue of the Crown, which has been so much reduced by the exorbitant Grants of the last Reign, and which has been so lately settled and secured, by your Majesty's unparalleled Grace and Goodness.

"We are infinitely pleased to observe, by your Majesty's late gracious Acceptance of the Duke of Marlborough's Services, that the only Way to obtain your Majesty's Favour, is to deserve well from the Publick; and we beg Leave to assure your Majesty, that whenever you shall think fit to reward such Merit, it will be to the entire Satisfaction of your People."

This Address being presented to the Queen, the twenty-first of December, by the whole House, her Majesty was pleased to return this Answer.

I SHALL always think myself much concerned to reward those who deserve well of me, and of the Publick. On this Account I bestowed some Favours on the Duke of Marlborough, and I am glad to find you think they are well placed."

The Queen's Answer.

C H A P. III.

Transactions in 1703, till the Battle of Eckeren.

1703.

The Supplies
for carrying
on the War
readily
granted.

An Aug-
mentation of
our Forces
required by
the Dutch :

And granted
with a Con-
dition.

A late Au-
thor's Opi-
nion of this
Matter,
Refuted.

THE House of Commons agreed to all the Demands of the Court, with great Unanimity and Dispatch, and voted all the Supplies which were necessary for carrying on the War. Upon the Duke of Marlborough's Return, a new Demand for an additional Force was made, since the King of France had given out Commissions, for a great Encrease of his Armies : And thereupon, the States moved the Queen, for ten thousand Men more. This was consented to ; but with a Condition, which however reasonable it might be in itself ; yet the Manner in which it was managed, shewed (says a late Author) a very ill Disposition towards the Dutch, and in the Debate (continues he) they were treated very indecently. It was insisted on (and some thought very justly) that before the Pay of these new Troops should begin, the States should prohibit all Trade with France, and break off all Correspondence with that Kingdom. Our Author owns, it was true, that France could not have supplied their Armies in Italy, but by the Means of this secret Trade, so it was reasonable to break it ; but he thought the imposing it on the Dutch, in the Manner in which this was pressed, carried in it too high a Strain of Authority over them. I must beg leave to dissent from this Author. It was a Favour they desired of us ; and, in Return, we insisted on no more, than what we had a Right to demand, even without this Consideration ; where then is the Hardship ? The Argument this Author makes use of in their Favour, viz. *That their Country subsisted by their Trade*, will hold as good with Regard to our Nation. The State, however, resolved to comply with England, in every Thing ; and tho' (*as the same Author says*) they did not like the Manner of demanding this, yet they readily consented to it : (*And, if they are not wrong'd, as readily broke it again.*)

The Matter was transacted, in Parliament, in the following Manner : The fourth of January, the Queen sent the following Message to the House of Commons :

A N N R.

The Queen's
Message to
the H. of
Commons
on this Oc-
casion.

“ HER Majesty having received several Letters from the
“ States General of the United Provinces, as also several
“ Memorials from their Ambassadors, setting forth the great
“ Apprehensions they ly under, from the extraordinary Prepa-
“ rations of France, to attack them early in the Spring, and
“ the Necessity, as they conceived, of making an Augmenta-
“ tion of the Forces, in England and Holland, as the only
“ Means

“ Means to prevent the immediate Ruin which threatened their
 “ Country, was pleased, thereupon, to propose some Expedient
 “ to the States General, which she hoped might have been of
 “ Advantage to the common Interest, and relieved them, in
 “ some Measure, from their just Apprehensions, without having
 “ Recourse to Parliament. But these Expedients, proposed by
 “ her Majesty, to the States General, not having produced the
 “ Effect she hoped for, and the States having again renewed
 “ their Applications to her Majesty, with more Earnestness than
 “ before, to assist them, in this Time of their Danger, with
 “ an Augmentation of her Forces, as the only Means to disap-
 “ point the Effect of those great and early Preparations, which
 “ the French are making against them: Her Majesty has com-
 “ manded the several Letters and Representations which have
 “ passed between her, and the States General, upon this Sub-
 “ ject, to be herewith transmitted to you, that you may the
 “ better judge of the Danger which threatens them.

“ Her Majesty conceives this Matter to be of such great Con-
 “ sequence, as indispensably obliges her to acquaint you with
 “ the present State of it, that she may have your Advice upon it;
 “ not doubting but you will take such Measures, upon this Oc-
 “ casion, as may be most for the Honour and Advantage of
 “ her Majesty, the Safety of her Kingdoms, and the necessary
 “ Support of her Allies.”

The Commons having taken her Majesty's Message into Con-
 sideration, the next Day, agreed, that 10,000 Foreigners be
 hired, for an Augmentation of the Forces, to act in Conjunction
 with the Allies; but upon Condition, that an immediate Stop
 be put to all Commerce and Correspondence with France and
 Spain, which they resolved to lay before the Queen, in the fol-
 lowing Address.

Most gracious Sovereign,

“ **W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects,
 “ the Commons, in Parliament assembled, do beg Leave
 “ to return your Majesty our humble Thanks, for your Maje-
 “ sty's most gracious Condescension, in communicating to your
 “ Commons the several Memorials, Transactions, and Letters,
 “ that have passed between your Majesty and the States Gene-
 “ ral, for the Augmentation of your Majesty's Forces, which
 “ are to act in Conjunction with the Forces of the States Gene-
 “ ral; by all which your Commons are entirely convinced of
 “ your Majesty's great Tendernefs of your Subjects, in not lay-
 “ ing a greater Burden upon them, than the Necessity of Affairs
 “ does absolutely require.

The Ad-
 dress of the
 House of
 Commons
 in Answer
 to it.

“ And

1703.

“ And your Commons do humbly assure your Majesty, that in case your Majesty should think it necessary to enter into any farther Negotiation, for encreasing the Forces, which are to act in Conjunction with the Forces of the States General (for whose Interest and Preservation, we shall always have the greatest Regard) your Commons will enable your Majesty to make good the same.

“ And your Commons do farther crave leave, humbly to beseech your Majesty, that you will please to insist upon it, with the States General, that there be an immediate Stop of all Posts, and of all Letters, Bills, and other Correspondence, Trade, and Commerce with France and Spain, which your Commons are humbly of Opinion is so absolutely necessary for carrying on the just and necessary War wherein your Majesty is engag'd, to the interrupting the Trade of your Enemies, and reducing them to the greatest Streights, that your Commons do humbly desire, that England may not be charged with the Pay of such additional Troops, but from the Day, when such Stop shall be made by the States General.

This Address having been presented to the Queen by the whole House, the eighth of January, her Majesty was pleased to answer :

Gentlemen,

The Queen's
Answer.

“ IT is with great Satisfaction, that I receive this Address, which enables me to join with the States General, in augmenting our Forces, according to their Desire.

“ I make no Doubt, but the Condition you mention will be approved, since it is absolutely necessary for the Good of the whole Alliance ; and I shall, this Night, send Directions to my Ministers in Holland, to concur with the States in providing the Troops accordingly.

The Lords
Address on
the same
Occasion.

The same Papers having been laid, by her Majesty's Commands, before the House of Lords, the thirteenth, their Lordships presented an Address to the Queen, in which they returned her Majesty Thanks for communicating the several Letters and Memorials of the States General to that House ; adding, “ That having taken Notice how much Time had been already spent in this Negotiation, and with what repeated and pressing Instances the States General had represented the Apprehensions they were under, from the extraordinary and forward Preparations of the French, the Lords took leave, humbly to advise her Majesty, that without any farther Loss of Time, she would be pleased to agree to the Proposals made to her Majesty, by the States General, for such an Augmentation of
“ Forces,

“ Forces, as might disappoint the great and early Preparations
 “ of France, and effectually support and defend the common
 “ Cause; and they, farther, humbly acquainted her Majesty,
 “ that it was the Opinion of that House, that her Majesty’s
 “ furnishing her *Quota* of the Augmentation of Troops in the
 “ Low-Countries, would be ineffectual, unless all Correspond-
 “ ence with France and Spain, by Letters, or otherwise, be
 “ totally prohibited by the States General, and all other her
 “ Majesty’s Allies.”

1703.

Her Majesty’s Answer to this Address was :

“ **T**HAT no Time should be lost, in relation to the Aug- The Queen’s
 “ mentation of Troops, and the Prohibition of the Com- Answer.
 “ merce by Letters, recommended in this Address.

Notwithstanding all the above Author has said to make this Proceeding appear too harsh and ill-natured, with regard to the Dutch, the Parliament had certainly very cogent and justifiable Reasons for it. Among other Motives which induced that illustrious Body to insist so strenuously on this Prohibition, the Chief may probably have been, the great Difficulty the Court of France labour’d under, at this Time, to make Remittances of Money, to maintain their Army in Italy, and to send Subsidies to the Elector of Bavaria in Germany; which the Parliament of England (and indeed every Body else) justly presumed, the French could not do, without the Assistance of English and Dutch Merchants. This Opinion was, likewise, confirmed, by a late Discovery made by the Earl of Nottingham, one of her Majesty’s principal Secretaries of State, of an unlawful Inter-
Reasons for insisting on this Prohibition.
 course of Bills of Exchange, between some French Bankers at Paris, and some Citizens of London.

This illicit and clandestine Correspondence and Trade, carried on openly by the Dutch, with the common Enemy, (and which, notwithstanding this Notice taken of, was, as it has been said, continued during the whole War, even to the furnishing them with Arms and Ammunition,) was of so great an Advantage to them, that some have ventur’d to say, they were Gainers by the War; while we, out of an Excess of Generosity (but too common with us) were plunging ourselves into Debts and Difficulties to support the common Cause, and scorn’d to take Advantage of these underhand Practices to the Detriment of it, tho’ to our own Impoverishment, and notwithstanding we had the same Right to it as they: For tho’ there were, perhaps, some few here, who underhand were concern’d in these unlawful Practices; yet all Commerce with France was strictly forbid by the Government, and all Measures taken to prevent it.

1703.

Death of
the Marquis
of Bland-
ford.

But to return to the Duke of Marlborough; while his Grace was busied, with his usual Application, in making the necessary Preparations for opening the Campaign, he had a very pungent domestick Affliction to encounter with, I mean the Loss of his only Son, the Marquis of Blandford, a promising Youth, of eighteen Years of Age, graceful in Person, affable in Temper, and of excellent natural Parts. He died, the twentieth of February, of the small Pox, at Cambridge, to the inexpressible Grief of his Illustrious Parents and Relations, and indeed the Loss of the whole Nation; since, in him, we had Reason to hope we might see those moral, political and military Virtues continued, which shone in so eminent a Degree, in his great Father. This Misfortune happening just as his Grace was upon his Departure for Holland, put a Stop, as we may reasonably imagine, to his crossing the Seas, for some Days, longer than he intended. However, nothing was neglected, in the mean Time, on the other Side.

Rhineburg
taken.

Rhineburg, which had been block'd up by Count Lottum (General of the Prussian Troops) surrendered by Capitulation, the ninth of February; after which that Count block'd up Guelders.

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough ar-
rives in
Holland.

The Duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague, the seven-teenth of March, N. S. and was met there by Mons. d'Auverquerque, the Generals Dopf and Cohorn, Lord Paget, and several foreign Ministers; and, the next Day, all the General Officers dined with him. The twenty-seventh, he set out from thence, in order to review the English Forces, in their respective Garrisons, and order'd the Troops near Liege, to be immediately in a Readiness to take the Field, and also dispatch'd General Cohorn, to make all Preparations for opening the Campaign, with a Siege. The second of April, his Grace returned to the Hague, and having held some Conferences with the Deputies of the States, he went from thence again, the ninth, to Nimeguen, where he met General Cohorn, and the 11th, set out for Venlō. The next Day he pass'd thro' Ruremond, Stevenswaert and Maeseyck to Maestricht; and was received, in every Place, with the Respect due to his Rank, the Garrisons being drawn out, and Cannons discharged. The 14th, he visited Liege, and had a Conference with Count Sinzendorf, the Governour; and from thence returned again to Maestricht, having given the necessary Orders every where.

Opens the
Campaign.

Upon his Grace's Arrival, the Dutch immediately brought their Armies into the Field, and, by his prudent Management, the Confederates were enabled to open the Campaign early, with the Siege of Bonn, a very antient, strong City, in the Circle of the Lower-Rhine, and Archbishoprick of Cologn, formerly an Imperial City, but now subject to the Elector of Cologn, and usually

usually the Residence of that Prince, who had put that, with the rest of his Dominions, into the Hands of the French, at the Beginning of the War. It is situate on the River Rhine, 14 Miles almost South of Cologne, 24 South-East of Juliers, 55 almost North-East of Triers, and 60 North-West of Mentz. It was antiently a Roman Colony, call'd Colonia Julia Bonna.

Tho' the Duke had been detain'd, as I have observ'd, longer in England, than he expected; yet he had not been backward, even during that Time, to press those foreign Princes, who had Troops in our Pay, to take Care they might speedily be in a Condition to do Service; of which, among many, I shall give only one Instance:

His great Care to have the Troops in good Order.

Monf. d'Alonne, in a Letter to Monf. *** at Zell; of the four and twentieth of March, wrote him, that the Duke of Marlborough had given him Orders to complain, of the bad Condition of the Troops of Zell, in English Pay, inasmuch that they were not able to assist at the Siege of Bonn; which was a great Uneasiness to his Grace; because he feared, he should be obliged to abandon the Siege, on that Account, at a Time when such a Diversion was highly necessary.

Extract of a Letter from Monf. d'Alonne to Monf. *** at Zell.

This early Care of the Duke of Marlborough's, to put the Confederate Army in a Condition to act offensively, broke all the Projects laid by the Enemy, who designed to have acted, on their Side, offensively, and to have open'd the Campaign, the 29th of April, with the Siege of Liege, for which they had actually provided 15,000 Pioneers, 3,000 Waggons, and other Necessaries; not dreaming that the Confederates would be so early ready to oppose them. According to the Marquis de Quincy's Account, and Order of Battle, the French Army then consisted of 54 Battalions, and 103 Squadrons, besides a flying Camp of 6 Battalions and 11 Squadrons, under Prince Tserclaes de Tilly, 20 Battalions under the Command of the Marquis de Bedmar, and another flying Camp under the Count de la Motte, of which he does not mention the Number. The same Author, likewise observes, that they had 40 Battalions in Garrison, in Guelderland and Flanders; and that the two Crowns had then, in Flanders, 180 Battalions of Foot, 40 of which were Spaniards.

The Enemy's Projects frustrated.

Force of the French Army in Flanders.

All necessary Preparations, for the expeditious carrying on of the Siege of Bonn, being made, the Duke ordered that Place to be invested, the four and twentieth of April, by the Prussian and Lunenburg Cavalry, under Lieutenant-General Bulau. The next Day, his Grace went to Cologne, whilst the Infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-General Fagel, was drawing up to the Camp. The six and twentieth, Lieutenant-General Cohorn arrived, by Water, with the Vessels and Pontons, and, thereupon, a Bridge was immediately laid over the Rhine, at Rhine-

Bonn invested;

1703.

dorff, from which Place the Camp of the Besiegers extended as far as Kruitberg.

And be-
sieged.

Disposition
of the
Attacks.

After some Consultations among the Generals, upon the Duke's Return from Cologne, the Town was ordered to be attack'd in three Places. The Duke himself gave the Direction for making out the Quarters for the several Troops; and form'd a Plan for the three Attacks. The first was against the Fort, on the other Side of the Rhine, and the other two against the City, and the Out-works that secured it. The first of these Attacks was commanded by Lieutenant-General Cohorn, having under him the Major-Generals Freisheim, and Erbervelt, with Monsf. La Rocque for chief Engineer; the second, by the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, having under him, the Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst, and Monsf. Tettau, with Monsf. Hazard, as chief Engineer; and, the third, by Lieutenant-General Fagel, with whom were joined the Major-Generals Dedem, and St. Paul, with Colonel Reinhard, for chief Engineer. The Troops appointed for the Service of this Siege consisted, in all, of forty Battalions of Foot, and sixty Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, with an Artillery of upwards of 100 large Cannon, and 36 Mortars. These Troops took their Posts accordingly, the twenty-seventh; and, the third of May, the Trenches were opened, and carried on with great Success, and very inconsiderable Loss, by the great Care of the Generals and Engineers.

The
Trenches
open'd.

The Preparations for this Siege were so very extraordinary, that I shall for once, give the Reader the Bill of Fare, that he may form an Idea, by the Provision made for this small Banquet, how liberal our General was of them in larger Entertainments, and how assiduous he was in having Necessaries brought together, from all Parts, for that Purpose.

A Bill of
Fare for the
Garrison of
Bonn.

The City of Cologne sent their Proportion of Cannon and Mortars, with forty Gunners, four Fire-workers, one Lieutenant, one Master of the Artillery, several Carpenters, with Powder and Ball for 1000 Discharges. The Artillery delivered by the Elector Palatine, consisted of 3 Demi-Culverins, six Mortars, six Quarter-Pieces, 200 Hand-Mortars, with Ammunition for 30 Discharges a Day, for the great Guns, 20 for the great Mortars, and 25 for the little ones; 27,000 Balls of 24 Pounds each, 5400 Twelve-Pounders, 36 Cartouches of 12 Pounds each, 600 Bombs of 100 Pounds each, 1800 of 60 Pounds each, 120 of 40 Pounds each, 6000 Grenadoes for Hand-mortars, 150 Grenadoes of 100 Pounds each, 450 of 60 Pounds each, and 300 of 40 Pounds each; 600 Pounds of Tow, 17,700 Pounds of Musket-Powder, 123,000 Pounds of Powder for Great Guns, 600 Pounds of Priming-powder, two Tuns of ordinary Powder, 1500 Pounds of Match, three Tuns of Pitch, twenty of Talk, half a Tun of Tar, 80 Pounds of Lime, 30 Ells of Canvas,

1703.

100 Pounds of Hemp, three Lime-Kettles, ten Lanthorns, eight large Hair Coverlets, 20 Sheeps-skins, 600 Trusses of Straw, Engines for raising great Weights, 15 Pitch-Barrels, broken Copper for Shot, 70 Earth-Baskets of seven Foot high, and three and a half broad, 100 small ones, 5000 Fascines, 7500 Head-blocks, 15 Foot long, and 15,000 half that length, 130 Battery-nails, 100 Bills, with great Quantities of other Materials necessary for a Siege, and Officers proportionable to attend them. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel contributed two Demi-Culverins, two sixteen Pounders, two 75 Pound Mortars, four 100 Pound Mortars, two lesser Guns, with Ammunition for 500 Charges each, and Officers in Proportion. A few Days after came from Coblentz, six Demi-Culverins, four Quarter-Pieces, 100 Carriages, four Mortars, six lesser Guns, 7000 Cannon Balls, for 24 and 12 Pounders, 200 Bombs, from 75 to 30 Pounds each, 800 great Grenadoes, 1200 lesser, 10,000 Hand Grenadoes, 2000 Pounds of Powder, with a great Number of Spades, great Bills, and Fascines of ten Foot each: And all this may be properly called a Bill of Extraordinaries; the Ordinary of the Army was at the Enemy's Service besides: Of which I shall only mention the Dutch Artillery, consisting of 90 Demi-Culverins, 50 Quarter-Pieces, 50 Brass Guns, a good Number of small Guns, a great Number of 12 Pounders, and 500 small Mortars for throwing Grenadoes.

When the Governour saw the terrible Preparations, which were making against him, by the Allies, who had a prodigious Train of Artillery (F. Daniel reckons, besides Cannon, ninety Mortars, and 500 other smaller Pieces of a new Invention) he sent a Letter to the Duke of Marlborough, importing:

" That an Agreement had been made, the last Year, between the Electors Palatine and of Cologne, that the Cities of Dusseldorp and Bonn should not be bombarded, in order to preserve the Churches, Palaces, and other publick Buildings; the Performance of which he was ordered to request from his Grace: And to declare withall, unless the same were observed, the Elector of Bavaria would destroy the City of Nieuburg, belonging to the Elector Palatine.

The Governour's Letter to the Duke.

The Duke, after having communicated this Letter to the Elector Palatine, and the Generals, returned this Answer:

" That it was not his Custom or Inclination to destroy Cities or publick Buildings, out of prepense Malice or Design, provided the Enemy's Conduct did not put him upon such a Necessity.

His Grace's Answer.

The very Day the Trenches were opened, the Batteries were begun to be raised, with great Alacrity, and, being finished by the eighth, the Besiegers begun to fire with such good Success, against both the Town and Fort, that, the same Day, the Chain

The Siege carried on successfully.

which

1703.

which held the flying Bridge, by Means of which the Fort held a Communication with the Town, was broken by a Cannon-Shot, and the Bridge, which was staved to Pieces, carried away with the Stream, notwithstanding the Enemy's utmost Endeavours to save it, with the Loss of several Men killed and wounded. The same Evening, a very unlucky Accident happened, in Major-General Dedem's Attack, where 150 Bombs, and as many Grenadoes took Fire, and blew up, together with a Lieutenant and five Workmen. French Historians aggrandize this Misfortune, and pretend there were 300 Bombs, 3 or 4000 Grenadoes, and a great Number of People, as well of those who were at Work there, as others at a greater Distance.

The Fort
taken.

The next Day, the Battery which play'd upon the Fort having made a large Breach, and the Besiegers being informed that the Garrison was not numerous, the General resolved to storm it in the Evening; this was executed by 400 Grenadiers, supported by four Battalions. During the Attack, the Enemy set Fire to all the Barracks, and other Buildings, that they might retire into the City, in Boats, by Favour of the Smoak: But most of them were so closely pursued into the Ravelin, that they had not Time to effect their Design. Some Prisoners, who were taken on this Occasion, reported, that there were 50 Men yet remaining in a Redoubt within the Fort; upon which the Ramparts were immediately scal'd, and the Redoubt taken, Sword in Hand, after a short Resistance: The greater Part of the Men who defended it were put to the Sword, and several were taken Prisoners, endeavouring to escape, in a Boat. The Diligence and Valour of the Besiegers having thus prevented the Design of the Besieged; the Commander of the Fort, with thirty of his Men, were made Prisoners, and all the rest either killed or drowned. This Success was so unexpected, that the Duke of Marlborough and General Obdam sent Expresses to the States General to acquaint them with it. Being now Masters of the Fort, a great Battery was raised in it, which, on the twelfth, began to play on the Town, from seventy Pieces of heavy Cannon, and eighteen Mortars, in order to make two Breaches, that the Place might be stormed from the Prince of Hesse's and General Dedem's Attacks. The Marquis de Quincy pretends, that, after the taking the Fort, the Allies rais'd Batteries for 80 Pieces of Cannon, 40 Mortars, and 500 Hand-Grenado-Mortars, at the Attack, at the Lower Rhine alone.

The Be-
sieged make
a Sally;

But are
repuls'd.

The next Day, about Noon, the Besieged, with about 1000 Foot, supported by all their Horse and Dragoons, made a Sally upon General Dedem's Attack; the Besiegers, in the Trenches, were, at first, put into some Disorder; but soon recovering themselves, they repuls'd the French, with the Loss of about 100 Men killed, and as many wounded, besides a Major and

1703.

and three Captains taken Prisoners ; whereas the Loss, on the Side of the Allies, did not amount to half the Number. French Accounts pretend to a great Advantage, on their Side, in this Sally ; of which the Marquis de Quincy, in particular, gives the following Account. “ About two, in the Afternoon, the

“ Marquis d'Alegre made a Sally, with 1200 Men Infantry, and 400 Horse, at General Dedem's Attack. They at first did very considerable Damage to the Works, and killed all before them ; but the Allies having caus'd a great Number of Troops to advance, they retired in very good Order, having lost but 30 Men, a Captain of the Royal Grenadiers, and an Aid Major of the Crown : Mons. de Polastron, Colonel of that Regiment, with some other Officers, being wounded. They nail'd up ten of the Besiegers Cannon, and six of their Mortars, kill'd fourscore of their Men, wounded 160, and took Colonel Malsburg, and several other Officers, Prisoners : In short (continues my Author) more than 400 Rods of their Works were destroy'd.

French Account there-
of.

All Things being now in a Readiness, to assault the Counter-scarp, and Covered Way, on the Side of the Prince of Hesse's Attack, the Onset began about eight o'Clock the same Night, under the Command of Major-General Tettau, and Brigadier Palandt ; and the Prince, being there in Person, animated the Soldiers, with so much Courage and Resolution, that being seconded by the continual Fire, both from the Cannon and Mortars of several Attacks, they forced their Way forwards, drove the Besieged from their Works, and, in less than an Hour's Time, lodged themselves there. In this warm Action, General Tettau was wounded, with about ten other Officers, and 150 Soldiers killed and wounded, together with the Engineer, who commanded in the Works. The French pretend the Allies had 300 Men kill'd, and 200 wounded in this Action.

The Count-
erscarp
taken.

The Confederate Troops shewed, upon this Occasion, so much Bravery, and such an astonishing Tempest of artificial Fire was pour'd in upon the Besiegers, that rather than stand another Attack, the next Day, they beat a Parly, and, on the fifteenth of May, N. S. surrendered the Place, on honourable Conditions, which were sign'd by the Duke of Marlborough, and the French Governour, Mons. d'Alegre.

The City
surrender'd.

According to Father Daniel's Account, Mons. d'Alegre defended the Place, till the Town and all the Defences were demolish'd by the dreadful Artillery of the Confederates, and the whole Circumference was no more than one continued Breach.

F. Daniel's
Account of
the Sur-
render.

A Medal was struck, on this Occasion, of which the following is a Description.

A Medal
struck on
this Oc-
casion.

1703.

On the Face is represented a Busto of her Majesty, with her usual Title; and, on the Reverse, a Plan of the Siege, with the following Inscription continued in the Exergue.

BONA A MALIS EREPTA, SOCIALIBUS ARMIS, IDIBUS
MAYI, 1703.

BQNN taken from the Wicked, by the Arms of the ALLIES, Ma
15. 1703.

A Design of
the Mar-
shals Vil-
leroy and
Boufflers
frustrated.

During this Siege, the French Marshals, Villeroy and Boufflers, who commanded in Flanders, embracing the Opportunity of the Duke's being employed there, thought to have surprized the Confederates, that lay dispersed about Maestricht, and after having bombarded that Place, to have fallen upon Liege.

The French
take Ton-
geren.

To this End, they advanc'd, the ninth of May, N. S. at Night, unexpectedly, into the Neighbourhood of Tongeren, with an Army of about 40,000 Men. This Town is in the Bishoprick of Liege, and subject to that Prince. It is situate on the River Jecker, eight Miles almost West of Maestricht, and thirteen North-west of Liege. Monsr. de Quincy says, the two Marshals had the whole French Army with them, excepting one Man out of every Company, and all the Guards, which they left behind to secure their Camp. Part of these Forces came up, under the Command of Boufflers, on one Side of the Town, while the Remainder, commanded by Villeroy, came on the other; so that the Confederates, who were marching with a Design to have posted themselves in that Place, were forced to retreat, with all the Haste they could, under the Cannon of Maestricht. The Enemy, in the mean Time, fell upon Tongeren, where two Battalions of Foot, one of Elst, and the other of Portmore, were quartered: They defended themselves with extraordinary Bravery, for 28 Hours; but then were forced to yield at Discretion. This vigorous Opposition gave the Confederates Time and Opportunity, to draw together before Maestricht; so that when the Enemy advanced forward, designing, as it was supposed, to have forced the Confederate Cavalry to repass the Maese at Nimeguen, and the Foot to retire under the Out-works of Maestricht, and there to have plied them with their Bombs, they found, to their great Surprize and Disappointment, the Confederate Army, under General d'Auverquerque drawn up, in Order of Battle, advantageously posted, and ready to engage them, though they were much inferiour in Number.

This put the two Marshals to a Stand, not knowing what Course to take, and the Confederates could easily perceive how undetermined they were in their Resolutions. First they appear'd,
about



[illegible]

1703.

about seven in the Morning, upon the Hill called Duysburg, with the greatest Part of their Army, in Order of Battle: From whence they made several insignificant Motions, as if they design'd to attack the Right Wing of the Confederates; which they observing, posted an English Brigade in the Hedges of Lonaken, to cover their Right Flank, and a Regiment of Dragoons was planted near the Church of Lonaken, to support 150 Foot, placed in the Church-yard, to defend the Pass from the Heath of Bessmere: And, indeed, wherever the Enemy seem'd to bend their Strength, the Confederate Generals were careful to double their Opposition.

About ten, the same Forenoon, the Enemy made a general Motion of all their Forces, sending down several Brigades of Foot, in two Columns, from between Duysburg-Hill, and the Village of Veltweffen: Upon this, the Confederate Generals concluded, that they were marching directly towards them, but when they came within Reach of the Cannon, they made a Halt, both with their Brigades, and the main Body of their Army, the Brigades stretching themselves out, with their Right towards Duysburg, and their Left towards Veltweffen.

In this Posture, both Armies stood gazing at one another, till three in the Afternoon; but then, the two Marshals, finding all their Motions were to no Purpose, and not daring to attack the Confederates, marched back the same Way they came, to Tongeren, leaving the whole Honour of the Day, to General d'Auverquerque, who, by his Prudence, Experience and Valour, prevented the total Ruin of this Part of the Confederate Army.

Bonn being soon after taken, as I have already related, the Duke of Marlborough rejoined the Army of the Confederates, which now consist'd of 136 Squadrons, and 66 Battalions (or, as some Accounts say, of but 130 of the former, and 59 of the latter) and march'd them towards Liege, with a Design not only to secure that Place, but to oblige the Enemy to decamp from Tongeren, where their Army, which was computed to consist of about 70 Battalions, and 140 Squadrons (tho', if we will believe their Accounts, they were no more than 60 Battalions, and little more than 100 Squadrons) seem'd to be posted, in a very advantageous Situation.

The Duke of Marlborough had left the Army before Bonn, the 17th of May, N. S. under the Command of Mons. d'Obdam, who remained there, to see the Articles of the Capitulation of that Place put in Execution. His Grace came, that Night to Juliers, where he was received by the whole Garrison, under their Arms, and saluted with a triple Discharge of the Cannon round the Place. He was conducted to the Governour's House, where he lay; and his Grace, was, in like Manner, saluted again, by a Discharge of the Cannon, at his Departure

The Duke of Marlborough rejoins the Confederate Army.

Circumstances of his March.

from

1703.

from thence, the next Morning. That Afternoon, his Grace arrived, at Maestricht, where Mons. d'Auverquerque, and the other General Officers, attended his coming; He continued there that Night, and came, the next Day, to the Camp, which extended from Lonaken, where the Right Wing was posted, into the Neighbourhood of Maestricht, where the Left was, the Head-Quarters being at the Cloister of Hocht. Upon his Grace's coming out of Maestricht, the 19th, in the Morning, the Cannon was discharged round the Town, and, in the Evening the Army, with the Artillery, was drawn out, and a triple Discharge was made of all the Cannon and small Shot, on account of the Surrender of Bonn. The 21st and 22d his Grace review'd all the Horse and Foot, as well English, as Foreigners, and found them all in very good Condition.

Pursues
the French
Army.

To pursue the Ends, I have mention'd above, the Duke marched, the five and twentieth, from Hocht near Maestricht, and, having passed the River Jecker, advanced to Hautin, where the Enemy designed to have foraged that Morning; but, upon Notice of the Duke's Approach, they removed to a greater Distance, and continued upon their Arms that Night. However, the next Day, when the Confederates advanced to Nieudorp, they retreated, with great Precipitation, to Bockworn, not daring to hazard a Battle; and the Duke of Berwick, after having blown up the Walls and Tower of Tongeren, where he commanded, quitted that Place likewise.

The French
abandon
Tongeren
again.

Retire be-
fore the
Confederate
Army;

And shelter
themselves
within their
Lines.

The Duke followed them, and advanced within half a League of their Camp; but the Jecker parted the two Armies, and the French had secured all the Bridges and Passes of that River; notwithstanding which, they were far from thinking themselves secure, till they got to Hannuye. Upon the Duke's advancing to Thys and Lamya, they did, indeed, draw up in Order of Battle, and sent away their Bagage, as if they were resolved to try their Fortune in a Battle; but their Courage again failed them, and they thought it their safest Course, to retire within their Lines.

In this Manner was spent the best Part of the Month of June, the Duke endeavouring to draw the Enemy to a Battle, and they as carefully avoiding it; as, therefore, nothing very remarkable happened during that Time, I omit giving an Account of the several Motions of both Armies, from Day to Day.

The Duke
resolves to
force their
Intrench-
ments;

The Duke of Marlborough, finding, at length, it was to no Purpose to think of drawing the French to a Battle, on equal Terms, took the Resolution to attack them in their Intrenchments. The Execution of this Design was entrusted to General Cohorn, and Baron Spar, who performed it successfully, in the Country of Waes: While General Obdam (with another part of the Army) staid on this Side the Scheld, in order

order to make an Attempt on the Lines before Antwerp. The French, at that Time, had two flying Camps, one commanded by the Marquis de Bedmar, and the other, which hover'd about Bruges, by the Count de la Motte. The Attack was undertaken in two different Places; that under the Command of General Cohorn, was at a Place called Hoeck van Callo, where he made himself Master of a Redoubt called St. Anthony's Hoeck, and of the Pearl-Fort, with little Resistance, and an inconsiderable Loss. The particular Circumstances of this Action, the Reader will find, in the two following Letters.

Which is
effected by
General
Cohorn.

A Letter from Mons. Hop, to ———

SIR,

Lillo, June 27, 1703.

“ **Y**esterday Morning, General Cohorn had Advice, by
 “ an Express from Baron Spar, of his Design, that Day,
 “ to attack the Enemy's Lines, near Steeken; upon which,
 “ Orders were immediately given to the Regiments of Torsay
 “ and Polland, to march hither, from the Camp at Stabroeck,
 “ to be transported to the Polder of Namen; which was done,
 “ accordingly, Yesterday Noon, by the Favour of the Tide and
 “ Wind; so that these Regiments got thither early in the Even-
 “ ing, and marching all Night, arrived this Morning, betimes,
 “ near Hulst, and joined the Body of Troops, commanded by
 “ Brigadier Schratembach. Yesterday Morning, the Regiment
 “ of Dragoons of Schulemburg, and Heuckelom's of Foot,
 “ were detach'd towards Santvliet, to block up the Garrison of
 “ that Place. On their Approach, the Enemy fired some
 “ Cannon-shot at them, but without Effect. In the Afternoon,
 “ a Detachment of 2,500 Men was drawn out of the Battalions
 “ of Salis, Dedem, Birckenfelt, Linstan, Ranck, Tcharner
 “ and Starler, who, the same Evening, were carried over the
 “ Scheld, toward Liefkenschock; and, in the Night, were
 “ followed by the rest of those Battalions. Messrs. Cohorn and
 “ Dedem pass'd over, with those Troops; and last Night, the
 “ Vessels that lay here for a Guard, went up with the Tide,
 “ to incommode the Enemy, in and about Fort Pearl. Early
 “ this Morning, the Enemy's Lines, at the Point of Callo,
 “ were attacked, and, after a little Resistance, forced; on
 “ which Occasion, one of the Enemy's Captains was taken.
 “ The Redoubt of the Point of St. Anthony was likewise at-
 “ tacked. The Enemy seem'd resolv'd, at first, to defend that
 “ Redoubt; but seeing that we were getting ready our Cannon,
 “ they surrendered on Discretion. On this good Success, Fire
 “ was put to some Houses, for a Signal (as was before agreed)
 “ for the Army commanded by General Obdam, and the Body
 “ under

A Letter
from Mons.
Hop, to---

1703.

“ under Baron Spar. During these Motions and Attacks, we
 “ heard great firing of small Shot, from about Hulst, and the
 “ playing of Hand-Grenado-Mortars; whence it is presum’d,
 “ an Attack has, likewise, been made, on that Side, but with
 “ what Success we are yet to learn. At two, this Morning,
 “ the Troops commanded by General Obdam broke up, and
 “ march’d towards Eckeren (which is intended for their Head-
 “ Quarters) with design to shew themselves, to Day, before the
 “ Lines of Antwerp, to alarm the Enemy on that Side, and
 “ hinder them from sending any Detachment, over the Bridge
 “ of Antwerp, into Flanders.”

J. HOP.

A Letter from Monsf. de Coborn, to the Statés General.

High and Mighty Lords,

A Letter
 from Monsf.
 de Coborn to
 the Statés.

“ **H**AVING made all the necessary Dispositions for at-
 “ tacking the Lines, in the Country of Waes, we made
 “ our Attack, yesterday Morning, and I forced the Lines, on
 “ this Side, with the Loss of three or four Men; but General
 “ Spar had a harder Task, and lost a great many Men, of
 “ which I do not question but he will give your High Mighti-
 “ nesses a particular Account. I am at present busy in dispo-
 “ sing all Things, in order to join the Body commanded by
 “ Monsf. Spar, or to take such other Measures as shall be neces-
 “ sary, according to the Advices I shall receive from him.
 “ I am, &c.

From the Camp at Callo’s-Hoeck,
 June 23, 1703.

M. B. COBORN.

The Lines
 likewise
 forced by
 Baron Spar.

The other Attack, commanded by Baron Spar, was made near the Village of Steeken. The Baron perceiving, that the Count de la Motte observed him diligently, feign’d a March towards Bruges, in order to deceive him; but returning, march’d directly towards the Lines, where a vigorous Opposition was made, by eight Battalions of regular Foot, and 6,000 of the Country-People, who made a stouter Defense than the disciplined Troops, and by their Fire, from the Houses of that Village, very much gauled the Confederates, after they were Masters of the Lines: Which obliged Baron Spar to give Orders, that no Quarters should be given them. This warm Action cost Baron Spar 1200 Men of his Detachment, killed and wounded, several of whom were Officers of Note; in particular two Brigadier-Generals were wounded, and Monsf. de Vassly, Governour of Sas van Ghent, killed. What Number of Slain the Enemy had I do not find, but about eighty of their common Soldiers were

were taken Prisoners. This Action happen'd the seven and twentieth of June.

1703.

Baron Spar gave the following Account of this Action, in a Letter to the States General.

From the Camp in the Lines, in the Country of Waes, between Krickenhage and Steenbrugge, June 27, 1703.

High and mighty Lords,

“ **A**FTER having endeavour'd to deceive Count de la Motte, I thought, this Morning, to have, at last, met with an Opportunity to attack the Enemy's Lines, which I did between six and seven o'Clock. The Attack was very hot and sharp, and I cannot sufficiently express the Zeal and Bravery of the Officers and Soldiers, but this will better appear hereafter. I have lost many brave Man; two Brigadier-Generals are wounded, Colonel Vassiey, Commander of the Saz, killed. Colonel Malsburg wounded, two Lieutenant-Colonels, two Majors, and about ten Captains, killed and wounded. I have receiv'd but a slight Wound; my Purse, though there was but one Pistole in it, has sav'd my Thigh. I have promis'd each Grenadier a Pistole, and half a Pistole to each Pioneer, which they have very well deserv'd, and with the Leave of your High Mightinesses, I shall pay them, out of the first Mony the Inhabitants of the Country of Waes shall bring me. I cannot yet exactly learn how many Men I have lost; but I shall know it to Night. I have to deal with Count de la Motte, with fourteen Battalions, and four Regiments of Horse and Dragoons; but I cannot fancy he has a Mind to fight me. I expect this Evening, Brigadier Schratemback, with three Battalions, and no Doubt but I shall receive Orders from Monf. Cohorn. All that I can do now, is to maintain myself in this Post, till I have sent back the wounded Soldiers, receiv'd the Baggage, and know what Monf. Cohorn designs to do. I recommend to the Favour of your High Mightinesses all the Officers, and in particular such as have distinguish'd themselves, in order to their Preferment, they deserve it very well. The Troops have behaved themselves even beyond Expectation. The Line we attack'd was guarded by seven Battalions, and covered by a River, instead of a Ditch, which we were obliged to fill and pass, and attack a Fortification, by a narrow Way. I beg your High Mightinesses Pardon, for the Confusion of this Letter; for besides the Business I have upon my Hands, I am obliged to write it upon a Cloak. I congratulate this good Success of your Arms, and remain, &c.

A Letter from Bar. Spar to the States.

L. W. SPAR.

1703.

The Reader will observe, that Baron Spar only mentions seven Battalions that opposed him, but takes no Notice of the 6000 Peasants, and with this the French Relations agree; but all the English Accounts which have come to my Hands, agree in eight Battalions, and 6000 Peasants.

The Duke of Marlboro' forms a Design against Antwerp:

The Duke's Design was, after the forcing of the Lines, to make himself Master of Antwerp, which was garrison'd by some Spanish Troops, under the Command of the Marquis de Bedmar: And the first Success made every one, as well at the Hague, as in the Confederate Army, so sanguine upon it, that it was hardly doubted but that important Place would soon fall into the Hands of the Allies: But as nothing is more precarious, than the Events of War, they soon found themselves deceiv'd in their Expectations. The grand Army of the Confederates, under the Command of his Grace, and of Mons. d'Auverquerque, was to attack the Lines, on the Side of Louvain and Mechlin; Mons. de Cohorn, with his flying Camp, was on the Right of the Scheld, towards Dutch Flanders, to draw the Attention of the Marquis de Bedmar, on that Side; while Baron Obdam, with another Detachment of the Army, of about 10 or 12,000 (some Accounts, and particularly the French, say 15,000) Men, went to encamp between Eckeren and Capelle, near Antwerp; designing to act, on that Side, against the Lines, which were guarded by the Spaniards. The two French Generals imagined there would be no other Means to frustrate this Project, but by attacking the Body of Troops under Mons. Obdam, and, if possible, cutting off his Retreat. To conceal this Design, the Marshal de Villeroy made a Motion, with the Army of the two Crowns, and advanced towards Dieste, upon the Intelligence he had of the Duke's marching towards Antwerp.

Which is frustrated by the Vigilance of the Enemy.

Resolutions of a Council of War.

His Grace was no sooner advis'd of this, than he held a Council of War, which was unanimously of Opinion, that the Confederate Camp at Eckeren, consisting only of thirteen Battalions, and six and twenty Squadrons, which were hardly covered on the Right, and it being easy for the Enemy, with a superiour Force, not only to cut off their Communication with Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda, but, likewise, that with Lillo, the best Thing they could do, would be to send (as they did the very same Night) their heavy Baggage to Bergen-op-Zoom, and upon the first Intelligence they should have of the Motion of the Enemy, to change the Situation of their Camp, and retire nearer towards Lillo: Which was accordingly done, upon Advice, that the Enemy were come out of their Lines, the thirtieth of June, with a considerable Body of Troops, and it was not long before the Vanguard of their Left Wing perceiv'd them. This Body of Troops, as it appeared afterwards, consisted of 33 Battalions, 32 Squadrons, and 47 Companies of Grena-

Motions preceding the Battle of Eckeren.

Grenadiers, under the Command of the Marquis de Bedmar, who was afterwards joined, and assisted by Mons. de Boufflers, and Prince Tserclaes, with 30 Squadrons, and 30 Companies of Grenadiers, from the Marshal de Villeroy's grand Camp. These Motions brought on the famous Battle of Eckeren, of which I shall give a particular Account in the ensuing Chapter.

1703.

C H A P. IV.

The Battle of Eckeren, with other Transactions, to the Conclusion of the Year, 1703.

THE considerable Advantages, a Relation whereof I have given the Reader in the foregoing Chapter, caus'd an universal Joy at the Hague, which was, however, damped, for a short Time, by the Arrival of an Express from General Obdam, giving the States an Account, " That the French, near Antwerp, having received a considerable Reinforcement, from their main Army, came out of their Lines, the thirtieth of June, N. S. and surrounded the Body of the Confederate Forces, under his Command, and had entirely routed them; and that he had escaped to Breda, with only thirty Horses, and could give no farther Account of those Troops.

The Battle of Eckeren.

The Case, in short, was this: The Motions of the Dutch Army, after the forcing of the Enemy's Intrenchments, made it be believed, that there was a Design on Antwerp. General Cohorn was making Advances in the Dutch Flanders, and General Obdam commanded a small Army on the other Side of the Scheld, while the Duke of Marlborough lay with the Body of the Army, near the Lines in Brabant. Marshal Boufflers was detach'd from Marshal Villeroy's Army, with a Body, double in Number to Obdam's, to fall on him; and he marched so quick, that the Dutch were surprized at Eckeren, a Village about four Miles North of Antwerp, 23 Miles South-South-West of Breda, and 16 South-South-East of Bergen-op-Zoom, where they were put into great Disorder, and Obdam, apprehending all was lost, fled, with a small Body of his Men, to Breda; but the Dutch rallied, and maintained their Ground with such Firmness, that the French retir'd, very much to their Dishonour; since, tho' they were much superiour in Number, yet they let the Dutch recover, out of their first Confusion, and keep their Ground, tho' forsaken by their General.

Upon the Arrival of this Express from Obdam, all the Hague was in the utmost Consternation. The States immediately assembled,

1703.

sembled, and after they had sat in Consultation, till One in the Morning, dispatched away Monf. Gueldermalsen, and two Deputies more, with Mony and Instructions, to prevent, as much as might be, the ill Consequences of this supposed Disaster. But these Deputies, in their Way towards the Frontiers, met with a Messenger dispatch'd by Monf. Hop, Treasurer-General to the States, and their Deputy in that Army, with a Letter to the States, which they opened, and, finding in it a quite different Account, returned to the Hague.

This Action being a very remarkable as well as brave one, and redounding much to the Honour of the Allies, I shall give my Readers the most particular Account of it I have seen, which is in a Letter from General Schlangenburg to the States, the Day after the Battle, as follows :

General
Schlangenburg's Account of the
Battle of
Eckeren.

High and Mighty Lords,

“ **A**FTER that, by Order of your Highnesses, the Army
“ commanded by General Obdam was lessened to 13 Battalions, and 26 Squadrons, and it was resolved, that this
“ small Army should march from Stabroeck towards Eckeren,
“ Count Tilly and I represented the bad Constitution of that
“ Camp, with so small a Number of Troops, within three
“ Quarters of a League of the Enemy, who, according to General Cohorn's Report, could assemble fifty Battalions, from
“ Lier to Ostend, and be re-inforced from their great Army ;
“ whereas we could expect no Assistance in Time, nay, not from
“ General Cohorn. Moreover, I and Count Tilly farther remonstrated, that the Enemy, being superiour in Number, might always cut off our Retreat ; and we had understood, by several
“ Ways, that the Enemy were stronger in their Lines, than we
“ were in our Army, and that our great Army had passed the
“ Jecker, and that of the Enemy advanced as far as Tirlemont ;
“ and besides, that we had Advice, of the Enemy's expecting more
“ Troops in their Lines ; but we could obtain nothing by our Remonstrance, excepting a Resolution to send our heavy Baggage
“ to Bergen-op-Zoom. This was done, at the same Time, when
“ M. de Boufflers arrived in the French Lines, with a considerable Body of Horse and Dragoons, and, as Prisoners say, with
“ 70 Companies of Grenadiers. Upon this, without Loss of
“ Time, the Enemy sent all their Troops out of their Lines,
“ with the Marquis of Bedmar, Prince Tserclaes, M. de Villeroy's Son, and many other General Officers, and having
“ march'd with incredible Diligence, they posted an Ambuscade
“ of their Dragoons before our Left, and advanced, with the
“ Main of their Army, to Capelle, behind our Camp, before
“ we had the least Advice of their Design or March. Nor had
“ we been informed then, before we had been encompass'd, but
“ that

1703.

“ that I, and Count Tilly, and some of our Major-Generals,
 “ making the Tour of our Camp, met their Ambuscade of
 “ Dragoons, about one o’Clock, near our grand Horse-Guard.
 “ Having discovered this Ambuscade, we judged the Enemy
 “ designed to attack us, and immediately put our Troops in
 “ Arms, and acquainted General Obdam, with what we had
 “ done. One of our Guards, on the Steeple of the Church of
 “ Eckeren, acquainted us, at the same Time, that the Enemy
 “ came with a great Body of Troops. towards Capelle, and
 “ advanced continually; upon which, General Obdam resolved
 “ to retire under Lillo, and ordered two Squadrons of Dragoons
 “ to possess themselves of the Post of Houwen, to cover the
 “ March of our Army.

“ Whilst General Obdam was busy’d in ordering their March,
 “ we understood, that the Enemy was advanced to Houwen,
 “ and had repuls’d the two Squadrons of Dragoons, whereby
 “ the Road to Lillo was stopp’d. Brigadier Schulemberg was
 “ detach’d, at first, to post himself at Muisbroeck, and Gehug,
 “ below Houwen, to cover our Retreat; but when he came
 “ there, he found that Post very well guarded, by French Dra-
 “ goons and Grenadiers; whereupon he began to charge them;
 “ but, they being much superiour in Number, he judged a Re-
 “ treat necessary, and tried to seize the Post of Houteren, but
 “ he found the Enemy also possessed of that. This obliged him
 “ to draw up at Watering, betwixt Houteren and Muisbroeck,
 “ and it was resolved to attack the French there, and to make
 “ them retire, if possible; but they were so advantageously
 “ posted, that it was impracticable. On the other hand, the
 “ Enemy advanced upon us, made a vigorous Charge on the
 “ Troops of Munster, and began a sharp Battle with the Foot,
 “ about three o’Clock.

“ Perceiving the Enemy to be much superiour in Number,
 “ we were obliged to change our Design, and to endure a terri-
 “ ble Fire of their Muskets. General Obdam, and Count
 “ Tilly, who were upon the Road, with the Horse, upon the
 “ Dike that goes to Willemerdonck, tried to continue their
 “ March opposite to Houteren, along the Dikes of the Scheld,
 “ to Lillo, and when they arrived, found the Enemy possessed
 “ of Houteren, but they were afterwards chased from thence
 “ by our Troops. Mean while, the Foot continued the Fight,
 “ betwixt Houwen and Eckeren, with a terrible Fire, on both
 “ Sides, till eight at Night, especially about, and upon the
 “ Dike, betwixt Eckeren and Willemerdonck, where Lieu-
 “ tenant-General Fagel, and Major-Generals Friesheim, and
 “ Erberfeld, gave such Proof of their Conduct and Valour,
 “ as cannot be enough admired. Lieutenant-General Fagel be-
 “ ing wounded, in the Head and Foot, we not being able to

1703.

“ sustain his Regiment, and the Enemy, perceiving we wanted
 “ Foot, took the Opportunity to force our Troops at Housteren
 “ to retire, and posted themselves there, and at some Sluices
 “ betwixt that Village and Fort La Croix, and, by that Means,
 “ we were encompass’d on all Sides, having the Enemy’s Lines,
 “ and Antwerp, on our Rear, and Fort Philippine, and the
 “ Scheld, on our Left, which obliged me send to General
 “ Obdam, and Count Tilly, for their Advice, how to get out
 “ of that Labyrinth. Word was brought me, that General
 “ Obdam had not been seen for some Time, and that Count
 “ Tilly said, he believed him either to be killed or taken.

“ Upon this, we resolv’d to try all Courses, with the utmost
 “ Vigour. Count Tilly detached some Cavalry, under General
 “ Hompesch, to sustain the Foot, who maintained a bloody
 “ Fight, for a long Time, upon the Dike: The French also
 “ sent Horse to sustain their Foot, on this Occasion. General
 “ Hompesch led on his Horse, with so much Conduct and
 “ Courage, that he broke several French Squadrons, took some
 “ of their Standards and Drums, routed several Battalions of
 “ their Foot, and drove the Enemy back, a Quarter of a
 “ League.

“ Brigadier Wyke, and the other Brigadiers and Colonels,
 “ having spent all their Powder and Lead, ordered their Men to
 “ put their Bayonets in their Muskets, and pursue the Enemy,
 “ and the Battle being sharp and bloody, the Dike was covered
 “ with the Slain and Wounded.

“ I had then taken Post on the Key of a Canal that joined
 “ the Dike, where I placed two Battalions, and the Cavalry be-
 “ hind them, to maintain that Post to the last Extremity, if our
 “ first Troops happened to be broke, and for the Security of the
 “ rest of the Regiments, that we expected in the Night; but
 “ the Enemy were so disordered, that they had no Mind to
 “ renew the Fight, in that Post. They endeavour’d, during
 “ the Heat of the Charge above mentioned, to fall upon our
 “ Rear, having, for that End, charged us, with four Batta-
 “ lions from Antwerp, and Fort La Croix, along the Village,
 “ and another Dike of Willemerdonck, but found that Post
 “ well guarded, and their Men were forced to retire, by the
 “ dreadful Fire of our Troops. Night coming on, and finding
 “ ourselves still encompass’d on all Sides, we were forced to
 “ open a Passage by Dint of Sword. The French had seized
 “ the Post of Housteren, and several others towards the Sluices,
 “ which cut off our Communication with Lillo; upon which
 “ Count Tilly, Mons. Hop, and I, resolv’d to attack that Post,
 “ with the utmost Vigour, and, our Infantry wanting Powder
 “ and Lead, we order’d them to advance with their Bayonets
 “ in their Muskets.

“ Major-

1703.

“ Major-General Friesheim and Brigadier Dona were detached, with four Battalions, and marching thro’ a Ground full of Ditches, waded up to their Middle, to attack the Enemy, in that Post, on Flank and Rear. We marched also some Regiments along the Dike, and Count Tilly advanced with some Dragoons, and after firing some Cannon, on that Post, we attacked the Enemy, in Flank, Front and Rear, chased them from Houteren, took their Cannon, and beat them from the Sluices, where they were intrench’d. We pursued them fighting, as far as Fort La Croix, which opened our Passage along the Dikes to Lillo, where we arriv’d this Morning, and are now encamp’d.

“ I can assure your Highnesses, that all your Troops, Horse, Foot and Dragoons, fought with a surprizing Valour, and that Lieutenant-General Fagel, and all the other Generals, Majors and Brigadiers, behaved themselves, in this dangerous Action, with admirable Conduct, being only sorry that we have lost several brave Men. There are some taken Prisoners, and many wounded, of whom I cannot send a List till the next. We have taken some Standards, Drums and Colours, and my Regiment has taken one Piece of Cannon, and a Pair of Colours. I hope your Highnesses will consider the small Number of our Troops; that the Enemy was twice as strong as we; that their Loss is much greater than ours; and that almost all of them retired in Confusion, and left us the Field of Battle; whereas we came hither in good Order. It was my Opinion, Count Tilly’s, and that of all the Generals who were present, that we ought never to have exposed ourselves, in such a disadvantageous Camp; however, I hope it will be no small Satisfaction to your Highnesses, that this Action will certainly advance the Reputation of your Troops.

“ I forgot to tell you, that the Count of East-Friesland, and Count Vander Nat, distinguished themselves, on this Occasion, and that Colonel Ivois assisted me with his Care, Valour and good Advice; so that, I doubt not but your Highnesses will consider their Merit. General Fagel is embark’d to Day, for the Hague, to have his Wounds better look’d after. General Cohorn came to Lillo in the Night, with some Regiments, after the Battle; but sent them back immediately, under Major-General Dedem. All our Regiments, especially the Foot, are extremely weaken’d, so that they cannot act in a Body, except your Highnesses change those that suffered most, with others that are in Garrisons. This Post is not safe, except the Sluices of Fort Frederick-Henry be opened, which cannot be while we are here, because the Salt-water would occasion Diseases. Mons. Ob-

1703.

“dam not being present, I have taken upon me the General Command, till I receive your Highnesses Order.”

Lillo, July 2, 1703.

The States, having perused this Letter, came to a Resolution, that Thanks should be given to Lieutenant General Schlanguenburg, for the great Conduct, Zeal and Courage, which he had shewn in the Battle of Eckeren; and that he should be made acquainted how well satisfied their High-Mightinesses, likewise, were, with the good Conduct and Valour of the other General Officers, as also, with the extraordinary Courage and Bravery, discover'd, as well by the Superiour and Subaltern Officers, as by the private Soldiers, for having maintained the Honour of the Troops of that State, and performed their Duty, in the Service of their Country: And Monf. Schlanguenburg should (on the Part of their High-Mightinesses) signify to every one of them, in the best and properest Form, the Satisfaction they had given, upon that Occasion.

General Schlanguenburg, hereupon, drew up his Troops, and gave them Thanks, in Behalf of the States, in the following Terms.

“ Their High-Mightinesses, the States-General, and their
“ Mightinesses, the Nobles of the Council of State, have order-
“ ed me in their Names, to thank the Officers, high and low,
“ and the Soldiers, for the Bravery, Courage and Zeal, which
“ you have demonstrated in the Battle so particularly known to
“ you all. I have Orders to tell you, that they will, upon all
“ Occasions, testify their Acknowledgments to you for the
“ same.”

According to the best Computation, the Dutch lost, in this Engagement, 717 Men kill'd, 1003 wounded, 694 Prisoners or deserted, and 376 Horses: And the French own'd, they had near 1600 Men kill'd and wounded, besides 150 Officers: And, notwithstanding Monf. Obdam went off in the midst of the Action, yet the other Dutch Generals maintained the Fight, with such admirable Presence of Mind, that the Enemy were obliged to abandon the Field of Battle, and march off by Night, without Beat of Drum, or Sound of Trumpet, towards their Lines. The Marshal de Boufflers had, at least, 30,000 Men under his Command; the greatest Part, of their chosen Troops: And a great many General Officers, and young French Lords, accompanied him: The first to assist him, and the latter to acquire Glory, and signalize themselves; Whereas the Confederate Army did not far exceed 10,000 Men.

Notwithstanding all these Circumstances, which the French, in their Account of this Action, printed at Namur, in a great Measure

1703.

Measure confirm, and evidently prove the Advantage to have been on the Side of the Allies; and tho' they there own their Loss was, at least, equal to that of the Allies (which was supposed to be about 2,500 Men) yet the French King was made to believe, that his Troops got the Victory, and caused Te Deum to be sung in the Cathedral Church of Paris; and that upon the bare and only Circumstance of the Retreat of General Obdam.

The French tho' beaten, cause Te Deum to be sung for a Victory.

The French Court, to make this Action appear with the Lustre of a compleat Victory, did not scruple to affirm, that the Allies were superiour in Infantry, and advantageously posted, and yet were obliged to abandon the Field of Battle, as also, their Wounded, Tents, Baggage, six Pieces of Cannon, 44 Mortars, (Cohorn I suppose) their Ammunition, Provisions, 154 Artillery-Waggons, several Colours and Drums, with the Loss (according to some) of 2000 Men on the Spot, and 500 made Prisoners.

F. Daniel goes yet farther, and not only positively avers, that the Marshal de Boufflers, and the Marquis de Bedmar, defeated the Army under General Obdam, but makes the Loss of the Allies considerably greater, than that of the two Crowns. The Confederates (says he) by their own Confession, had 1200 Soldiers, kill'd or wounded, eight Colonels, as many Lieutenant-Colonels, six Majors, seven and thirty Captains, and a hundred and sixty-six Subalterns; seven hundred were made Prisoners, six Pieces of Cannon taken, two large Mortars, forty small ones, all their Tents, and Abundance of Military Furniture. To all this the Marquis de Quincy adds, 300 Artillery and Baggage-Waggons, with a pretty large Quantity of Plate and Coin: And, to the Prisoners, he adds Madam de Tilly, who came to dine with her Husband that Day. The French (according to both) had but 500 slain, and 840 wounded. The Allies were pursued in their Retreat, till eleven at Night, and retired in Confusion under the Fort of Lillo.

F. Daniel's Account of the Loss on both Sides.

These Circumstances are not only contradicted by General Schlanguenburg's Account, but by many others: Mous. Rouffet says, the Enemy took four Pieces of Cannon at first, but were oblig'd to abandon them again, with one of their own, some Ammunition, several Pair of Kettle-drums, two Standards of the Gens d'Arms, several Colours, and a good Number of Prisoners. The Army continued in the Field of Battle all Night, under their Arms, and marched, the next Morning, from Houteren, to Lillo, without any Disturbance or Attempt from the Enemy.

We have the following short Account of this Action, and of the Vanity of the French, from Mr. Cardonnel, the Duke's Secretary.

1703.



*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Cardonnel, to Monsf. *** at Zell, translated from the Original in French, dated Teilen, July 6, 1703.*

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Secretary Cardonnel to Monsf. *** at Zell.

“ **Y**OU have, without Doubt, received particular Advice from the Hague, of the Action between our Troops, and Part of the Army of France, under the Command of Monsf. de Boufflers; and as the former, tho’ not near half so numerous, not only repuls’d them, with a very great Loss, but remained Masters of the Field of Battle, and took from them one Piece of Cannon, with several Standards, Colours, Kettle-Drums, and a great Number of Prisoners; and nevertheless these Gentlemen, according to Custom, have made great Rejoicings, as well in their Towns, as in their Camp, as if they had obtained a compleat Victory; they probably have taken it from the Letter, which Monsf. d’Obdam wrote to my Lord Duke, as soon as he arrived at Breda, in which he informed his Excellency, as he, likewise, had done the States, that all was lost, and he alone saved, as it were, by a Miracle, which Letter had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of the French.

“ We are going to have a Conference with the Generals of the other Army, and the Deputies of the States General, to concert the Measures proper to be taken, now the two Armies are so near one another. All I can say of it is, that my Lord Duke will endeavour to persuade them to attack the Enemy’s Lines, to get to Antwerp, tho’ their whole Army is encamp’d behind them, &c.

General Obdam’s Justification.

As for General Obdam, he afterwards wrote a Letter to the States, from Lillo, wherein he acknowledges, “ That he had made too hasty a Judgment upon the imminent Danger the whole Army was in; and that the Enemy pressing on, with an irresistible Superiority, within Pistol-shot of the Place where he was present, and where no Succour could come up, to enable him to keep his Ground. moved him to retire: Adding, That he would have re-assumed the Command of the Army, and that the Generals, and other Officers, made no Scruple to obey his Orders; but that finding himself lessened in general Esteem, and look’d upon as unworthy to command the Forces of the States, he begg’d Leave of their High and Mightinesses Deputies, to go to the Hague, for a few Days, in order to clear himself before their High and Mightinesses. from the Imputations he lay under.

Accordingly, General Obdam arrived at the Hague, the eleventh of July, N. S. where, shortly after, by Command of the

the States General, he delivered to them in Writing, his Apology for himself, which was much to the same Purpose, with the Letter, of which I have given an Extract above.

About a Month after, several Officers of the Dutch Army, which was now commanded by Lieutenant-General Schlagenburg, wrote a Letter to Mons. d'Obdam, importing; " That notwithstanding there run a Report, in Holland, as if, since the Accident that befel him, of being intercepted from the Army, at the Battle of Eckeren, they had scrupled to serve under his Orders, which was far from their Thoughts; they, therefore, took a Resolution, to assure him, that they should be extremely glad to see him, at the Head of the Army again.

There seems to be a Hardship in this Gentleman's Case, which deserves Compassion. It is certain, that he serv'd his Country, above thirty Years, with unblemish'd Fidelity, Zeal, and Courage; nor does there seem to have been a Want of either in this last Action, if the Circumstances he relates, in his Justification, be true, and I never found they were contradicted. If he was really cut off by the Enemy, and not able to regain his Troops, what better Course could he take, than to keep out of the Enemy's Power? If he had been slain or taken, one of which must have been the Alternative, what Benefit could the Allies have reaped by it? What a ticklish Thing is Honour! How hardly obtained, and how easily forfeited in the Eye of the World! That the Merit of thirty Years painful Service should be sunk in one Error of Judgment, by which no one was a Sufferer! It is the Misfortune of great Men, that their Actions lye open to the Censures of the meanest, and are but too often judged of, not by their true Motive, but by the Success of them. But it was not General Obdam's Fate alone, to suffer in his Reputation, on Account of this Action. Marshal Boufflers's Conduct was justly censured, and it was thought this finished his Disgrace. Nor was the Duke of Marlborough without some Share of Censure on this Occasion; for it was pretended, that he ought to have sent a Force to support Obdam, or have made an Attempt on Villeroy's Army, when it was weakened by the Detachment sent with Boufflers. It would be an easy Matter to clear his Grace's Character from this Aspersions, if it were not established above the Necessity of a Justification. I have, however, on this Account, been the more particular above, in relating the Circumstances of this Action, which, with what follows, speak pretty plain; I shall only add, that Mons. Hop, begins the Letter to the States, in which he gives them an Account of this Action, by informing them, that the Duke of Marlborough had wrote to him, two Days before, to advise them to be upon their Guard; and that his Grace had Reason

The Hardship of his Case.

The Duke of Marlborough unjustly censured.

1703.

to expect from these brave Commanders, when forewarned, all that Men could do, the very Circumstances of this Action themselves sufficiently evince.

This Action is the Occasion of the States loosing the Service of two Generals:

The States, in the mean time, tho' their Troops gained great Honour, and some Advantage, in this Action, had the Mortification to lose the future Services of two brave Generals by it; that of General Obdam, for the Reasons already assigned; and that of General Schlangenburg; because, having given Offence to the Duke of Malborough, by being too free of his Censure, on this Occasion, they were obliged, soon after, to dispense with his Service, rather than disoblige his Grace, whose Service they stood more in need of: Thus this brave Officer, who certainly behaved gallantly in this Action, lost by his Tongue, the Advantage he had gained by the Sword.

Motions of the Confederate Army.

The Allies, being willing to repair the Disadvantages they had lain under, by the Action at Ekeren, join'd all their Forces together, with the Intent to come to an Engagement with the Marshal de Villeroy, who, encamping near St. Job, rang'd all his Forces in Order of Battle, and gave out, that he was resolved to stay there for the Duke of Marlborough. His Grace, and Monf. d'Auverquerque, hoping he would be as good as his Word, march'd with the Army under their Command, in several Columns, to Hoogstraet, within half a League of the Enemy's Camp, who, to all Appearance, were making great Preparations for a vigorous Action. General Schlangenburg, decamping from Lillo, march'd all Night, and arriv'd, early in the Morning, between Ekeren and Capelle, to attack them on that Side; and the Duke of Marlborough, with his Army, advanc'd in a great Plain, over against the Enemy, and caused four Pieces of Cannon to be discharged, for a Signal to General Schlangenburg, in order for him to begin the Attack. But, as he advanced, the Marshal declined the Engagement, and, having set Fire to his Camp, order'd his Army to retire within their Lines; which they accordingly did, with great Precipitation. By this Means they covered the City of Antwerp, which was exactly in their Rear, and thereby frustrated the Duke's Design.

The Duke of Marlboro' views the French Lines.

The Duke, failing thus in his Hopes of bringing them to an Engagement, being attended with several General Officers, and a Guard of 4000 Horse and Dragoons, went, the 27th of July, to view the Enemy's Lines. Lieutenant Benson, of the English Royal Regiment of Dragoons, with about thirty English, being detach'd, fell in with one of the Enemy's Out-guards, of forty Horse, who, after one Discharge, retired, and were chased, by the English, to the very Barrier of their Entrenchments, which gave the Confederate Generals an Opportunity to view them, within Musket-Shot; and from that Day, the Duke laid a Scheme to force them; but the Execution of that Project was industri-

Forms a Design to force them.

The Dutch oppose it.

ously

qually put off, from time to time, by the Deputies of the States General, of which more in the Sequel. 1703.

The Duke probably took a View of these Lines more than once; for Mons. Roussel mentions, particularly, that the fifth of July, being join'd by the little Army, which had been under the Command of General Obdam, his Grace marched towards the Enemy's Lines, with eighty four Battalions, and 145 Squadrons, in Order of Battle; hoping to bring them to a general Engagement, but in vain; for they would not venture out of their Lines.

The Duke of Marlboro' marches up to the Enemy's Lines in Order of Battle.

The sixteenth of August, N. S. Count Noyelles, with a Detachment from the grand Army, arrived before Huy, a considerable Town of the Bishoprick of Liege, on the Maese, having a strong Castle, three Forts, and four Churches. It stands on the River Maese, 14 Miles almost South of Liege, and 17 almost North-East of Namur. Upon his Approach the Governour broke down the Bridge between the two Towns, and retired, with his Garrison, into the Castle, and the Fort S. Joseph, Fort Picard, and Fort Rouge, or the Red Fort. Notwithstanding the Fatigues the Confederate Troops had undergone, in a most difficult March, all possible Diligence was used for opening the Trenches, which was done, the seventeenth, in the Night. The Attack against Fort S. Joseph was commanded by the Prince of Anhalt, and that against Fort Picard, by Colonel Frederick Hamilton, the only English Brigadier in the Army. The Trenches against the former were carried on 190 Paces, but the Engineer, who was to conduct the Workmen to Fort Picard, by Reason of the Darkness of the Night, fell into a hollow Way, which carried off from the said Fort, and was the Occasion, that the Opening of the Trenches, on that Side, was defer'd till the next Night. The Approaches were continued, with a great deal of Success, and some of the Besiegers Batteries being ready, the twenty-first, began to throw some Bombs into the Works of the Enemy, and, the next Morning, to fire, with Cannon and Mortars upon Fort Picard, Fort St. Joseph, and the Castle, which continued till three in the Afternoon, when Fort St. Joseph beat a Parly, as did also Fort Picard, and the Red Fort, about seven in the Evening. The Garrisons desired to retire to Namur, with their Arms and Baggage; but that being denied, and no other Terms offered them, than either to surrender Prisoners at Discretion, or retire into the Castle, the continual Fire of the Besiegers obliged them, at length, to abandon the Forts, of which the Confederates took Possession the twenty-third: And Mons. Millon, Governour of the Castle, refusing to admit his own Men into it, they were forced to return into the Town, where they were immediately seized and disarmed.

Huy invested.

The Trenches opened.

The Forts taken.

Upon the taking of the Forts, the Batteries, that had been raised against them, were removed, and they began to play upon the

1703.

the Castle, where they did great Damage to the Enemy. The five and twentieth, the Dispositions were made for an Attack, and all the Batteries firing, without Intermission, in the Afternoon, the Besieged had above 100 Men killed and wounded, in which last Number were reckoned many Officers, and the Governour himself. Our Troops advanced, in the mean Time, and placed several Ladders at the Foot of the Castle. This was designed only for a Feint; but the Enemy, believing we were in Earnest, beat a Parly, about six, in the Evening, offering to surrender, upon Condition that they should be allowed to march to Namur, with the usual Marks of Honour. The Marquis de Quincy gives a long and circumstantial Account of this Afternoon's Action, and pretends that the Allies mounted the Breach twice with incredible Fury; but were repuls'd with great Slaughter, on both Sides; and that the Officers would have stood a third Attack, but were oblig'd by the Soldiers to beat a Parly: But the small Number of Men killed on either Side is a Contradiction to this.

His Grace, the Duke of Marlborough, thereupon sent a Message to the Governour, That notwithstanding the Advantage he had, if they would lay down their Arms, all that belonged to the Officers and Soldiers should be left them, and they should be exchanged for a like Number of our Men, whenever the Marshal de Villeroy should desire it; and Time was allowed them, till three, the next Morning, to send a positive Answer. Upon the Governour's Refusal, Orders were given for renewing the Assault; whereupon, the Soldiers, in the Garrison, refusing to defend the Place any longer, the Governour accepted the Terms offered him, whereby he, and his Garrison, which, including those who were in the Forts, consisted of 900 Men, commanded by two Brigadiers General, were to remain Prisoners of War, till the two Regiments, taken some Months before, by the French, in Tongeren, were releas'd. On the seven and twentieth of August, in the Morning, the Garrison march'd out of the Castle, and were all disarm'd. except the Officers, who, by the Generosity of the Duke of Marlborough, were allowed to keep their Swords.

The Castle
surrenders at
Discretion.

Loss on both
Sides.

There was found, in the Castle, a considerable Quantity of Ammunition and Provisions; of the chief of which, we find the following Specification: 10,100 Pounds of Powder, 254 empty Bombs, 159 fill'd Bombs; 400 Hand-Grenado-Shells, 200 fill'd Grenadoes, 10 Iron-Guns, 1 Mortar, 750 Sacks of Meal, 120 Barrells of Beer, 7 Hogsheads of Wine, 900 Loaves of Bread, &c. During the whole Siege, the Confederates had not above 20 Men kill'd, and 35 wounded: Whereas the Loss of the Enemy was very considerably above that Number. The Command of the Castle was given to the Baron de Trogne, who

not

not only perform'd the Part of Chief Engineer perfectly well ; but when the Ladders were carried to be set up against the Castle-Wall (as I have related above) he led the 25 Grenadiers, who were order'd on that Service, carrying a Ladder on his Shoulder.

1703.

Three Days before, a grand Council of War was held, at the confederate Camp, at Val nôtre Dame, in which were present the Duke of Marlborough, the Deputies of the States General, Mons. d'Auverquerque, Mons. Schlangenburg, the Lieutenant-Generals, and several Major-Generals. The Question in Debate was, what Undertaking should be gone upon, after Huy should be taken? And, the Siege of Limburg being propos'd, the Duke of Marlborough, who (as I have observ'd before) had, with great Care and Diligence, inform'd himself of the Condition of the Enemy's Lines, and got the best Intelligence he could, where they might be forced, with most Probability of Success, was against that Proposal; and he, together with the other Generals whose Names are subscribed, gave the following Opinion, rather for attacking the Enemy's Lines, between the Mehaigne, and Leuwe, as an Enterprize that would contribute much more to the Glory and Advantage of the Arms of the High-Allies: Being also of Opinion, that Limburg might be attack'd, by a Detachment, when the Season was more advanced.

A great Council of War held.

The Duke of Marl. and several other Generals are for forcing the Lines.

The Opinion of the Duke of Marlborough and several other Generals.

1. **T**HE Enemies having great Magazines at Namur, Their Reasons for it.
for the Subsistence of their Army, and we being, by our Superiority in Number, in a Condition to give them Umbrage, on that Side, they will be oblig'd, after we are possess'd of Huy, to put a Garrison into that Place, for the Security of their Magazines; our Superiority will be then so much the greater, and they will be the less able to oppose our Efforts.
2. We having here a level Ground before us, of above two Leagues and a half in Extent, where the Enemies Lines are weakest, it seems to be the only Place where we should chuse to attack them; and seeing our whole Army may act, it is to be believed, if the Enemy should stand us, it would be impossible for them to defend such an Extent.
3. In case they should venture an Engagement with us, seeing 'tis what we have been seeking all this Campaign, we are of Opinion, we ought gladly to embrace the Occasion, because we have a greater Superiority at this Time, than ever.

4. If

1703.

“ 4. If we do not attack the Enemy in this Place, with the finest Troops that can be seen, and such Superiority as we cannot expect to have next Year, it will be evident, not only to our Allies (to their Discouragement) but the Enemy may with Reason boast, that these Lines, which they will make stronger every Day, are an invincible Barrier against the Troops of the Allies.

“ 5. In case we do not attack the Lines, there is no other Course to be taken, than either to retire to the other Side of the Maese, or to march away to the Right, to be near to the Majory of Bolduc, there being no Forage left in these Parts : The first wou'd be dishonourable to the Arms of the Allies ; for their getting the River between them and the Enemy, would look as if they durst not stand them, and the latter might be very dangerous to the States ; and besides, the Enemy, by means of their Magazines, wou'd be in a Condition to undertake any Thing : Whereas, if we attempt their Lines, should they pretend to defend them, we may, with the Assistance of the ALMIGHTY, hope to gain a complete Victory, the Consequence of which may be of more Importance than can be foreseen ; and should they think best to retire, there is ground to hope we might push forward very successfully, and draw mighty Advantages from it.

“ 6. We consider, likewise, that the Enemy being superior in Italy, and in the Empire, and being out-number'd no where but here, the Eyes of all the Allies are fixed upon us, and they will have Cause justly to blame our Conduct, if we do not do all that is possible to relieve them, by obliging the Enemy to call back such Succours into these Parts, which is not to be done but by pushing boldly.

Signed by the Duke of Marlborough.

Generals of the English,	{	Cha. Churchill, Cuts, and Henr. Lumley.
Generals of the Danes,	{	Cha. Rudolph, Duke of Wirtemberg, and F. Shoten.
Generals of the Lunenb.	{	C. Somersfelt, M. Bu- lau, E. August. D. of Brunswick, and the Count de Noyelles.
Generals of the Hessians,	{	Frederick Prince of Hesse, Spiegel de Diesenborg, A. Van Tettau.

Having

Having given the Reasons alledg'd by the Duke of Marlborough, and the Generals who were of the same Opinion with him, for forcing the Lines, it will but be just to give those of the contrary Party, who opposed them.

1703.

The Dutch are against attempting the Lines.

Reasons oppos'd by the Dutch Deputies and Generals, against attempting the Enemy's Lines.

“ **I**N the Council of War held yesterday, the 24th, two Things were debated, viz. Whether to attack the Lines, or besiege Limburg? Without Doubt, the first would be the more glorious Attempt; but, before it be determined, we judge it necessary to examine all the Difficulties of executing it, and afterwards the Advantage that may accrue from succeeding in it. Their Reasons.

“ That Part of the Lines, that seems easiest to be attack'd, reaches from Waseige, on the Mehaigne, as far as Janche, which is an Extent of two Leagues and a half. It lies cross a Plain, but takes in a rising Ground, at Meerdorp: And it is to be enquired, whether the Enemies are really inferiour in Number to us, and whether their Lines are not stronger and better repair'd, than is reported.

“ Supposing the Lines forced, it is next to be consider'd, what will come of it, and whether then we shall be able to penetrate into the Country, and to march to Tirlemont and Louvain. What gives Ground to apprehend we shall not, is, that the Enemy, a little within their Lines (of which a Plan lies before us) have Posts to retire to, that are more defensible than their Lines; for Instance, that of Ramillies, where their Right, being extended to the Mehaigne, near Taviere, and their Left towards Ramillies, and Autreglise, they will have a narrow Aperture of but 1200 Paces to defend.

“ Should the Enemy abandon their Lines, and take Post in that Camp it will not be in our Power to march towards Tirlemont, till we have forced them to decamp; because we shall be obliged to pass near the Head of the River Gheet, between the Enemy's Army and Janche, which will be impossible to be done, without risking our Rear-Guard.

“ If, after the Lines shall be either forced by us, or abandon'd by the Enemy, it should be thought advisable for our Army to pass the Gheet lower, about Heilersheim, the Enemy would move down along that River to observe us, and by extending their Left to Heilersheim, would have a stronger Part of the Line before them, than that between the Mehaigne and Janche, and, by that Means, hinder us from advancing to Tirlemont and Louvain.

“ If

1703.

“ If the Enemy post themselves, as we have said, about Heilshheim, the Ground between Ramillies and the-Mehaigne would lye open to us, and we might pass above the Head of the Gheet, and so cut them off from all Communication with Namur; but it is not possible for us, when we are got with the Army within the Lines, in the Part nearest the Hanuye, to march with Expedition sufficient to prevent the Enemy from seizing the Post of Judoigne, where they will have no more than about 600 Paces of Ground to defend.

“ If we had, in our Places on the Maese, all Things necessary for the Siege of Namur, it is not credible, that they would suffer us to cut off their Communication with that Town: But the Body commanded by Mons. de Pracontal, and our Disposition upon the Maese, put the Enemy out of Fear of a Siege; and the Works which Mons. Cohorn formerly added, sufficiently secure them against the Effects of Bombs.

“ We cannot positively affirm, that the Enemy will do as we have said; but they may do so, or may repair and strengthen their Lines, before we can be in a Condition to attack them.

“ Prudence also requires us to make the most serious Reflections, in an Affair of so great Importance, and to dispose Things in such Manner, if we determine to march towards the Lines, that what Course soever the Enemy takes, we may be in a Condition of pursuing our Designs: And as the Good of the common Cause mainly depends on the Resolution we shall take on this Occasion, it becomes us to examine, with the greatest Deliberation, whether we ought rather to attack the Lines, or besiege Limburg, which is not a Place of so little Consequence as Men imagine: For when we are Masters of that Place, which ought to be attack'd in a favourable Season, and not in the Decline of the Year, by Reason the Ways will then be impracticable, we not only acquire a whole Province, but cover our own Country, and the Countries of Juliers and Guelder; we cut off from them all Communication with our Country, and extend and secure our own Quarters, which will make it easy to clear the whole Country between the Maese and the Rhine.

“ Whatever Resolution shall be taken, we whose Names are underwritten, will not fail to contribute all we can, to facilitate the Execution of it.

Done in the Camp at Vignamont, Aug. 25, 1703.

D. Dorf.	Auverquerque.
Dompne.	Count de Noyelles.
Oxenstiern.	Albemarle.
D. Rantzau.	W. V. Heuckelom.
	De St. Pol.
	D'Anhalt.

These

These were the Reasons opposed by the Deputies of the States, and the Dutch Generals, who would not consent to hazard their Troops, in what they called a desperate Action, which, they said, was, at best, very dubious, and which if attended with Success, would yield no farther Advantage, than to find the Enemy retired into their fortify'd Towns; whereas, on the contrary, should the French get the Victory, the United Provinces would remain exposed to their Incursions. However, the Arguments offered above by the Duke and his Party were very cogent, and, besides these, the Duke had his private Reasons, founded upon very good Intelligence, which he had by his Spies, of whom, an Officer, who served under him, has aver'd, he had no less than three introduced to him in one Night (after the Fatigue of a hard Day's March) in his Tent, the Officer of his Guard having Orders to wake him when they came.

The Project of attacking the Lines being thus laid aside, the Resolution was taken to besiege Limburg, a very strong, tho' not large City, and the Capital of the Duchy and Territory of that Name. It is situate on a Rock, among shady Woods, on the River Wesdret, 16 Miles South-East of Aix la Chapelle, 19 almost East of Liege, 43 almost South-West of Cologne, 54 North of Luxemburg, and 70 almost East of Brussels.

The Siege of Limburg resolved on.

The fifth of September, by break of Day, the Duke and Mons. d'Auverquerque march'd, with the grand Army, from the Neighbourhood of Huy, and pitch'd their Camp at Hanuye, within about two Leagues of the French grand Army, consisting then of seventy-four Battalions, and 140 Squadrons, with upwards of 120 Pieces of Cannon, and 24 Mortars, all mounted on their Intrenchments and Lines. in the Front. The Confederate Army then consisted of 80 Battalions and 142 Squadrons. The Duke, with several other Generals, with a Guard of 40 Squadrons, advanced out of the Front of the Camp, within almost Cannon-shot of the Enemy's Lines, to view their Situation, which put the Enemy in so great a Consternation, that they immediately mann'd their Lines, expecting nothing less, than that it was the Duke's Design to attack them: But how earnestly soever his Grace might desire it, his Hands were tied; he, therefore, returned in the Evening, to the Camp. The French would have us believe, they were so little apprehensive of the Allies attacking them, at this Time, that only the common Guards of the Lines stood to their Arms; but that the rest of their Troops made no Motion at all: Till, at length, some Troops advancing within Musket-shot of their Lines, and continuing to provoke them, Mons. de Villeroy, ordered a Detachment of Carabingers, and of the King's Guards, out of the Lines, to attack them; which (say they) they did with Success, killing and wounding a great Number of them, and even dispersing those

March of the Confederate Army, in order thereunto.

1703.

those Troops which were about the Duke's Person : But this Story does not seem to carry a very great Probability with it. The sixth, the Army encamp'd at St. Tron ; from whence on the eighth, the Duke detach'd Lieutenant-General Bulau, with a Body of Troops, towards Limburg.

The seventh, the Enemy made a Detachment, in order to intercept a Convoy of the Allies ; but perceiving two Coaches with six Horses, they imagined it to be the Duke of Marlborough, quitted their Design to pursue these Coaches ; but to their Mortification found it was Duke Hamilton, going to Aix la Chapelle, with a Pass. In the mean time the Convoy escaped, and left them the Shadow for the Substance.

Limburg invested.

Limburg was invested, the tenth, by the said Lieutenant-General Bulau, with four and twenty Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons. The Officer, who commanded in the Place, had Orders to abandon it at the Approach of the Allies, but first to blow up the Castle : However, being surpriz'd, he was obliged to make some Defense, for his Honour's Sake : and this F. Daniel likewise confirms. The Garrison in the Town and Castle, consisted of four Battalions, and they had twelve Pieces of Cannon, and four Mortars mounted.

The Duke commands the Siege, in Person.

The twelfth, the Duke of Marlborough, with the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, march'd from the Camp at St. Tron, with 15 Squadrons, and 24 Battalions, in order to command the Siege, in Person, and he arrived there, accordingly, two Days after. The Besiegers, then consisted of 24 Battalions of Foot, and 39 Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons. The twentieth, the Artillery, with all other Neccessaries, for the expeditious carrying on of the Siege, arrived from Liege ; and the next Day was chiefly employ'd in making and bringing together a great Quantity of Fascines.

The Trenches opened.

The Besiegers, in the mean time, having taken the respective Posts assign'd them, and all the Artillery and other Neccessaries being come up, a Lieutenant-Colonel, with 300 Men, was ordered to attack the Lower Town, from whence the Enemy retir'd, upon their Approach, without making any Resistance. The Trenches being opened, and the Batteries finish'd, on the five and twentieth, they play'd, Night and Day, with four and twenty Pieces of Cannon, and eight Mortars, upon the Upper Town.

The seven and twentieth, the Breach was so wide, that the Confederates were preparing to give a general Assault, which the French perceiving, beat a Parly ; but the Duke would grant them no better Conditions, than " That the Garrison should remain Prisoners of War ; that the Officers and Soldiers might keep what was their own, and that the Officers should be allow'd twelve Waggons to carry their Baggage, provided they deliver'd

Capitulates :

“ deliver'd up one of their Gates, within half an Hour after
“ this Agreement.”

1703.

And surrenders.

This being consented to by the Besieged, the Garrison, consisting of 1400 Men (the French Accounts say but 700) having laid down their Arms, and being march'd out, the Besiegers took Possession of the Place, and the Duke of Marlborough appointed the Baron Van Rechteren to be Governour of it. By the taking of this Place, the Allies not only became entire Masters of the Duchy of Limburg; but secured the Country of Liege, and the Electorate of Cologne, from the Incursions of the French; and before the Conclusion of the Year, they were, likewise, Masters of the whole Spanish Guelderland, by the Surrender of the City of Guelders, on the 17th of December, after it had been long blockaded and bombarded by the Prussian General Lottum; and was reduced almost to a Heap of Ruins.

Guelders surrendered,

The Duke of Marlborough gave immediate Notice, of the taking of this important Place, to the States General, by the following Letter:

High and Mighty Lords,

“ I Congratulate you, by this, upon taking of the City and
“ Castle of Limburg, the Garrison of which was obliged
“ to surrender themselves Prisoners of War, according to the
“ Capitulation, which I have the Honour to send you, hereunto
“ annex'd. I shall remain here two or three Days, to give Or-
“ ders, and provide for the Security of the Place; after which
“ I shall return to the grand Army, where I shall expect the
“ Honour of your Commands, being with an entire Respect,
“ and perfect Affection,

A Letter from the Duke of Marlboro' to the States General,

High and Mighty Lords,

Your most humble,

And obedient Servant,

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

P. S. “ I have, with the Consent of the Deputies, sign'd a
“ Commission to the Baron of Rechteren, to be Governour of
“ Limburg, which, I hope, your High Mightinesses will ap-
“ prove.

The Capitulation.

“ Since it is our Intention to treat the Garrison of Limburg,
“ as Soldiers and Men of Honour, notwithstanding what has
“ pass'd, we will leave to the Officers and Soldiers what is their
“ own, provided they lay down their Arms, and surrender
“ themselves Prisoners of War, and that they deliver up one of
“ their

The Capitulation of Limburg.

1703.

“ their Gates to the Besiegers. We also allow twelve Wag-
 “ gons to carry the Equipage of the Officers.

Marlborough.

Randwiick,
 Agulus,

Wiften,
 Rechtern,

Reede,
 Hop.

On Occasion of these Successes, the following Medal was struck :

A Medal
 struck on
 Occasion of
 these Suc-
 cesses.

On the Face, a Busto of her Majesty, with her Title, as usual ; and on the Reverse, the Duke of Marlborough, on Horseback, a Nymph, crown'd with a Mural Crown, kneeling before him, and presenting him three Keys, in a Bafon : With the following Inscription, continued in the Exergue :

SINE CLADE VICTOR, CAPTIS BONNA, HUO.
 LIMBURGO, 1703.

*Victorious without Slaughter, by the Taking of BONN, HUY,
 and LIMBURG, 1703.*

With these Conquests ended the Campaign in the Netherlands ; which it must be allowed was glorious to the Duke of Marlborough ; but it might have been much more so, had his Grace been allowed to pursue his own reasonable and well-grounded Measures. He had the superiour Army ; but what by reason of the cautious Maxims of the States, what by reason of the Factions among them, which, at that Time, were rising very high, between those, who had been of the late King's Party, and were now for having a Captain-General, and those of the Lovestein-Party, who were for governing all by a Deputation from the States, no great Design could be undertaken by an Army so much distracted.

The French make it a Merit in their Generals, and heap Applauses upon them, for having, with so much Conduct, prevented the Allies from making any farther Conquests, this Campaign ; and pretend, notwithstanding what they had attempted at the Opening of it, that they never design'd any thing more, than to be on the Defensive in Flanders, that they might act with the greater Vigour in Germany and Italy.

The French Continuator of Rapin, who is very ready upon all Occasions, to depreciate the Actions of the Duke of Marlborough, will hardly allow this Campaign to be glorious ; “ One
 “ might (says he) reasonably have expected something more
 “ from such a Superiority of Force, as the Intrigues of the
 “ English General, supported by the re-iterated Sollicitations of
 “ the States General, had procured. Without this Augmenta-
 “ tion,



1887

1870

...the

12

tion, he would have been in a Condition to have besieged and taken the three Places which fell, this Campaign, into his Hands :” But all this while, he conceals the real Reasons, why nothing more was done ; *the Non-compliance of the Dutch with the Duke’s Measures.*

1703.

As I took Occasion, at the Conclusion of the foregoing Year, just to mention what happen’d in other Parts, and especially in Germany, during the Time of the War in the Netherlands ; so it will be highly necessary to do the same here, as an Introduction to the glorious Actions of the ensuing Campaign.

Affairs of Germany,

The French, and their new Confederates, the Bavarians, had, the whole Summer, miserably harraß’d the Emperour and the Empire. The French, on their Side, took Fort-Kiehl, Old Brisac, and Landau, all considerable Fortresses, on the Upper Rhine, and defeated the Dutch and Germans, under the Command of the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, at the Battle of Spirebach, where they surprized the German Camp, while the Officers were celebrating the Festival of St. Leopold, in Honour to the Emperour, in Mirth and Jollity.

“ This Place (says the French Continuator of Rapin, speaking of Old Brisac) tho’ very strong before, was render’d so much the more so, by the Fortifications, which the famous Mons. de Vauban added, during the last War, that it was render’d almost impregnable : Yet the French were Masters of it in fourteen Days after they open’d the Trenches. The Emperour to shew his Resentment caus’d the Count d’Arco, who was Governour, to be beheaded, and the Deputy-Governour, Count Marfigli to be degraded with Dishonour ; and yet (says my Author) they could do no more than they did, the Place not being provided with Necessaries for a Defense, (a Thing very common with the Emperour and the Empire) ; and besides, the French General having made a Feint of besieging Friburg, they had been oblig’d to detach ten Men out of every Company of the Garrison, for the Security of that Place : But the Emperour was oblig’d to do something, to excuse his own Negligence to his Allies, tho’ at the Expence of the Life of the Governour, and the Honour of his Deputy.”

The Bavarians, on the other hand, having been joined, in the Spring, by the Marshal de Villars, possess’d themselves (tho’ not without great Difficulty) of Ratisbon.

The Elector of Bavaria takes Possession of Ratisbon. A brief Account of the City of Ratisbon.

Ratisbon is a very large, rich, and strong City of Germany, in the Circle and Dukedom of Bavaria ; and in a Bishoprick of the same Name, under the Archbishop of Saltzburg. It is famous for the General Diets of the Empire, which have been held there ever since the Year 1662. It was formerly the Capital of Bavaria, and afterwards the Residence of the Franconian Emperours ; but was, at length, taken from the Bavarians, by

1703.

the Emperour Frederick I. in the Year 1180, and made a free Imperial City, as it now remains. It has a very fine Stone-Bridge over the Danube, 1091 Foot long, and 32 broad, supported by Pillars, and adorn'd with three Towers. It has, likewise, a magnificent old Cathedral, and a stately Castle, where the Imperial Diets are generally held. The River Regen, which falls into the Danube, on one Side of it, has given it the Name of Regenspurg, by which alone it is known in Germany.

The Emperour having not only refused to consent to the Neutrality of Ratisbon, proposed by the Elector of Bavaria; but, instead of that, required the Sovereign Princes and States of Germany, to furnish their *Quota's*, and to enable him to prevent the Mischiefs that threatned the Empire; their Deputies at the Diet, who were, indeed, no better than the Elector of Bavaria's Prisoners, insisted upon their Securities, alledging, that the Imperial Court's Refusal was out of Season, and prejudicial to the Authority of the Princes and States of the Empire.

The Queen of England, and the States General of the United Provinces, press'd, with all possible Earnestness, that unweildy and lethargick Body, by their Ministers, to take effectual Measures, to prevent the fatal Consequences of the Conjunction of the French and Bavarians. But when some of the Deputies would have taken into present Consideration, the Ways and Means for every Circle to furnish out their Shares of Men, Artillery, and Ammunition, for the Army of 120,000 Men, which the Diet had, the Year before, resolved to set on Foot, for the Defense of the Empire, others replied, That the Consideration of these Things was too late for this Campaign, and too soon for the next.

The Elector
of Bavaria's
Manifesto
published
June 1. N.S.

This supine Negligence of the Diet, the Cause of all the succeeding Distractions of the Empire, encourag'd the Elector of Bavaria, to publish a Manifesto, wherein he complains, in the first Place, " Against the Emperour and his Allies, accusing them
" of exorbitant Plundering, extorting Contributions, and burn-
" ing his Country, from hence insinuating, that he took up law-
" ful Arms, in his own Defense. He denies his having had
" any Design (as the House of Austria gives out) of joining with
" France to attack the Empire: And avers, that he left the
" Netherlands, and retired to his own Country, meerly to keep
" himself out of this new War, and to join his Endeavours, with
" those of the Circles of Suabia and Franconia, firmly to esta-
" blish the Peace obtain'd by the Treaty of Ryswick. He adds,
" that the Ministers of the Crown of France, having not only
" by Memorials, but verbally, represented to the Diet at Ra-
" tisbon, and the Circles of the Empire, that their Master was
" disposed to keep the Treaty of Ryswick inviolably, and the
" Circles, in their Answers, expressing a like Inclination, he
" had

1703.

“ had conformably declared on the Side of France, and entered
 “ into a Treaty with that Crown. That he wished, the Im-
 “ perial Court, when they began the War in Italy, for the Suc-
 “ cession to the Spanish Monarchy, had had the Consent of the
 “ Empire, at least of the Electoral College: As also, when they
 “ declared against the Dukes of Savoy and Mantua, and a-
 “ gainst the Elector of Cologne, whose only Crime was, that
 “ he would not be subservient to the Designs of the House of
 “ Austria. That his Electoral Highness had Cause sufficient to
 “ complain of such Proceedings of the Imperial Council, but
 “ smother’d his Resentments, out of Respect to the Emperour;
 “ but when the Circles of Austria, Suabia and Franconia, with-
 “ out waiting for the Resolutions of the Diet of the Empire,
 “ entered into the War, and consequently became unqualified,
 “ to give an impartial Vote in the Diet, his Electoral High-
 “ ness, finding his Country left naked and exposed, his Enemy
 “ grown more formidable, and the House of Bavaria in Danger
 “ of being oppressed, he judg’d it high Time, for his own Secu-
 “ rity, and for the Preservation of his Country, to possess himself
 “ of some advantageous Posts, particularly Ulm and Memmin-
 “ gen, to prevent being crush’d by the monarchical Administra-
 “ tion, till now unheard of in the Empire.” This Manifesto was
 presented to the Diet at Ratibon, by the Bavarian Minister, with
 another Writing, importing: “ That the Elector would think
 “ himself no longer oblig’d to evacuate that Town, tho’ the
 “ Resolve of the Diet, for a Neutrality, should be ratified by
 “ his Imperial Majesty. However, he assur’d the publick Mi-
 “ nisters residing there, that they should enjoy all Freedom and
 “ Security in the said Place, with which Assurance he hoped
 “ they would rest contented, and demand nothing farther.”

The Marshal de Villars then remain’d on the Danube, while ^{He invades} the Elector of Bavaria invaded Tirol, and possess’d himself of ^{Tirol:} Inspruck, and other Places, with such Rapidity, as amazed all Germany, and very much alarmed the Court of Vienna. He made his publick Entry into Inspruck, from which he demanded Homage, and a monthly Contribution of 120,000 Florins, besides a great Quantity of Ammunition and Provisions.

The Emperour’s Force was so broken into small Armies, in different Places, that he had not one good one any where. He had none at all in Tirol; and all that the Prince of Baden could do, was to watch the Motions of the Marshal de Villars; but he did not dare to attack him, even during this Separation. His Conduct was very much blamed; some called his Courage, and others his Fidelity in Question; while many excused him, by saying, his Army was not only weak, but ill-furnished, in every Respect. The Duke de Vendosme had Orders to march from the Milanese to Tirol, in order to join the Elector of Ba-

1703.

But is obliged to quit it.

varia; which, if he had effected it, would have reduced the House of Austria to the lowest Extremity. The Elector had, at first, as I have observed, made himself Master of the greatest Part of Tirol: But the Boors rising; attack'd his Forces, with so much Resolution, that he was forced to retire out of the Country, with considerable Loss, before the Duke de Vendôme could join him. Vendôme seem'd to have a Design on Trent; but the Boors were now animated with their Success against the Elector, and were well supported, by Officers and Troops sent them by the Emperour; so that he was forced to return back without effecting any thing.

The Elector afterwards rejoined the Marshal de Villars, and designed immediately to have seized on Augsburg, in which, however, he was then prevented, by Prince Lewis of Baden; but the French and Bavarians having, afterwards, defeated Count Stirum, near Hochstadt, with a considerable Body of Germans, the Prince could no longer hinder the Elector of Bavaria from attacking Augsburg, which he soon took, and deliver'd into the Hands of the French.

The Elector of Bavaria takes Augsburg.

A brief Description of that Place.

Augsburg (the *Augusta Vindelicorum* of the Antients) is a very large, populous, and rich City, one of the most celebrated of Germany, and a free imperial City, adorn'd with magnificent Churches, Palaces, Magazines exceedingly well furnished, and several excellent Hospitals. It is famous for several Imperial Diets held there, and particularly, in the 16th Century, after the Reformation in Germany, by Luther. Here, likewise, the then King of the Romans, Joseph (afterwards Emperour) was elected and crown'd in 1689. It is situate at the Confluence of the Rivers Lech and Wertach, near the Borders of Bavaria.

Farther Success of the Elector of Bavaria.

The Elector, not long after this, turned Eastward, took Passau, march'd into Austria, and made himself Master of Lintz, a very considerable City, and Capital of the Upper Austria. He even threatned to join Ragotzki, and the Hungarian Rebels, who ravaged Austria, Stiria, and Moravia, and made Incursions almost to the very Gates of Vienna, his Imperial Majesty's Seat and Capital. To this fatal Dilemma was the House of Austria, at that Time, brought; and what would have been the End of it, if our illustrious Hero, the Duke of Marlborough, had not come to their Relief, the ensuing Campaign, as we shall see below, is easy to guess.

Miserable State of the House of Austria.

The King of Portugal and the Duke of Savoy accede to the grand Alliance.

Some Alleviation it was, of the Loss the Allies sustain'd, by these Misfortunes, which beset the House of Austria, that the King of Portugal, and the Duke of Savoy, acceded, about this Time, to the grand Alliance. The French King having some Intimation of the latter, beforehand, commanded the Duke de Vendôme, to seize and disarm the Troops of Savoy, that were in his Army. The Duke of Savoy, by way of Reprisal,

com-

commanded several French Officers, who were in Turin, and the French Ambassadour himself, to be arrested. The Duke de Vendôme was hereupon commanded, immediately to invade the Frontiers of Savoy, and to transmit the following Letter to his Royal Highness:

1703.

SIR,

“ SINCE neither Religion, Honour, Interest, Alliance, nor even your own Hand-writing, are of any Force between us, I send my Cousin, the Duke de Vendôme, at the Head of my Armies, to make known to you my Intentions: He will allow you but twenty-four Hours to resolve what you have to do.

LEWIS.

The Duke of Savoy, however, continued firm to the Allies, and publish'd a Manifesto, setting forth the Necessity and Justice of his Proceedings, and sent Expresses to the Emperour, and the rest of the Confederated Powers, to solicit their Assistance to enable him to weather the impending Storm.

“ The Emperour (says the French Continuator of Rapin) had, indeed his Share, in these Negotiations; but England and Holland (or rather England alone) much more. The vast Sums which were lavish'd away, on the Duke of Savoy, certainly never came out of the Emperour's Coffers. He promised him nothing more than the Investiture of Montserrat; but left him the Care of getting Possession of it. It must have been something more than Promises that could determine this Prince to give up thirty thousand Crowns a Month, which he received of France and Spain, for the small Aid they had from him. Queen Ann (continues my Author) made a liberal Use of the Power given her by Parliament, to spare nothing in procuring such new Alliances, as she might judge advantageous and necessary for the common Cause.

The Affairs of Italy were this Year so inconsiderable, that they had no Influence on any thing in which the Duke of Marlborough was concern'd, I therefore pass them by, to return to his Grace.

The Campaign in the Netherlands being at an End, as I have observ'd above, the Duke of Marlborough, having given the necessary Orders for the Disposition of the Troops, was preparing to return to England. In the mean Time, the Archduke Charles, of Austria, having been declared King of Spain, at Vienna, by the Resignation of his Father and his Brother, had taken the Title of Charles III. King of Spain, &c. and was arrived at Dusseldorp, in his Way, thro' Holland and England, for that Kingdom.

The Campaign ended.

The Archduke of Austria declared King of Spain.

1703.

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough waits
on him.

He makes
the Duke
a noble Pre-
sent.

The Duke
of Marlboro-
ugh arrives in
England.

The King
of Spain ar-
rives in
England.

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough ap-
pointed Go-
vernour of
Greenwich-
Hospital.

The Con-
federates
force the
French
Lines in
Flanders.

As soon as the Duke of Marlborough was informed of the King of Spain's Arrival at Dusseldorp, his Grace went thither, to congratulate his Majesty, on his Accession to the Spanish Throne, in the Name of the Queen of Great Britain. The Duke, among other Things, told him; *He was just come from putting his Majesty in Possession of Limburg*: To which the young Monarch answered; *That he hoped to be much more indebted to his Grace's Valour, in the Reduction of other Places and Territories to his Obedience.* The King having had Notice of the Duke's Coming, put on, the Day he expected his Visit, a fine rich Sword, that he designed to make a Present of to his Grace, which he did, in the following polite Manner: While they were discoursing together, his Majesty took it from his Side, and giving it into the Duke's Hand, with a graceful Air, *My Lord* (said he, in French) *I am not ashamed to say, I am but a poor Prince, (Je n'ai que la Cape & l'Epée) I have only my Cloak and my Sword;* [alluding to his being a Younger Brother] *the latter may be of Use to your Grace, and I hope you will not think it the worse for my wearing it one Day.* So far from it (replied the Duke) *That it shall always put me in Mind of your Majesty's just Right and Title, and of the Obligations I lie under to hazard my Life, and all that's dear to me, to make you the greatest Prince in Christendom.* And we shall find, in the Sequel, his Grace was ever mindful of his Promise, as far as in him lay. His Grace accompanied his Majesty to the Hague, where he arrived the second of November, N. S. and the Duke, after some Stay there, to concert proper Measures, for the ensuing Campaign, went over to England, where he arrived the thirteenth of October, O. S.

The King of Spain followed him, the twenty-third of December, N. S. and arrived at Spithead, the six and twentieth, from whence he was invited, by the Queen, to Windsor; and being conducted thither by the Duke of Marlborough, who was sent to Spithead, to compliment him, on his Arrival, and by Prince George, who met him by the Way, he was entertained with great Splendour, and royal Magnificence. His Majesty stay'd but two Nights at Windsor, and then returned to Portsmouth, and went on Board the Royal Catharine, commanded by Sir George Rooke, who was appointed to carry his Majesty to Lisbon.

This Year, likewise, the Duke of Marlborough was appointed Governour of Greenwich-Hospital.

Before I conclude my Account of the Transactions of this Year, I must mention one, which happened after the Duke of Marlborough left the Army under his Command: When the Troops on both Sides were thought to be very quiet in their Winter-Quarters, unexpectedly, on the 26th of December, in

the

the Evening, the Count de Noyelles march'd from Liege, with a Detachment, consisting of 30 Men out of each Company of Foot, in Garrison there, notwithstanding the Inclemency of the Weather, which was very bad and foggy, to Marche en Famine, where he was join'd by a good Number of Troops, drawn out of Maestricht, Vifet, Ruremond, Aix la Chappelle, Venlo, and other Places, which together made a Body of 13,500 Men, besides 1000 Men more drawn out of Huy, who were commanded by the Baron de Trongue, Governour of that Place. They continued their March, the next Day, and, on the 28th, betimes in the Morning, arrived before the Enemy's Lines, between the Villages of Waseige and Merdo.

The Baron de Trongue, with his Detachment, was sent before, and was the first that forced the Lines; and when the Count came up, he found him posted in the Church-yard of Waseige; the French Forces which were there having been oblig'd to retire, after a short Resistance, and many of them having been kill'd or taken Prisoners. The Count de Noyelles immediately gave Orders for demolishing the Lines, which was done in less than 24 Hours, for the Space of a League and a half, tho' they consisted of a Ditch 20 Foot deep, and 24 broad, and a Parapet proportionable. In the mean Time, a Detachment was sent out to put the neighbouring Country under Contribution, who brought away the principal Inhabitants as Hostages, for the Payment of the Sum of 300,000 Guilders, which were demanded of them, and which they engaged to make good in three Weeks Time. The 29th, they marched to Haneff, whence the Count de Noyelles return'd to Liege, with the Forces he took with him from thence, as the rest did to their respective Garrisons. This Expedition, which was managed with the greatest Secrecy, very much alarm'd the Enemy, who expected nothing less, at this Time of the Year: And the Marshal de Villeroy went thereupon from Brussels to Leewe, with a small Detachment of Horse and Dragoons, being followed by the Sieur de Ximenes, with a Body of Troops drawn out of several of their Garrisons, between the Sambre and the Maese; but the Allies being returned to their Winter-Quarters, they did the like, leaving the Repairing of their Lines to a more favourable Season.

CHAP. V.

*Transactions in 1704. till the Forcing of the French
Intrenchments at Schellemburg.*

1704.

I Come now to the ever-memorable Year 1704, a Year as noted, in the British Chronicles of the Reign of Queen Ann, for the wondrous and happy Successes it produced, as the Year 1588 is, in those of the Reign of her Majesty's great Predecessor, Queen Elizabeth.

While our Modern Hero, the Duke of Marlborough, who would have been a Glory even to that fertile Reign, was busying himself in Parliament, for the Good of the Common Cause, the States General were so highly sensible of his prudent Conduct, and so desirous of his Presence among them, that they represented to her Majesty, by ~~their~~ Envoy Extraordinary in London, *Of how great Advantage his Excellency's coming to the Hague would be to the Confederacy, by concerting there with them, the Measures proper to be taken at that Juncture*; and desired her Majesty to give his Grace Leave to pass the Seas, for a few Days. Her Majesty was, therefore, pleased, on the second of January, to give Directions for that Purpose. Accordingly, the fifteenth of the same Month, the Duke embark'd on Board the Mary Yacht, in the River, in order to sail for Holland, and arrived, in three Days, at the Hague, where he received the Compliments of all the publick Ministers, the General Officers, and other Persons of Quality.

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough goes
for Holland.

A Plan
form'd for
the ensuing
Campaign.

He had several Conferences, with the Deputies of the States General, in which there was a Scheme formed for the Operations of the next Campaign. It was resolv'd, that, instead of a fruitless one, in the Netherlands, they would have only a small Army there, to lye on the Defensive, which was to be commanded by Mons. d'Auverquerque; but that, since the Rhine was open, by the taking of Bonn, all up to the Mosel, their main Army, which was to be commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, should act there. More was not understood to be designed, except by those few, who were let into the Secret.

Upon this, all the Preparations for the Campaign were ordered to be carried up to the Rhine, that every thing might be in a Readiness against the Duke's Return. The true Secret was in few Hands, and the French had so little Scent of it, that they seem'd to have no Manner of Apprehensions, that tended that Way. All these Matters being settled, his Grace left the Hague,

The Duke
returns.

the

the eleventh of February, and on the fourteenth, arrived at London.

1704.

The Affairs of the Empire were, at this Time, in a very desperate Condition; the Emperour was reduced to the last Extremities; the Elector of Bavaria was Master of the Danube, all down to Passau, and the Malcontents in Hungary were making a formidable Progress. The Emperour was not in a Condition to maintain a defensive War long, on both Sides, nor was he able to make any Opposition against them at all, should they have once come to act by Concert.

Deplorable State of the Emperour and Empire.

Thus his Affairs had a very dark Appearance, and utter Ruin was to be apprehended: Vienna was in an apparent Danger of being besieged, on both Sides; and it was not in a Condition to make a long Defense; so the House of Austria seemed lost, beyond all Prospect of a Recovery. Prince Eugene wisely proposed, that the Emperour should implore the Queen of Great Britain's Protection; this was agreed to, and Count Wratislau managed the Matter at our Court, with great Application and Secrecy; the Duke of Marlborough saw the Necessity of undertaking his Relief, and resolved to use all possible Endeavours, to put it in Execution. When he went into Holland, as I have said above, he proposed it to the Pensionary, and (as some say) other Persons of the greatest Confidence: They approved it; but it was not adviseable to propose it to the States; at that Time, many would not have thought their Country safe, if their Army should be sent so far from them: Nothing could be long a Secret, that was proposed to such an Assembly, and the main Hope of succeeding in this Design lay in the Secrecy, with which it was conducted. Therefore, under the Pretext of carrying the War to the Mosel, every thing was prepared, that was necessary for executing the true Design.

The Emperour implores, the Protection of the Queen of Great Britain.

Things being in this Condition, Count Wratislau, the Emperour's Envoy Extraordinary to the Queen of Great Britain, did, on the 2d of April, 1704, present a Memorial to her Majesty, importing;

“ **T**HAT having at several times represented to her Majesty's Ministers, by Word of Mouth, the pressing Necessities of the Empire, by the breaking in of a considerable Army of French into Bavaria; which, together with the Insurrection in Hungary, had reduced the Imperial Hereditary Countries into an incredible Perplexity and Confusion; so that it was to be feared, an entire Revolution and Desolation of all Germany would follow, if some speedy Assistance were not applied, proportionable to the great Danger they were threatened with: He was extremely well satisfied with the Zeal her Majesty's Ministers had for the Com-

Count Wratislau's Memorial to the Queen.

“ mon

1704.

“ tion Cause; and with the Attention they gave to his Repre-
 “ sentations; but nothing being as yet resolved on, tho’ the
 “ Season was far advanc’d; and the final Resolution, on the
 “ several Schemes that had been presented, being deferr’d till
 “ the Arrival of the Duke of Marlborough at the Hague,
 “ this Envoy thought himself oblig’d, before his Grace’s De-
 “ parture, to do his last Endeavour, by representing, in Wri-
 “ ting, the Danger wherein the Emperour and Empire were
 “ at present involved. That her Majesty, out of the same
 “ Zeal for preserving the Liberties of Europe, for which she
 “ was so much fam’d, among the Potentates in Alliance with
 “ her Majesty, would be pleas’d to order the Duke of Marl-
 “ borough, her Captain General, seriously to consult with the
 “ States General, of the speediest Method for assisting the
 “ Empire; or, at least, to conduct Part of the Troops in her
 “ Majesty’s Pay beyond the Sea, *to preserve Germany from a total*
 “ *Subversion*; it not being just in itself, nor any Ways advan-
 “ tageous to the Common Cause, that her Majesty’s Troops
 “ should tarry on the Frontiers of Holland; which were not
 “ in the least threatned by the Enemy, and were defended by
 “ great Rivers and strong Places, whilst the Empire was de-
 “ stroyed by the French Troops, by Fire and Sword. In the
 “ Conclusion, Count Wratislau said, that the Desire he most
 “ humbly presented was grounded on the Alliance concluded
 “ between the Emperour, England and Holland; pursuant to
 “ which he hoped, that her Majesty would give those Or-
 “ ders, which were necessary for the Assistance of Germany;
 “ by the Want of which, he foresaw the Mischiefs which
 “ would ensue to the common Cause; especially, if the Or-
 “ ders of the States General, to recall their Troops from the
 “ Empire, should take Place, in a Time when France endea-
 “ voured to send a powerful Assistance to their Army in
 “ Bavaria.”

The Queen’s
Answer.

To this Memorial, the Queen was pleas’d to return an
 Answer, by Mr. Secretary Hedges, importing, “ That the
 “ Duke of Marlborough, Captain General of her Armies, had
 “ received Orders from her Majesty, to take the most effectual
 “ Methods with the States General of the United Provinces,
 “ her good Allies and Confederates, to send a speedy Succour
 “ to his Imperial Majesty, and the Empire, and to press the
 “ States to take the necessary Measures to rescue Germany,
 “ from the imminent Danger it was now expos’d to.

Prudent Se-
cretcy of the
Duke of
Marlboro.

Either the foregoing Memorial was but Matter of Form, or
 the Emperour’s Envoy was then unacquainted with the great
 Project, which the Duke of Marlborough had already form’d to
 deliver the Empire; and which, it is said, he had communicated

to.

to three Persons in England only, viz. the Queen, the Prince of Denmark, and the Lord Treasurer; not to above two Persons more in Holland; and not to any of the Imperial Court, before he was ready to put it in Execution.

1704.

In order to this, his Grace embark'd at Harwich, the 8th of April, O. S. with his Brother, General Churchill, Lieutenant-General Lumley, the Earl of Orkney, and other General-Officers, landed safely, at Maeslandt Sluys, the twenty-first of the same Month, N. S. and came the same Evening to the Hague; where he received the Compliments of the Foreign Ministers, General-Officers, and other Persons of Distinction.

He embarks for Holland.

Arrives at the Hague.

On the twenty-third of April, N. S. he was attended by a Deputation of the States-General, with whom he had a Preliminary Conference about the Measures he thought most proper to be prosecuted this Summer. The same Day, part of the Garrisons of Liege and Maestricht, with the Troops which had been canton'd, for some Time, in that Neighbourhood, consisting of seventy-three Squadrons, and about forty Battalions, were ordered to assemble, on the rising Ground of Leon, and to encamp, with the Left, at the Village of Harcourt, and their Right near the River Jaer.

Has a Conference with the Deputies of the States.

About the same Time, the States General regulated the several Posts of their General Officers: Mons. d'Auverquerque, their Field Marshal, was appointed to command their Forces on the Maese, having under him the Counts de Tilly and Noyelles, as Generals: General Schlangenburg, those on the Mosel: Lieutenant-General Salisch, in Brabant; Lieutenant-General Spar, and Lieutenant-General Fagel, in Flanders; and Major-General Belcastel, in Savoy.

The States regulate the Posts of their Generals.

On the second of May, his Grace had another long Conference with the Deputies of the States General, wherein he declared to them the Project he had concerted long before, and of which he had only given some Hints, to such of them as he had most Confidence in, when, at the Desire of the States, he went last to the Hague. He told them withal, that he thought his marching into Germany would most conduce to the Advantage of the Confederacy, and the Annoyance of the Common Enemy; and therefore he doubted not, upon their Report of this Matter to the States General, but they would readily concur with him, and join their Forces with her Majesty's of Great Britain, in so glorious a Cause. The States spent a whole Day's Consultation upon the Duke's Proposal, to which some Members of that wise and potent Assembly, were somewhat backward to give their Concurrence; being apprehensive, that by dividing their Forces, in this Manner, they might lose, in one Summer, all the Advantages they had gained, by his Grace's Conduct and Valour, in the two former Campaigns.

The Duke of Marlborough opens his Project to the States General.

The

1704.

The States
concur with
the Duke's
Proposals.

His Grace
sets out
from the
Hague.

The Duke's
great Cau-
tion in the
Manage-
ment of this
Affair.

The next Morning, the Duke had a Conference with the States General themselves, and the Council of State, to whom he made a very lively Representation of the imminent Danger that threatened the whole Empire, and indeed all Europe, if an immediate Check were not given to the Progress of the French and Bavarians, in Germany; adding, That being now entire Masters of the Maese, and all the Spanish Guelderland, a small Number of Forces were able to secure their Frontiers. These Reasons, supported by the Reputation of him that delivered them, and by the Influence of those whom the Duke had trusted with his Secret, made so great Impression on the Minds of the whole Assembly, that all Affairs relating to the Operations of the ensuing Campaign, were, in this Conference, happily determin'd and adjust'd; after which his Grace took his Leave of them, and on the 5th of May, at Night, went in a Yatch to Utrecht.

The consummate Wisdom of the Duke of Marlborough, in the Management of this important Affair, on which the Fate of all Germany, I may say, of all Europe depended, cannot be sufficiently admir'd. The Plan of it was entirely his own, and it was long treasur'd up in his own Breast only. When Matters were ripe for that Purpose, and the Way prepared, he open'd his Design to his Sovereign, whose Approbation and Consent was primarily necessary; but trusted none else with the Secret, but the Lord Treasurer, in whom he knew he could confide, and who must necessarily have a Knowledge of it. Having the Queen's Consent, he was sensible that of the States was likewise requisite, as so large a Body of their Troops were, under him, to be instrumental in the Execution of it. He then open'd some Part of his Mind to one or two only of the Assembly of the States, in his first Voyage to Holland, but prudently kept the main Design yet a Secret. At his Return to Holland, these his Confidants having prepared the Way, he open'd so far of his Mind to the whole Assembly of the States, and by Force of Argument obtained their Consent to act with their Troops, in Germany, that is, on the Mosel; but they had no Knowledge of his real Design to march into the Heart of the Empire, and strike at the Root of the Evil, which threatened, and must have brought to pass its entire Ruin, without this seasonable and salutary Relief.

Arrives at
Utrecht;

Ruremond;

The next Day, his Grace's Coaches met him at Utrecht, and carried him, that Evening, to Vortz, a Seat belonging to the Earl of Albemarle; from whence he proceeded towards Ruremond, giving Orders for the English Troops, and other Forces posted thereabouts, to join and march towards Coblentz. The eighth, the Duke came to Ruremond, where he was saluted with a triple Discharge of the Cannon, and complimented by the

the Bishop and Magistrates of the Place, who met him some Distance from the Town. His Grace gave, the same Evening, the necessary Orders for the building of a Bridge, over which the English, and other Troops designed, as it was industriously given out (for all that had been hitherto proposed in publick, related only to the Motions, that Way) for the Mosel, were to pass: Those Forces being, in the mean time, drawing together, towards Boisselue, under the Command of General Churchill, in order to proceed on their March to Ruremond.

The tenth, the Duke went to Maestricht, where he had the same Honours paid him as at Ruremond; and Mons. d'Auverquerque, with several other General Officers, having waited upon his Grace, the Duke accompanied them to the Camp, and, having reviewed the Dutch Army, was entertained by them at Dinner, and then returned to Maestricht. The sixteenth, his Grace set out from thence; and, the same Evening, joined the Detachment, commanded by Brigadier-General Ferguson, with five Squadrons of Dutch Horse, and eleven Pieces of Cannon of the Dutch Train. The eighteenth, the Duke marched to Bedburg, and was there joined by General Churchill, with the English Forces and Train of Artillery, and the Army encamp'd, with the Left, at that Place, and the Right at Caster. The nineteenth, the Prince of Saxe-Zeitz, Bishop of Raab, and the Prince of Hesse, with other Canons of the Chapter of Cologne, came from thence to the Camp, to wait upon his Grace; as did also Count Briançon, Envoy Extraordinary from the Duke of Savoy, to her Majesty of Great Britain.

The French, in Flanders, began, by this Time, to be alarm'd; tho' they were far from suspecting the Duke's real Design. His marching towards Coblentz, and the great Preparations which were making in that Place, made them believe, that his Grace designed to open the Campaign, with the Siege of Traerbach, and endeavour to advance, along the Mosel, into France. Upon this Supposition, they detach'd eight Battalions, and sixteen Squadrons, towards that River, and gave out, that they intended the Siege of Huy, vainly imagining, that, by this Report, they might stop the Progress of the English General. This Feint was too thinly gloss'd over, to have any Effect on the Duke; and besides, he very well knew, that the Forces he had left in Flanders, under the Command of Mons. d'Auverquerque, were sufficient to frustrate any Attempt the French could make on that Side; his Grace, therefore, continued his March, according to the Resolution he had too firmly taken, to be diverted from, by such weak Stratagems, and, on the twentieth of May, advanced from Bedburg to Kerpen.

The next Day, his Grace advanced as far as Kalschecken, where he received an Express from Prince Lewis of Baden, giving it as

And Maestricht.

Reviews the Dutch Army.

Is joined by the English Forces and Artillery.

The French mistake the Duke's Design.

Attempt, is vain, to stop his Progress, by a Feint.

The Duke continues his March.

his

1704.

Is advis'd
that the
French are
sending Re-
inforcements
into Bavaria.

Uses his ut-
most Dili-
gence to
prevent it.

Visits the
Fortifica-
tions of
Bonn.
Receives
News of the
French and
Bavarians
being joined.

The Man-
ner in which
it was
affected.

his Opinion, that the French might force their Passage through the Black Forest, and bring a new Addition of Strength to the Elector of Bavaria, which was confirmed by Letters from the Prince of Hesse, Mons. Bulau, and Baron Hompesch, who all agreed in the same Opinion. About the same Time, his Grace received Advice from the Netherlands, that the Court of France had sent positive Orders to the Marshal de Villeroy, to march towards the Mosel, with five and thirty Battalions, and six and forty Squadrons; being still firmly persuaded, that his Grace would act on that Side. He thereupon, gave immediate Orders for his Forces to march, and, for the greater Expedition, to prevent the ill Consequences, that might attend a Conjunction of the French and Bavarians, he himself advanced with the Horse, and left the Infantry to march after him, with the Artillery and Baggage, under the Command of his Brother, Lieutenant-General Churchill; who, likewise, was very expeditious in following the Duke; tho', in such Manner, as not to over-fatigue the Troops. The Method he took, for this End, was, to begin his March, every Morning, by Break of Day, and encamping in their new Camp, before the Heat of the Meridian Sun incommoded them; so that the remaining Part of the Day's Rest, till the next Morning, at Day-break again, was almost as refreshing as a Day's Halt.

The twenty-third, his Grace left his Troops, on a full March, and went to take a View of the Fortifications of Bonn, where having given his Directions to the Governour of that Place, he returned, in the Evening, to the Army; and here, he received certain News, that the Recruits for the French Army, in Bavaria, with farther Re-inforcements, had actually join'd the Elector of that Name, three Days before, at Villingen.

As this Incident greatly increas'd the Difficulties our illustrious General had to encounter with, tho' it could not shake his steady Resolution, nor abate his dauntless Courage; I must beg Leave to make a small Digression, to give a succinct Account of this no less important than difficult Enterprize, which, on the Side of the French, was executed with great Order, Diligence, and Success, notwithstanding all the Precautions taken by the Germans to prevent it; the Necessity of which previous Account, to set the Actions of our Hero, and the Honour done to his Intrepidity and Conduct, in a true Light, the Reader will see in the Sequel.

The Marshal de Tallard had sent into the Lower Alsace five and forty Boats, fit to make a Bridge: The Sieur Laubanie, Governour of Landau, posted himself at Germersheim, with 7 or 8000 Men, and a great Train of Artillery: The Troops brought from the Mosel, by the Count de Coigny, seemed to march that Way; and the Army of the Marshal de Tallard

was

was likewise ordered to march thither. These Preparations oblig'd the Germans to withdraw Part of the Forces, which they had beyond the Mountains, to re-inforce those appointed to guard the Lines of Stollhoffen, and the Banks of the Rhine.

The Recruits designed for Germany, to the Number of 12,000 Foot, 3,000 Horse, and 1,000 Officers, were drawn together at Neuburg, and the Marquis of Courtebonne was posted, on the other Side of the Rhine, near Hunninghen, with a flying Camp, to give the Germans some Jealousy for the Forest-Towns, and the Lake of Constance. In the mean Time, the Elector of Bavaria march'd from Ulm, the fourth of May, N.S. with an Army of near 30,000 Men, and used so much Diligence, that, on the thirteenth, he arriv'd within eight Leagues of the Source of the Danube, the Germans, who were surprized, quitting their Lines, and retiring, as that Prince advanced. The same Day, (the thirteenth) the Troops commanded by the Marquis de Courtebonne, and the Recruits, descended along the Rhine; and the Armies of the Marshal de Tallard, and Count Coigny, advanced that Day to the Bridges laid at Brisac and Rheinau, where they pass'd the Rhine. The former arriv'd, the fourteenth, at Langendentzling, at the Entry of the Vally of Waldkirch, thro' which there was likewise a Pass. The same Day, the Marshal de Tallard caus'd a Road to be made, on his Right, leading into the Vally of St. Peter, and on the fifteenth, he commanded a Detachment of Grenadiers, with ten Men out of each Troop of Horse and Dragoons, and 110 out of each Battalion, under the Command of the Sieur de Zurlauben, to post themselves at Kirchgarten. The sixteenth, the Right Wing of the Cavalry, with two Brigades of Foot, march'd to possess the Camp of the Sieur de Zurlauben, who advanced towards the Mountain of Torner, situate in the Middle of the Passage. The Germans had built a Fort upon that Mountain, but had abandoned it, as well as several Redoubts and Intrenchments; and two Regiments which they had posted in the Abby of St. Peter, quitted that Post, likewise, with great Precipitation.

The Marshal de Tallard, who had joined the Detachment of the Sieur de Zurlauben, planted some Troops, in those Posts, for the Security of 500 Waggon, which followed the Recruits, and to favour their Passage. The Marquis de Courtebonne march'd to encamp at Capel, at the Entry of the Vally of Friburg, and was, the seventeenth, at Faulkensteigh, where the Equipages and Waggon met together, having pass'd, in the Night, under the Cannon of Friburg. These Waggon were loaded with Ammunition, Arms, Provisions and Money, for the Army; and the Elector of Bavaria, who arriv'd, the sixteenth, at Danau-Eschingen, the Source of the Danube, where the Mar-

1704.

shal de Tallard went to pay him a Visit. He continued there, the eighteenth, to confer with him, and, on the nineteenth, rejoined his Army, near Friburg. Having given his Army two or three Days Rest there, he decamped from the Neighbourhood of Friburg, and march'd back towards Offenbourg, as if his Intention was to attack the Lines of Biehl.

The Con-
duct of the
Imperialists
blamed,

The Conduct of the Imperialists, on this Occasion, was very much censur'd, as well in trusting the Guard of the important Passes of the Black-Forest, to the Militia alone, as because they did not take the Opportunity of fighting the Elector of Bavaria, when they might have done it with a visible Advantage.

The Elector of Bavaria, and the Marshal de Marfin, being advanc'd towards Dutlingen, General Thungen thought fit to withdraw the Confederate Troops from the Lines, between the Danube, and the Lake of Constance, and posted himself at Rotweiler, the thirteenth, with eight Regiments of Horse, nine Battalions of the Dutch, and two of Wolfembuttel. He was reinforced, the fourteenth, with another Dutch Battalion, and three others, besides three Regiments of Horse, of the Duke of Wirtemberg. The fifteenth, the Margrave of Barceith and Count Stirum arrived in the Camp, with 12,000 Men, besides four Battalions, and nine Squadrons, of the King of Prussia's Forces.

These Generals, seeing they had a fine Army, consisting of ninety-nine Squadrons, and two and forty Battalions, were resolv'd to attack the Elector of Bavaria, the seventeenth, near Villengen; but Prince Lewis of Baden sent them particular Orders, not to stir from their Camp till his Arrival. The nineteenth, that Prince arrived in his Camp, and having held a Council of War, it was resolv'd to attack the Enemy, the next Day: But it was then too late, the Opportunity was neglected; the Army broke up, indeed, according to the Resolution of the Council of War; but the Bavarians having Advice of their Motion, quitted their Camp, with great Precipitation, leaving several Things behind, and retired to Donau Eschingen, the Armies being so near, that some Bavarians were oblig'd to pass almost within Musket-shot of the Imperialists, who saluted them with several Vollies of Cannon. The twenty-first, the Elector march'd to Hufingen, and advanced, on the twenty-second, to Furstemberg, and, the twenty-third, to Engen,

Prince Lewis not being able to attack the Bavarians, because they were parted by a deep River, and a Morass, march'd to Dutlingen, the twenty-first, and having pass'd the Danube, advanced to Liptingen, the twenty-third, to streighten the Bavarians, between the Lake of Constance, and his Army, and oblige them to fight. The twenty-fourth, General Bibra joined Prince Lewis of Baden, with 7000 Men, from the Lines of Stollhoffen, and both Armies moved toward Stokach, the only Pass thro' which the Bavarians could make their Retreat. The

1704.

five and twentieth, they cannonaded each other; but during that Cannonading, the Bavarians march'd thro' a Defilee, which was so narrow, that only two Men could go thro' it in Front, and, the six and twentieth, in the Morning, their whole Army was gone thro', and march'd to Pfulendorff, and from thence to Saulgen, having found a great Quantity of Provisions, at the first, which they had ordered to be laid up there, in their March to Donau-Eschingen. They then burnt that Place, and several others. The Imperialists having thus suffered the Bavarians to escape, march'd towards Moschkirken, and, the eight and twentieth, in the Evening, arrived at Riedlingen. The Bavarians were three Days without Bread, and had the Imperialists secured the Pass of Stockach, they must of Necessity have laid down their Arms, and disbanded themselves. Some have laid the Fault upon the Guides, who led the Army a great Way about; tho' more ascribed it to the Heaviness and ill Conduct of the Germans, and Prince Lewis of Baden, who were much blamed on this Account. But, whoever was to blame, 'tis certain the Imperialists lost a very favorable Opportunity, which, as it occasioned great Murmurings in the Army, so it rendered the Arrival of Prince Eugene amongst them very desirable.

Prince Eugene comes to the Imperial Army.

I return now to the Duke of Marlborough, upon whose Motions, by this Time, the Eyes of all Europe were fix'd, and who, notwithstanding this Junction of the French and Bavarians, was, on account of the Number of the Troops, which the French left behind them, and by the Marshal's marching back, with the rest of his Army, towards the Rhine, confirmed in his Opinion, *That the Enemy were as yet wholly ignorant of his true Design.* He therefore continued his March, with unwearied Diligence, and advanced, by the five and twentieth, to the Camp of Neudorff, near Coblantz, where, besides Mr. Davenant, the Queen's Agent at Frankfort, and Monsi. d'Amelo, Envoy Extraordinary from the States General, who came to compliment his Grace, Count Wratislau, late Envoy from the Emperour to her Majesty of Great-Britain, likewise waited on the Duke, to settle all Things for his Grace's farther March, and his Conjunction with the Imperial Army.

The Duke of Marlboro' continues his March.

The six and twentieth, while the Horse and Dragoons were passing over the Rhine, his Grace paid a Visit to the Elector of Triers, at his Castle of Ehrenbreitstein, where he was saluted with a triple Discharge of the Cannon round the Place, and having dined with the Elector, in the Afternoon, marched, with his Troops to Braubach, a Town belonging to the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. The next Day, that Prince gave a Visit to the Duke, who encamp'd that Night, at Neustetten, and, the eight and twentieth, removed to Schwalbach. In the mean Time, the Foot march'd, the seven and twentieth, from Coblantz to Braubach, and the next Day to Neustetten, having

Visits the Elector of Triers;

And is visited by the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt.

1704.

Orders to follow the Horse and Dragoons, as close as was consistent with the March of the Artillery and Baggage. During the Time the Army encamp'd at Neustetten, Mr. Cardonnel, the Duke's Secretary, wrote the following Letter to Monsf. **** at Zell.

*Translation of a Letter from Mr. Cardonnel to Monsf. **** at Zell.*

From the Camp at Neustett, May 28. 1704.

SIR,

A Letter
from Mr.
Cardonnel,
to Monsf.
**** at Zell.

" MY Lord Duke dispatch'd his Electoral Highness's Messenger, last Night, in order for his Departure early this Morning, as I believe he did before five. Not having Time then to write to you, I would not detain him, but shall send this to your Agent at Frankfort, to be forwarded to you. This serves chiefly to thank you for your two Letters, which accompanied Monsf. de Chamillard's Memorial, and Du Breuil's Examination. With regard to the former, you know already, that the most considerable Point they concerted, viz. the Junction, has had its Effect, without a Blow being struck, before the Prince of Baden had joined the Troops, and while he had given positive Orders, that they should not act before his Arrival: We find, however, the utmost Designs of the Enemy, in this Memorial, and I hope we shall be able to traverse them.

" We have been these two Days in Expectation of another Courier from the Prince of Baden, to inform us of the Success of some Action between him, and the Elector (of Bavaria) as he gives us Reason to hope, by his Letter, of which the enclosed is a Copy; but, to tell you the Truth, I expect no great Matter from the Management of this Prince. My Lord Duke has likewise sent a Copy of it, to his Highness the Elector of Hannover.

" Upon Monsf. de Villeroy's March, we wrote to the Hague, for a Re-inforcement of Troops, and if it come quickly, I flatter myself, with the Assistance of the ALMIGHTY, we shall have a happy Campaign.

" We continue our March to-day, and shall be to-morrow at Mayntz, where we shall halt but one Day, and then march on to join our Troops, which are about Philipsburg; but our English Infantry, which marches with the Artillery, could not be quite so expeditious.

I am, &c.

A. CARDONNEL.

Tho'

1704.

Tho' Mr. Cardonnel, in this Letter, is pretty modest in his Censure of Prince Lewis, and he did not indeed then know all that had pass'd; yet he gives sufficiently to understand, that little or nothing was to be expected from the Imperialists.

While the Duke was encamp'd at Schwalbach, Lieutenant-General Bulau, Commander in chief of the Lunenburg Forces, came to pay his Respects to his Grace, who, the same Day, received Letters, from the hereditary Prince of Hesse, and General Hompesch, acquainting him *that they were come to Mentz, expecting his Orders.* The Duke had scarce read these Letters, when he received another Express from the States General, to assure him, *that according to his Desire, they had given Orders for a Re-inforcement of eight Battalions, and one and twenty Squadrons, to be sent after his Grace, with all Speed, from the Army on the Maese, and that Mons. d' Auverquerque had appointed sixteen Squadrons of Horse, five of Dragoons, seven Battalions of Danish Forces, and one of Hesse for that Service.*

The Dutch promise him a Re-inforcement.

The nine and twentieth, the Duke continued his March from Schwalbach to Cassel, a Village on the Rhine, over against Mentz; and, immediately upon his Arrival, went to make a Visit to the Elector of that Name. At the Landing-place, on the other Side of the River, several of the Elector's Coaches attended, to carry his Grace and his Retinue, to the Palace; and, in the mean time, he was saluted, by a Discharge of the Cannon round the City. His Grace, with his Retinue, were magnificently entertained by the Elector, and, after Dinner, a Conference was held, between the Generals, about the farther Motions of the Confederate Armies in Germany. The next Day, the Duke allowed his Troops some Rest, and, in the mean time, being attended by the principal Officers of the Army, he visited the Fortifications of Mentz, was again saluted by a Discharge of the Cannon, and dined with the Elector, who intended to have gone over the River, to return his Grace's Visit, and view his Troops, but was prevented by bad Weather.

The Duke of Marlborough visits the Elector of Mentz.

The last Day of May, the foreign Ministers, who had waited on the Duke from Coblentz to Mentz, having taken their Leaves of him, the necessary Orders were given, for the Troops to pass the Mayn, which being done, with all Diligence, the Duke continued his March towards the Neckar, encamp'd, that Night, at Grootgerhout, and advanced, the first of June, to Quingenberg. The next Day, his Grace march'd, with the Army, to Weinheim, and the following, to Ladenburg, where he, and the other Generals, took their Quarters, and the Troops pass'd the Neckar, over a Bridge of Boats, and encamp'd on the River Side, opposite to the Town. Here the Duke thought fit to halt two whole Days, as well to give his wearied Troops some Refreshment, as that the rest of the auxiliary Troops, which

The Army passes the Mayn;

And the Neckar

1704.

were to serve under his Grace, might not be left too far behind.

The Duke of Marlboro' informs the States of his whole Design;

From Ladenburg, the Duke (who had now gained the Advance of some Days March of the French Troops) wrote to the States, and thought he might now let them know the whole Secret, that he had the Queen's Order, to march to the Relief of the Empire, with which he hoped they would agree, and allow of his carrying their Troops to share in the Honour of that Expedition. He had their Answer as quick as the Courier could carry it, by which they approved (and, indeed, they could not now well do otherwise) of the Design, and of his carrying their Troops with him; so that now the whole Army was at his Disposition without Controul.

Which they approve of.

The French again mistaken in their Conjectures.

The Duke's bending his March towards the Danube, was a terrible Surprize to the French, who, after their first Mistake in their Conjectures, that the Field of his Grace's Action was to be on the *Mosel*, had surmised that he would advance to the Upper Rhine, and that he might have a Design on Landau. This Jealousy was confirm'd, both by his Grace's March to Mentz, and by the Governour of Philipsburg's making a Bridge over the Rhine. Upon this Suspicion, Marshal Tallard repass'd the Rhine, the second of June, at Altenheim, in order, either to join the Marshal de Villeroy, or to oppose the Duke of Marlborough's Passage over that River; of which his Grace was informed, the fourth, by an Express from Count de Vehlen, General of the Palatine Horse, who commanded the Forces of the Lines of Stolhoffen.

Surfury Intelligence brought to the Duke,

The fifth of June, N. S. the Count de Friesse came to the Duke's Army, to acquaint his Grace, from Prince Lewis of Baden, whom he had left, with his Forces, at Ehingen, on this Side the Danube, that the Elector of Bavaria was strongly encamp'd near Ulm, on the other Side. His Grace, likewise, received Intelligence, that Prince Eugene of Savoy was arrived, in the Imperial Camp; and that the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel was marching, with the Troops of Hesse and Lunenburg, towards the Danube. Upon this, Count Wratislau, who, during all this Campaign, had made it his Business, with indefatigable Assiduity, and admirable Conduct, to create and cherish a good Correspondence, and mutual Confidence, between the Duke, and the Emperour's Generals, went from his Grace, to confer with Prince Lewis of Baden, upon Occasion of the Motions of the Enemy, on the other Side of the Rhine; as likewise to manage an Interview between his Grace and Prince Eugene, which was equally desired by both those illustrious Generals.

Prudent Behaviour of Count Wratislau.

The Duke of Marlboro' pursues his March.

The Duke of Marlborough having given Orders to his Foot and Artillery, which pass'd the Mayn, the fourth, to follow, with the Reinforcement of Horse and Foot, which was march-

ing from the Maese, under the Duke of Wirtemberg, his Grace decamp'd from Ladenburg, the sixth of the same Month, and march'd to Wistock. The seventh, he came to Eppingen; and, the next Day, continued his March to Great Gardach; And during which, several of the Auxiliary Troops joined his Grace; the rest, particularly the Foot and Artillery, which, that Day, pass'd the Neckar, at Heidelberg, under the Conduct of General Churchill, receiving Orders to meet his Grace, at the Rendezvous at Gielingen. 1704.

Upon this, the Marshal de Villeroy march'd, with all possible Speed, towards the Upper Rhine; and, at the same Time, a Detachment of seven Battalions, and twenty-one Squadrons, from the Confederate Army in Flanders, under the Duke of Wirtemberg, follow'd the Duke of Marlborough. Monf. de Villeroy marches co-wards the Upper Rhine.

While the Duke was encamp'd at Great Gardach, the Baron de Staftarol, Grand Marshal to the Duke of Wirtemberg, came to compliment the Duke of Marlborough, in the Name of the Duke his Master, and assure him, that all possible Assistance should be given to the Troops under his Grace's Command, in their March thro' his Master's Territories. The Duke complimented by the Duke of Wirtemberg.

The ninth, the Duke march'd, with the Horse, from Great Gardach, to Mondelsheim, where he halted the next Day, and, in the Morning, receiv'd Advice, by an Adjutant-General, that Prince Eugene of Savoy, with Count Wratislau, were on the Road to his Camp, intending to dine with his Grace. About three in the Afternoon, his Highness arrived, at the Duke's Quarters, at Mondelsheim, where he was received with all the Marks of Honour and Civility due to his Rank and Quality. First Interview between Pr. Eugene, and the Duke of Marlboro'.

Posterity, as well as the present Age, will, without doubt, be curious to know, what pass'd at the first Interview of these Twin-Constellations in Glory, the two greatest Generals of this Age, equal in their Merit and Fame, as well for their Courage and Conduct in military Exploits, as their Prudence in Council; their Dexterity and Address, in the Management of Affairs; and their Politeness, Temper and Affability: What is come to my Knowledge, I shall faithfully relate, and wish it were in my Power to gratify my Readers farther. After Dinner, which was as magnificent as the Circumstances of Time and Place could admit of, the remaining Part of the Day was spent in Consultations on the present Posture of Affairs, which lasted several Hours together; and the mutual Satisfaction and Opinion they, at that Time conceived, at and of each other's Prudence and Capacity, must have been very great; since the reciprocal Esteem, they before had, grew, from thenceforward, into so strict a Friendship and Confidence, as very much contributed to the glorious Successes, which attended the Arms of the Allies, during the whole War. The Result of their Consultations then was, that A Sketch of their Characters.
They hold a Consultation.
Result of it.

1704.

the two Armies should join, and that the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Lewis of Baden, should command, each Day, alternately, and that Prince Eugene should head a separate Army on the Rhine.

Honours
done the D.
of Marl-
borough.

Thus the Duke, to his own, and his Country's Honour, obtain'd a Post, which equall'd him to the first General in Christendom, viz. to command alternately with Prince Lewis, and afterwards with Prince Eugene, and that in the Heart of Germany, where, always till then, the Forces of the Empire had the Precedence.

Compli-
ments pass'd
between the
Prince and
the Duke.

The next Day, his Highness marched with the Duke to Great Heppach, where his Grace having ordered his Army to be drawn up in Battalia, before the Prince, his Highness express'd his Surprize, to find them in so excellent a Condition, after so long and speedy a March : Upon which Occasion, he is reported to have said ; *My Lord, I never saw better Horses, better Chabbs, finer Belts and Accoutrements ; yet all these may be had for Money ; but there is a Spirit in the Looks of your Men, which I never yet saw in any, in my Life.* His Grace, who could not but be extremely pleas'd with the Compliment, was not, however, behind-hand with his Highness in Politeness, but is said to have answered : *Sir, if it be as you say, that Spirit is inspired in them by your Presence.*

Pr. Lewis of
Baden comes
to the Duke
of Marlbo-
rough.

The twelfth, Advice was brought from the Army commanded by Prince Lewis of Baden, that three Regiments of Horse march'd from thence, the eighth, to the Lines of Stolhoffen ; and that, the tenth, they were follow'd by 9000 Men of the Prussian Forces, in order to oppose the French, on that Side. The thirteenth, in the Morning, the Duke was inform'd by Count Wratisslau, that Prince Lewis of Baden was coming Post to meet his Grace ; upon which the Duke sent Colonel Cadogan, with a Compliment to his Highness, whom he found at Esslingen, with Prince Lobcowitz, his Nephew, and conducted them to Great Heppach.

Expressions
of Civility
which pass'd
betwixt
them.

Among other Expressions of Civility, which pass'd between Prince Lewis and the Duke of Marlborough, his Highness said ; *That his Grace was come to save the Empire, and give him an Opportunity to vindicate his Honour, which he was sensible was, in some Manner, at the last Stake, in the Opinion of some People.* To which his Grace is said to have replied : *That he came to learn from him, how to do the Empire Service ; for they must want Judgment who did not know, that the Prince of Baden had not only, when his Health would permit him, preserved the Empire, but extended its Conquests, as well as secured its own.* Mutual Compliments being over, a Conference was held between the Generals, wherein it was resolv'd, *That the Auxiliary Troops, in the Neighbourhood, should join the Army on the Danube, for some Days,*
and

A Confer-
ence be-
tween the
Generals.
The Result
of it.

1704.

and that Prince Lewis, and the Duke of Marlborough, should have each his Day of Command alternatively, as long as they continued together; while Prince Eugene should repair towards Philipsburg, to defend the Passage on the Rhine, the Lines of Stolhoffen, the Country of Wirtemberg, or act otherwise, according to the Motions of the French.

The next Morning early, the Horse march'd from Great Hep-pach, while his Grace staid there to entertain Prince Lewis, and Prince Eugene, at Dinner, after which, the former returned to his Army on the Danube, and Prince Eugene went Post for Philipsburg, to command the Army on the Rhine. In the Even-ing, the Duke joined the Troops under his Command, in the Camp at Eberspach, where the Prince of Hesse, with Monf. Bu-lau, and Baron Hompesch attended, to give his Grace an Ac-count, that the Troops were all in the Neighbourhood, ready to march to their appointed Rendezvous. The sixteenth, the Duke march'd with the Horse, from Eberspach, to Grosz Seins-sen; the other Auxiliary Troops marching, at the same Time, in two Bodies, under the Command of the Prince of Hesse, and Monf. Bulau, and encamp'd at some Distance from the Duke, but disposed in such Manner, that the whole might be able to join Prince Lewis in one Day's March, as soon as he should make a Motion, with his Army, towards his Grace.

Farther
Motions of
the Army.

The same Day, the Duke had Advice from Ulm, that the Elector of Bavaria march'd, the fifteenth, with a considerable Detachment; and a Deserter, who came in, the eighteenth, re-ported, that some Regiments of his Forces were daily passing the Danube. This was confirmed, by the Information the grand Marshal to the Duke of Wirtemberg received from Ulm, that the rest of the Elector's Army had pass'd the Danube, and that he had put his heavy Baggage into that City. The twentieth, the Duke of Marlborough had an Account, from the Rhine, that, six Days before, the Marshals de Villeroy and Tallard had a Conference at Landau; but had not undertaken any thing as yet; and that, the twentieth of June, Prince Eugene was joined by the Prussian Troops, which made up his Army, on the Rhine, near 30,000 Men. The twenty-first of June, the Duke of Marl-borough decamp'd, with the Horse, from Grosz Seinsfen, and, in his March, was joined by the Auxiliary Troops of Lunen-burg, Hannover and Hesse.

Two Days before, Mr. Cardonnel, the Duke's Secretary, wrote a Letter, of which the underneath is a Translation, to Monf. *** at Zell.

From

1704.

From the Camp at Grösz Seinsfen, June 19th, 1704.

A Letter
from Mr.
Cardonnel
to Monf.
• • at Zell.

S I R,

“ **T**HE Letter you did me the Honour of writing to me,
“ the fourth instant, did not come to my Hands till
“ yesterday. I hope you are, in some measure, recover'd from
“ your Apprehensions for the Rhine, since you are informed
“ that Prince Eugene is there. I assure you, I depend much
“ more upon him, than if the other Person you mention had
“ went thither. This Prince is to be join'd to-morrow, by the
“ Prussian Troops, and will then have an Army of 30,000
“ Men, good Troops, with which we may hope to be in Safety
“ on that Side.

“ We have been here four Days, and expect, every Moment,
“ Advices from the Prince of Baden, that we may join him;
“ but the continual Rains will hinder us from entering into Ac-
“ tion, so soon as it were to be wished. When we are join'd,
“ my Lord Duke, and the Prince of Baden, will command al-
“ ternatively, from Day to Day, till all the Troops are join'd,
“ which may be about the latter End of this Month, and then
“ we shall form the two Armies.

“ The Elector of Bavaria has repass'd the Danube, with all
“ his Troops, and has put his heavy Baggage into Ulm.

“ Deserters, who come over to our Army, report unani-
“ mously, that the French Battalions are very weak, notwith-
“ standing the Recruits they have received; and that Sickness
“ reigns very much among these new Comers, insomuch that
“ 150 have been buried at Ulm, in one Week. No Body
“ knows what is become of the Elector's Chancery, which was
“ said to be taken.

I am, &c.

A. CARDONNEL.

The Duke
joins Prince
Lewis of Ba-
den.

The Army encamp'd, the 21st, between Launsheim and Ur-
ping, and, on the 22d, made a Motion, in order to join Prince
Lewis of Baden, at Westerstetten, at which Place, the Right
of his Grace's Camp then lay. Prince Eugene of Savoy having
desired of the Duke a farther Re-inforcement of Troops, for
the Security of the Rhine, and the Lines of Stolhoffen, his
Grace, thereupon, sent Orders to Lieutenant General Scholten,
to march to the Rhine, with the seven Battalions of Danish
Foot, which were coming from the Maese, and, by this Time,
were advanced as far as Frankfort, and to receive Orders from
his Highness.

There must, about this Time, some Overtures have been
made, for an Accommodation between the Emperour, and the
Electors

Electors of Bavaria, the latter having made some Demands in order thereunto, the Substance of which were: as follows:

1704.

Substance of the Demands of the Elector of Bavaria.

“ Besides the Duchy of Nieburg, and the Marquisate of Bourgue ;

Demands of the Elector of Bavaria for an Accommodation.

1. The Upper Austria.
2. The County of Nienburg, on the Inn.
3. Fort Kofflein, with its Dependences.
4. The four Imperial Cities of Ulm, Augsburg, Memmingen and Ratibon.
5. A Subsidy from England and Holland, of 100,000 Crowns per Month.

6. The Restoration of the Elector of Cologne, with an Indemnification for all his Losses.

“ If the Emperor should not care to part with the Upper Austria and Kofflein, the Elector demands as an Equivalent for them, all those Countries which are situated between the Mountains of Tyrol, the Iller, the Lech, and the Danube (excepting the Bishoprick of Augsburg, and the Abby of Kempfen) comprehending the County of Nellenburg, with the four Cities on the Danube, belonging to the House of Austria, viz. Ellingen, Bitlengen, &c.

“ N. B. All these to be possess'd, with a sovereign Power, and the Title of King.

Dated, June 21, 1704.

If these Proposals were ever offered, as the Basis of an Accommodation, they were, without doubt, treated as they deserved, with Scorn.

In the mean time, the Elector of Bavaria sent a considerable Detachment, to Dillengen and Lawingen, with Intent, that upon the Advance of the Confederate Army, towards the Danube, his whole Army might possess themselves of that Camp. The twenty-third, Prince Lewis and the Duke continued in the Camp, near Launsheim, to form the Line of Battle; and, the same Day, his Grace reviewed the twelve Regiments of Foot, which came into those Parts, the preceding Year, under the Command of Lieutenant-General Goor, with the four Battalions of the Duke of Wirtemberg's Troops, in the Pay of the States, which appear'd compleat, and in very good Order. The next Day, the Army march'd from Launsheim and Westerfetten, and encamp'd, with the Right, at Elchingen, near the Danube, and the Left at Languenau, where they halted three Days; the eight and twentieth, they march'd again, and encamp'd

Motions of the United Confederate Army.

1704.

camp'd, with the Right, at Herbrechting, and the Left, at Gingen, on the River Brentz, within two Leagues of the Elector of Bavaria's Army, which lay between Dillingen and Lawingen, with the Brentz between the two Armies.

The nine and twentieth, the English Foot and Artillery, under the Command of General Churchill, who had been joined, in their March, by a Battalion of the King of Prussia's Forces, arrived in the Camp, and took their Post in the Line, where an Interval had been left for them : So that all the Forces the Duke of Marlborough expected, had now join'd him, excepting the Danish Horse, which were detach'd after him, from the Netherlands. The whole Army then consisted of 96 Battalions of Foot, and 202 Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, having with them 44 Field cannon, 4 Hawbitzers, and 24 Pontons.

The same Day, the Generals held a Council of War, where-in it was resolv'd to draw near Donawert ; whereupon, the last Day of June, the Confederate Army march'd from Gingen, and Herbrechting, and encamp'd, with their Right, at Lanthausen, and their Left, at Balmerhossen : They march'd so near the Enemy's Camp, that Lieutenant-General Bulau was sent out, the Night before, with a Detachment of 2000 Horse and Dragoons, to secure the Avenues, by which they might have disturb'd the March of the Allies, who, by these means, proceeded without any Opposition. The Enemy's Army was then computed to consist of 88 Battalions and 160 Squadrons, having 90 Pieces of Cannon, 40 Mortars and Hawbitzers, and 30 Pontons.

The first of July, the Confederates continued their March, in Sight of the Elector of Bavaria's Army at Dillengen, and encamp'd, with their Right, at Amerdingen, and their Left, at Onderingen. The Camp being pitch'd, the Duke of Marlborough, with a Guard of sixty Squadrons, advanc'd a little in the Front of his Army, to take a View of the strong Situation of the Enemy, and returning soon after, gave the necessary Orders for preparing every thing during the Night, in order to attack the Enemy's Intrenchments the next Day. Some Officers were of Opinion, that after so tiresome a March, the Troops should have some Rest before the Attack ; but the Duke would hear of no Delay.

While the Camp was at Langenau, Mr. Cardonnel, the Duke's Secretary wrote the following Letter to Mons.^{**} at Zell.

Translation

Translation of a Letter from Mr. Cardonnel to Mons. * * * at Zell.

1704.

From the Camp at Langenau, June 25, 1704.

S I R,

“ S I N C E my last, I have been honoured with your two
 “ Letters of the 12th and 15th instant, which I read to
 “ my Lord Duke, and can assure you, that his Excellency is
 “ entirely of your Sentiments: He has, likewise, caus’d all the
 “ Danish Infantry, which was on the March to join us, from the
 “ Maese, to go to the Rhine, to serve under Prince Eugene,
 “ and they may join him in six or seven Days; so that, as we
 “ have no News of the Motion of the French, we are under no
 “ Apprehensions of them on that Side. We join’d the Prince
 “ of Baden two Days ago, and there seems to be a pretty good
 “ Harmony, between him and my Lord Duke. Our Infantry,
 “ with the Artillery, will join us to-morrow at Gingen, to which
 “ Place we shall advance, in order to be nearer the Enemy,
 “ who are retired with the greater Part of their Troops, to
 “ their former Camp of Lawingen, and Dillengen; but they
 “ have another Body, on the other Side of the Danube, at Leip-
 “ heim, consisting chiefly of Cavalry, and they seem to be un-
 “ der some Consternation. I do not see, that we can pretend
 “ to attempt any thing, till we are join’d by the Duke of Wir-
 “ temberg, with the Danish Cavalry, who march very slowly,
 “ notwithstanding the reiterated Orders sent them by my Lord
 “ Duke, to make all the Expedition possible. He hardly de-
 “ parted from Frankfort till yesterday, and cannot join us in
 “ less than six or seven Days; tho’ my Lord Duke dispatch’d an
 “ Express to him yesterday, with Orders to leave his heavy
 “ Baggage behind him, that he might march with the greater
 “ Diligence. As soon as these Troops join us, we shall form
 “ the two Armies, and, as far as I can perceive of our Designs,
 “ my Lord Duke will march directly to Donawert, to open, by
 “ the taking of that Place, a free Passage for our Army into
 “ Bavaria. It is very probable, as you observe, that the E-
 “ lector will soon be attempting to amuse us by a Negotiation;
 “ but I dare venture to assure you, that no such Endeavours
 “ will, in the least, slacken our Efforts to reduce him to Reason,
 “ by Force of Arms. The continual Rains, which have fallen,
 “ for a Fortnight past, have very much incommoded our Infan-
 “ try, and caus’d some Distempers among them: But we send
 “ our Sick to Heydenheim, where they soon recover. As for
 “ our Cavalry, and, in general, all our other Troops, in the
 “ Pay of England and Holland, they are in a very good Con-

A Letter
 from Mr.
 Cardonnel
 to Mons.
 * * * at Zell.

1704.

"dition. I reckon my Lord Duke's Army will consist of about
 "50 Battalions, and 80 Squadrons, all very good Troops;
 "when the Line of Battle is form'd, I will send you a Copy
 "of it. The hereditary Prince, and Monf. de Spiegel shew
 "some Signs of Discontent, and talk of serving as Volunteers,
 "because they are not advanced; but I hope it will pass over."

I am, &c.

A. CARDONNEL.

P. S. "With regard to the General you mention, I have
 "long since had not the best Opinion of him, and cannot alter
 "my Mind yet; I wish I may have Reason to do it, before
 "the End of the Campaign.

The Duke
 of Marlbro
 traduced at
 home.

While the Duke of Marlborough was thus exerting himself in the Field, and using his utmost, I may say, uncommon Diligence, for the Good of the Common Cause, there was not wanting a Set of People in England, who being his professed Enemies, were putting the worst Construction upon his Actions, and were forming Parties to ruin both his Reputation and Interest, if his great Projects for this Campaign had miscarried. I shall have Occasion to say more on this Head below: In the mean Time, the following Copies of a Couple of Letters, relating to this Matter, the Originals of which have fallen into my Hands, being dated about this Time, may not, improperly, find Place at the Conclusion of this Chapter.

*Copy of a Letter, from the Lord Stamford to Monf. * * * at Zell.*

June 2, 1704.

S I R,

A Letter
 from the
 Lord Stam-
 ford to
 Monf. * *
 at Zell.

"T H O' I am sorry to find by yours of the third Instant,
 "that five of our Mails came to you together; because
 "my Letters were by that, delayed, and that especially to
 "her Royal Highness, the Electrice; yet since she will have
 "it, and is too good a Judge to impute it to my Neglect, I
 "cannot but be pleased, it escaped the Fare, that of the 25th
 "of the same Month met with, which was taken by the
 "French. That you have mine, and so good an Account of
 "our Proceedings in Parliament, and that they are so highly
 "approved, and rightly understood, does very much rejoice
 "me. I can assure you, it has been a very great Mortification
 "to the Party to be so cross'd and expos'd: When nothing
 "could stand against them in the House of Commons.
 "I must own, your Reasonings, upon the Changes at Court,
 "to be the same with our most judicious honest Men here, that
 "is,

“ is, to be very chimerical, and will not, in all human Probability, attain the Ends aimed at, but may have a contrary Effect: Whatever my Lord Marlborough does abroad (which, for the Sake of Europe, I heartily wish may be well) yet his Foundation being rotten here, and his not encreasing his Friends, may exasperate his Enemies to that Height, that it may push them on beyond the Rules and Measures, which have been kept amongst them hitherto. You know, when two Sets of People agree in a third Design, tho’ they personally hate one another, and have still concurr’d in the main, to prevent a third reaping any Benefit; yet such Things may be done, that may occasion an entire Breach, that so those Rules may be no more thought of. This I look upon to be our Case. My Lord Jersey being out, has discovered such Things, that rather occasion Contempt and Railing, than any Sort of Pity; which I believe will be out of the Power of Mr. Prior’s Poetry or Eloquence to allay. Alas poor Man, he is himself at low Ebb! — Believe me to be, &c.

STAMFORD.

An English Gentleman, then at the Court of Hannover, in a Letter to a Gentleman of Note in the Court of another Prince of Germany, dated the eighteenth of June, has the following remarkable Passage on this Occasion:

— “ I am sure, that there is a greater Party forming against my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Marlborough, than ever there was against King William’s Ministers, and what the Consequence may be, I cannot tell. Affairs will yet go worse, if their Enemies prevail; but much will depend upon my Lord’s Success in Germany, and *no King could wish for a more noble Opportunity to relieve not only Germany, but Europe, than this that he is employed upon, or that could be more glorious for himself.* If the Elector of Bavaria is reduc’d, it will stop the Mouths of his Enemies, and they will not be able to hurt him in England; but if he fails, he will be railed at in Holland, and accused in England, for the Loss he must suffer in such an Expedition, and I much apprehend the Consequence every where.

A Letter from an English Gentleman at Hannover.

And, in another Letter to the same Person, of the 25th of June, this Gentleman says: “ My Lord Marlborough has joined the Troops under Prince Lewis of Baden, not far from Ulm, and the Success of this Affair will either gain him a great Reputation, and very much shelter him from his Enemies (which are not few) or be his Ruin.

1704.

If this was the Case, the Duke stood a very ticklish Chante, at that Time; for tho', beyond all Doubt, his Enterprizes were groundd upon Reason, and formed with the most mature Judgment; yet so many Things might have occasioned their Miscarriage, that I shudder at the Thoughts of what might probably have been the Consequence, with regard to the Duke, had they turn'd out otherwise than successfully.

In another Letter of the fifth of July, the same Gentleman has the following Passages:

Extract of
another Letter
from the
same Gentleman.

“ There is no doubt, but a very great deal depends upon
“ the Success that my Lord Marlborough will have in Germa-
“ ny, and I wish him the best Success; but I must tell you,
“ that both he, and my Lord Treasurer, have very much pro-
“ voked all those who are for the Succession, by their never
“ doing any one Thing, that declared to the World, that they
“ were against the Prince of Wales.

“ I am of your Opinion, to support them by all our Friends,
“ and when the Campaign is over, I will do any thing towards
“ it, that they deserve, before the Parliament meets. I must
“ say, that I think they have acted a more nice than wise
“ Game, and committed very gross Faults.

The Gentleman who wrote the above Letter, whom I had the Honour to know particularly, both in Prosperity, and when Fortune frown'd on him, did not want a discerning Judgment: But, I must confess, I should be very much at a Loss, were I to point out these Faults, he thinks so gross. But notwithstanding this discerning Judgment, there has been a Time when he has been mistaken in his Politicks, or at least had the Misfortune to expose them at an improper Season, or he would not have incurr'd the Censure to have his Letter to the noble Peer above-mention'd, relating to the Motion for the Princess Sophia's being invited to reside in England, be voted a malicious Libel, &c. which brought, as well upon himself, as the Person who usher'd it into the World, a Chain of Misfortunes afterwards.

CHAP. VI.

The Forcing of the Enemy's Intrenchments at Schellenberg: With the Successes which immediately ensued.

THE Elector of Bavaria, judging rightly, from the Duke's March, that he intended to attack Donawert, sent a considerable Detachment of his best Troops, to re-inforce Count d'Arco, who was posted at Schellenberg, a rising Ground, near that Place, on the North Side, where he had already cast up great Intrenchments, and employ'd some Thousands of Pioneers, for several Days, to perfect those Works, which cover Donawert, on that Point between the Rivers Brentz and Danube; but notwithstanding that great Advantage, the Duke of Marlborough resolv'd to drive the Enemy from that important Post. Accordingly, the necessary Orders being given to the Army, his Grace advanced, the second of July, at three in the Morning, with a Detachment of 6000 Foot, commanded by Lieutenant-General Goor, and thirty Squadrons of English and Dutch Cavalry, besides three Battalions of Imperial Grenadiers: The rest of the Army, under Prince Lewis, following, with all possible Diligence; but the Way being very bad and long, the Detachment led by his Grace, could not come to the River Werntz (or Wernitz) which runs by Donawert, till about Noon, and it was three of the Clock, before the Bridges were finish'd, that they could get over that River, with their Artillery.

The Fight
at Schellen-
berg near
Donawert.

The Duke having pass'd the same, at the Head of the Cavalry, about five o'Clock, rode up as near to the Intrenchments, as was necessary, and, having view'd them, made the necessary Disposition for the Attack. In the mean time, the English and Dutch Artillery began to thunder against the Enemy; who answered it briskly from their Batteries, for about an Hour, and made it judg'd, by their Dispositions, that the Action would be very hot.

These Preparations being over, the English and Dutch Foot, supported by the Horse and Dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant General Goor, and Brigadier Ferguson, began the Attack, with unparallel'd Valour and Intrepidity, before the Imperialists came up, and met with such a vigorous Defense, that, having the greatest Part of the Enemy's Forces to deal with, they were twice repuls'd; but, after an Engagement of near an Hour and a half, the Imperialists being by that Time come up, the Imperial Cavalry broke into the Intrenchments, and the English and Dutch, breaking in, about the same Time, the Confederates

The En-
emy's In-
trenchments
forced.

1704.

A rich Booty taken, and distributed among the Soldiers.

made a terrible Slaughter of the Enemy, pursuing them to the very Danube, where a great Part of them follow'd the Example of Count d'Arco, and other General Officers, who saved themselves by swimming over that River. They took sixteen Pieces of the Enemy's Cannon, with all their Ammunition, Tents, and Baggage, and thirteen Colours, besides Count d'Arco's Plate, with other rich Booty, which was distributed among the victorious Soldiers.

All the Confederate Troops, that engag'd, behaved themselves with a great deal of Bravery and Resolution, and the Horse and Dragoons shar'd the Glory of the Day with the Infantry: But the first Attack being begun with a Battalion of the English Foot-Guards, and the Regiments of Orkney and Ingoldsby, they suffered more than any others. It is to be recorded, to the Immortal Glory of the Lord Mordaunt, only Son to the Earl of Peterborough, that a Detachment of fifty Grenadiers, of English Guards, which he led on to the Attack, he escaped unhurt, with only ten of his Men. The Forces of the Enemy consisted of two Battalions of the Elector's Life-Guard, one of Grenadiers, thirteen other Bavarian Battalions, five French, four Regiments of Cuirassiers, of 800 Men each, and three Squadrons of Dragoons, making in all about 18,000 (some Accounts make them 32,000) Men, all choice Troops, commanded by Count d'Arco, Field-Marshal of the Elector of Bavaria's Forces, Lieutenant-General Lutzburg, and Count Maffey, Generals of Battalia, besides two French Lieutenant-Generals. The Duke of Marlborough gain'd great Honour in this Action, giving his Orders with the greatest Presence of Mind imaginable, and exposing his Person to the greatest Danger. Nor was Prince Lewis of Baden wanting, in performing the Part of a brave and great General. The Loss of the Enemy, Killed, Wounded, Prisoners, and Deserted, was computed at 5000 (some Accounts say 6000) Men; nor was that of the Confederates much less, which, however, was abundantly made up, by the gaining so compleat a Victory, as gave them a free Entrance into the Duke of Bavaria's Country, and forc'd that Elector to retire under the Cannon of Augsburg. Prince Lewis of Baden, General Thungen, the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, Prince Alexander of Wirtemberg, the Prince of Saxony, Count Horn, Lieutenant General, the Major-Generals Wood and Palland, and Brigadier Bedmar, were slightly wounded: Lieutenant-General Goor, the Prince of Homburg, the Prince of Beveren, the Counts Van Erbach, and Schulemburg, and Major-General Beinhelm were killed, and count Stirum died, not many Days after, of his Wounds.

The next Day, the Bavarian Garrison quitted Donawert, upon the Approach of the Confederates, and broke down the Bridges:

Donawert abandon'd.

Bridges: But had not Time to destroy their Ammunition and Provisions, as they had intended.

1704.

Donawert is a City of Germany, on the Confines of Suabia, Neuburg, and Bavaria, once Imperial, situate on the River Danube, 25 Miles North of Augsburg, 17 West of Neuburg, and 44 North-East of Ulm. A Description of that Place.

The Elector of Bavaria no sooner heard of the Defeat of his Troops, than he repass'd the Danube with the utmost Precipitation, and march'd towards the Lech.

The Neglect of the Officer, who commanded in Donawert, made this Conquest the more easy; for he might have put the three Battalions, which were in that Place, in the Cover'd Way, that joined the Left of the Intrenchment; and as the Allies made their first Attack on that Side, he might have gauled them terribly, from that Post. French Writers lay great Stress upon this Neglect, as the Occasion of their Misfortune; and Count d'Arco, the Bavarian General, in his Letter to the Elector, attributes it solely and wholly thereunto. A Neglect of the French.

During the whole Time of the Action, the Confederates stood to their Arms, in a Readiness, either to assist the Assailants, if Occasion had required, or to oppose the Bavarian Army, if they had attempted any Thing against the Camp, in the mean Time; and the whole Army, excepting those Troops that had been employed in the Attack, rested on their Arms all Night.

The Next Day, the Duke of Marlborough gave an Account of this important and victorious Action to the States General, in a Letter, of which the following is a Translation.

Letter from the Duke of Marlborough, to their High and Mightinesses, dated from the Camp at Übermargen, July 3, 1704.

High and Mighty Lords,

“ U P O N our Arrival at Onderingen, on Tuesday, I understood, that the Elector of Bavaria had detached the best of his Foot, to guard the Post at Schellenberg, where he had been casting up Intrenchments for some Days, because it was of great Importance; therefore I resolved to attack him there; and march'd, yesterday Morning, by three o'Clock, at the Head of a Detachment of 6000 Foot, and thirty Squadrons of our Troops, and three Battalions of Imperial Grenadiers; whereupon the Army begun their March, to follow us: But the Way being very long and bad, we could not get to the River Wernitz, till about Noon, and it was full three o'Clock before we could lay Bridges, for transporting our Troops and Cannons; so that all Things being ready, we attack'd them about six in the Evening. The Attack lasted a full Hour; the Enemies defended themselves very vigorously, and were very strongly entrench'd; but, at last, were obliged

The Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the States General.

1704.

“ to retire, by the Valour of our Men, and the good God has
 “ given us a compleat Victory.
 “ We have taken fifteen Cannons, with all their Tents and
 “ Baggage: The Count d’Arco and the other Generals that
 “ commanded them, were obliged to save themselves by swim-
 “ ming over the Danube. I heartily wish your High and Might-
 “ inesses good Success from this happy Beginning, which is so
 “ glorious for the Arms of the Allies, and from which, I hope,
 “ by the Assistance of Heaven, we may reap many Advantages.
 “ We have lost very many brave Officers, and we cannot
 “ enough bewail the Loss of the Heern Goor, and Beinhart,
 “ who were killed in the Action. The Prince of Baden, and
 “ General Thungen were slightly wounded; Count Stirum has
 “ received a Wound a-crois his Body, but, ’tis hoped, he will
 “ recover. The Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, Count Horn,
 “ a Lieutenant-General, and Major-General Wood, and the
 “ Heer Palland, are also wounded. I can, at present, give
 “ your High and Mightinesses no more Particulars; but will not
 “ fail to do it the first Opportunity.

“ A little before the Attack begun, the Baron of Molten-
 “ burg, Adjutant General to Prince Eugene, was sent to me by
 “ his Highness, with Advice, that the Marshals de Villeroy,
 “ and Tallard, were march’d to Strasburg, having promis’d a
 “ great Re-inforcement to the Elector of Bavaria, by Way of
 “ the Black Forest: And I had Advice, by another Hand, that
 “ they design’d to send him fifty Battalions, and sixty Squa-
 “ drons, of their best Troops. Since I was Witness how
 “ much the Heer Mortagne distinguish’d himself, in this whole
 “ Action, I could not omit doing him the Justice, to recom-
 “ mend him to your High and Mightinesses, to make up to him
 “ the Loss of his General; wherefore I have pitch’d upon him,
 “ to bring this to your High and Mightinesses, and to inform
 “ you of the Particulars.

I remain, &c.

Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

P. S. “ The Detachment above-said, was supported by fif-
 “ teen Battalions from the Left, and as many from the Right.

General Hompesch gave likewise an Account of this Action, in a Letter to the States, which as it not only confirms the above, and contains some Circumstances, not mentioned before, and does great Honour to our General, I shall add;

A Letter
 from Gene-
 ral Hom-
 pesch, to
 the States-
 General,

High and Mighty Lords,

“ I Cannot omit giving you an Account of the Advantage we
 “ have gained by the Blessing of God, over our Enemies,

“ at

1704.

“ at Donawert ; and sending the Aid de Camp, who was with
“ me, upon this Occasion, to give your High Mightinesses a
“ more satisfactory Relation of the Particulars.

“ Our Army march'd yesterday, from Amerdingen (which
“ lies six Miles from Donawert ;) and, altho' we had march'd
“ 2 or 3 Days successively, and had not Time before, to clear the
“ Roads ; nevertheless, by the Diligence and Care of the Duke of
“ Marlborough, the Army made, the same Day, the intended
“ March, and pass'd it yesterday, at Ubermargen, by the River
“ Wernitz. The Cavalry and Dragoons pass'd upon a Bridge, and
“ by a Ford, and we made use of Pontons, which we brought
“ with us, to make another Bridge, upon which the Infantry
“ pass'd with all Expedition. The Van-Guard, where my
“ Lord Duke was in Person, with the Hereditary Prince of
“ Hesse-Cassel, Lieutenant General Lumley, my self, Generals
“ Bonafan and Wood, the Prince of Homburg, the Count d'Er-
“ bach, and Mons. Schulemburg, was compos'd of thirty two
“ Squadrons.

“ The Infantry, consisting of 5850 Men, were led according to
“ the Duke's Order, by Lieut. Gen. Goor, and 30 Battalions,
“ under Lieut. Gen. Horn, who had with him the Major-Gener-
“ als Withers, Luyck, Pollard and Beinhelm, with Orders to
“ support them.

“ The Cavalry having pass'd the River, the Duke of Marlbo-
“ rough took them with him, to view, as near as possible, the
“ Enemy's Camp and Intrenchments. The Infantry, being
“ arriv'd, on the other Side of the River, and ready for the
“ Attack, march'd before the Cavalry ; and was led to the At-
“ tack by Lieutenant-General Goor, supported by the rest of
“ the Foot, which the Duke of Marlborough had ordered to re-
“ inforce him, under the Command of Lieutenant-General
“ Horn. The whole was follow'd and supported, by the afore-
“ said thirty two Squadrons.

“ The Attack being thus dispos'd, the English and Dutch
“ Troops drew nearer the Intrenchments, having, on one Side
“ the Town, and, on the other, a Wood. They, and the
“ Enemy, cannonaded each other about an Hour, whilst they
“ waited the coming up of the Imperialists. As soon as they
“ arrived, the English and Dutch began the Attack with great
“ Vigour, and the Enemy defended themselves with Abundance
“ of Bravery. The Imperialists advanced as expeditiously as
“ they could, in good Order ; and the Prince of Baden having
“ also attack'd them, the Intrenchments were forc'd, after a
“ very stubborn Fight, of about an Hour and a half. The Dra-
“ goons were at the Head, to sustain the Infantry, under the
“ Command of the Hereditary Prince of Hesse, and he con-
“ tinued expos'd to the Enemy's Fire, till he was wounded in

1704.



“ the Side. Lieutenant-General Lumley, and my self, with
 “ General Wood, the Prince of Homburg, Count d’Erbach,
 “ and Mons. Schulemburg commanded the Cavalry. Lieutenant-
 “ General Goor (who commanded the Infantry) was kill’d, and
 “ also Major-General Beinheim.

“ Those who are wounded, among the Infantry, are Lieut.
 “ Gen. Horn, in the Leg, Maj. Gen. Palland, in the Groin (with-
 “ out Danger) and Brig. Tobias in the Belly. Those that are
 “ wounded, among the Cavalry, are the Hereditary Prince of
 “ Hesse-Cassel and General Wood. The Count d’Erbach had one
 “ Horse kill’d, and another wounded. The Prince of Saxony is
 “ wounded in the Arm (without Danger) and Brigadier Bedmar.
 “ Of the Imperialists, the Prince of Baden is wounded in the
 “ Foot; he had also a Horse killed. Count Stirum has had a
 “ Shot cross his Body. The Velt-Marshal Thungen is wounded
 “ in the Hand; Prince Alexander of Wirtemberg is wounded in
 “ the Leg; and the Prince of Beveren, a Major-General, is kill’d.

“ As soon as we have a List of the Officers and Soldiers kill’d
 “ and wounded, I shall not fail to give your High Mightinesses
 “ an Account thereof. I conjecture we have about 6 or 700
 “ Men kill’d (*of the Dutch only, I presume he means*) and 1000
 “ dangerously wounded. The Duke of Marlborough gave Or-
 “ ders, throughout the whole Action, with the greatest Pru-
 “ dence and Presence of Mind. The Prince of Baden, every
 “ Body must own, has done all that could be expected, from a
 “ great and brave General; so far, that we owe him, upon this
 “ Occasion, all possible Praise and Honour.

I am, &c.

R. V. Baron Van HOMPESCH.

P. S. “ We have taken 16 Brass Field-Pieces, the greatest of
 “ them Six-Pounders, and thirteen of the Enemy’s Colours.

By one Part of this Letter, it would almost seem, as if the English and Dutch did not begin the Attack, till the Imperialists came up; but the Fact (as I have been informed by an Officer who was present) was this. The English and Dutch began, on the Left, half an Hour before the Imperialists could come up to fall on the Right. And the Enemy’s Forces being almost all employ’d against the former, the latter found but little Resistance.

The French, tho’ they could not deny the Confederates the Honour of this Victory, endeavour’d to lessen the Advantage of it, by pretending their Works were not near finished, and exaggerating the Loss of Men and Officers this Action cost the Allies. The Allies (say their Writers) tho’ we lost but 1000 Men, in the Action, had 6000 Men kill’d, in their several At-
 tacks,

French Ac-
 count of the
 Loss on both
 Sides.

tacks, and a far greater Number wounded, and some of their Regiments were almost entirely cut off. Several of their Generals were kill'd or wounded, and the Count de Stirum died of his Wounds after the Battle. In the former Part of their Account, they go exceedingly beyond the Truth. But for the latter, it is certain, the Confederates lost a great Number of brave Officers; and, indeed, it could not naturally be otherwise, in so desperate an Attempt. What the English, in particular, suffer'd, the Reader will see by the following List.

The List of the English, killed or wounded at Schellenberg, as the respective Colonels delivered it to the Duke of Marlborough, is as followeth.

F O O T.

Of the Foot Guards, Lieut. Col. Blount, Capt. Raleigh, Capt. West, Quarter-Master Bibey, kill'd. Lieut. Col. Primrose, Lieut. Col. Farrars, Capt. Adams, Capt. Pocock, Enf. Smith, Enf. Pearson, Enf. Rich, Enf. Denys Pujolas, wounded. Sergeants, kill'd 7, wounded 8. Centinels kill'd 75, wounded 127.

List of the English kill'd and wounded in this Action.

General Churchill's Regiment, Enf. Harrison, Enf. Caldicut, kill'd. Centinels kill'd 3, wounded 37.

Of the Earl of Orkney's first Battalion of Scotch Royal, Capt. Murray, Enf. Mac Dugal, Enf. Mac Ilroy, kill'd. Col. White, Major Cockburn, Capt. Hume, Capt. Irwin, Capt. Brown, Lieut. Kid, Lieut. Balatine, Enf. Stratton, Enf. Cunningham, Enf. Stuart, wounded. Sergeants kill'd 1, wounded 3. Centinels kill'd 38, wounded 103.

Of the Earl of Orkney's second Battalion, Capt. Bailey, Lieutenant Levingston kill'd. Major Kerr, Capt. Carr, Lieutenant Pearson, Lieut. Moor, Lieut. Vernel, Lieut. Hay, Lieut. Dickson, Lieut. Hamilton, Enf. White, Enf. Mac Queen, Enf. Mac Onway, Enf. Moremere, Enf. Elliot, Enf. Inglis, Enf. Moor, wounded. Sergeants kill'd 1, wounded 12. Centinels kill'd 76, wounded 184.

Of the Lord North and Gray's Regiment, Capt. Croy, kill'd. Sergeants wounded 3. Centinels kill'd 13, wounded 36.

Of Brigadier Webb's Regiment, Enf. Savage, kill'd. Ensign Bezier, Enf. Mafon, wounded. Sergeants wounded 2. Centinels kill'd 5, wounded 31.

Of the Earl of Darby's Regiment, Major Mordaunt, Ensign Charleton, kill'd. Lieut. Col. Hamilton, Capt. Coghlan, Enf. Key, wounded. Sergeants kill'd 1, wounded 1. Centinels kill'd 19, wounded 34.

Of Brigadier Hamilton's Regiment, Capt. Lea. Enf. Gillman, Enf. Walsh, Enf. Penfant, wounded. Sergeants kill'd 1, wounded 3. Centinels kill'd 11, wounded 32.

1704.

Of Brigadier How's Regiment, Capt. Bolton, Capt. Lesley, Lieut. Morris, wounded. Sergeants kill'd 1, wounded 3. Centinels kill'd 9, wounded 19.

Of Brigadier Row's Regiment, Capt. Rygoe, Lieut. Johnston, Lieut. John Cambell wounded.

Of Brigadier Ferguson's Regiment, Captain Lawson, Lieut. Seaton, wounded. Sergeants kill'd 1, wounded 3. Centinels kill'd 18, wounded 57.

Of Lieut. Gen. Ingoldsbys's Regiment, Capt. Harman, Captain Ogilvy, Lieut. Fraizer, Lieut. Agan, Lieut. Price, kill'd. Col. Sabin, Lieut. Col. Jones, Major Ingoldsbys, Capt. Lym, Lieut. Jeverau, Lieut. Patrick, Lieut. Richards, Lieut. Cadroy, Lieut. Piggot, Lieut. Aldy, Lieut. Jones, wounded. Sergeants kill'd 6, wounded 6. Centinels kill'd 60, wounded 165.

Of the Duke of Marlborough's Regiment, Captain Powell kill'd, Capt. Bally, Lieut. Stapleton, Lieut. Wally, Lieutenant Gardiner, wounded. Sergeants killed 1. Centinels killed 28, wounded 44.

Of Col. Meredith's Regiment, Lieut. Cornwall, Lieutenant Boukam, Enf. Billing, Enf. Jackson kill'd. Colonel Meredith, Lieutenant Cairns, Lieut. Neale, Lieut. Biron, Lieut. Scutnerby, Enf. Welsh, Enf. Onslow, Enf. Wood, Enf. Ogilby, Enf. Kent, wounded; Sergeants kill'd 1, wounded 3. Centinels kill'd 18, wounded 57.

D R A G O O N S.

Of the Lord Haye's Regiment, Capt. Douglas kill'd. Capt. Young, Lieutenant Maltary, wounded. Private Men kill'd 7, wounded 17.

Of Brigadier Ross's Regiment, Major Caldwell, Cornet Hamilton wounded. Private Men kill'd 4, wounded 19.

H O R S E.

Of the five Regiments of Horse, Capt. Carrington, Adjutant Skelton, kill'd. Major General Wood, Col. Palmer, Major Napper, Lieutenant Tettefolle, Lieut. Kyrle, Cornet Charles Lawes, Cornet Ward, Cornet Clarke, wounded. Private Men kill'd 13, wounded 53.

Mr. Ogilthorpe, Adjutant to the Duke of Marlborough, received a Pistol Shot through the Leg, and had a Contusion on one of his Thighs, by a Musquet Shot, and is since dead of his Wounds.

Total of Officers kill'd 29, wounded 86; of Sergeants and private Men, kill'd 407, wounded 1031.

An

An Officer, then in the Army, has given us the following List of the Kill'd and Wounded, in this Action:

1704.

	Kill'd.	Wound.	Another List by an Officer.
Lieutenant-Generals	6	5	
Major-Generals	2	2	
Brigadiers	0	1	
Colonels	4	7	
Lieutenant-Colonels	7	9	
Majors	3	15	
Captains	26	62	
Subalterns	46	181	
Soldiers	1329	3599	
	1423	3981	
		1493	
Total kill'd and wounded,		5474	

To these several Accounts I shall add a few Particulars from an Author of Reputation, wrote upon making some Observations on the Spot, the next Year after the Action, which I never had an Opportunity of seeing before his Travels and his own judicious Remarks, in the Course of them, having but very lately appear'd in Publick.

Monf. de
Blainville's
Account.

“ Continuing our Journey (says my Author, who dates his Account, June 30, 1705.) we cross'd the Lines, where one of the Generals of the Troops of Franconia, named Janus (whom we had Occasion to see at the Prussian Resident's House; at Nuremburg I presume he means) with 3000 Men, stopped Marshal de Marfin in his March, tho' he commanded 10,000: This happen'd (continues my Author) a little before the Battle of Hochstatt. Several of the Redoubts subsist to this Moment.

“ A little after, we arrived at Trichling, a Town situated on the River Altmuhl, and, having left Papenheim to our Left, came to Monheim, to Dinner; after we had left Monheim, we came to a large Abbey of Bernardins call'd Kayfersheim, about a League from Donawert, where we arriv'd about six o'Clock.

“ Tho' we were miserably shook and bruised by the Joltings of our Vehicle, yet the first Thing we did, at our Arrival, was to visit the famous SCHELLENBERG, which is about a Quarter of a League distant from the Town. We took a View of all the Intrenchments that were made here; and a German Officer, in Company with us, who had been at this Ac-

“ tion,

1704.

tion, as well as that of HOCHSTATT, shew'd us all the Places where the Duke of Marlborough and the Prince Lewis of Baden, attacked the French and Bavarians. He assured us, that they had never been able to force this important Post, had not they came upon them before their Intrenchments were finish'd, they not being, when the Allies began the Attack, carried up to half the Height the French intended to raise them." (An evident and glaring Proof of the Duke's Vigilance and Intrepidity, after so long and painful a March of 7 Weeks, in attacking them immediately, as soon as the Bridges were finished, and the Cavalry pass'd over them, about five of the Clock in the Evening; and tho' the Troops had begun their March that Morning at Three.) "We found still remaining some dismal Traces of this Action, which was very vigorous, and in which a great Number of brave Men on both Sides perished, vast Quantities of Skulls and Bones in the Ditches; and amidst a Heap of old Rags, we observed a Fragment of an English Grenadier's Cap, upon which the Queen's Motto, *Semper Eadem*, was still legible.

A Medal struck on this Occasion.

The Dutch, on this Occasion, struck a Medal, on the Face of which is a Busto of Prince Lewis of Baden; (tho' they might, with much greater Propriety, as well as Justice, have put that of the Duke of Marlborough;) on the Reverse is represented the Intrenchments of Schellenberg, and a Plan of the City of Donawert, the Antiquity of which is denoted by an antient Man leaning on an Urn, to signify, at the same Time, the Danube, on which River it is situate; with the following Inscription, continued on the Exergue.

HOSTE CÆSO, FUGATO, CASTRIS DIREPTIS, AD
SCHELLENBERGAM DONAVERDAM, 1704.

The Enemy defeated, put to Flight, and their Camp plunder'd, at Schellenberg, near Donawert, 1704.

An Extract from Mr. Addison's Campaign.

The great Mr. Addison gives us the following poetical Description of this bold Action, in his incomparable Poem, call'd the Campaign:

The March concludes, the various Realms are past,
Th' immortal Schellenberg appears at last:
Like Hills th' aspiring Ramparts rise on high,
Like Vallies, at their Feet, the Trenches lye;
Batt'ries on Batt'ries guard each fatal Pass,
Threat'ning Destruction; Rows of hollow Brass,
Tube behind Tube, the dreadful Entrance keep,
Whilst in their Wombs ten thousand Thunders sleep:



Great Churchill owns, charm'd with the glorious Sight,
His March o'er-paid, by such a promis'd Fight.

The Western Sun now shot a feeble Ray,
And faintly scatter'd the Remains of Day,
Ev'ning approach'd ; but oh ! what Hosts of Foes
Were never to behold that Ev'ning close !
Thick'ning their Ranks, and wedg'd in firm Array,
The close compacted Britons wing their Way ;
In vain the Cannon their throng'd War defac'd
With Tracts of Death, and laid the Battle waste ;
Still pressing forward, to the Fight, they broke
Thro' Flames of Sulphur, and a Night of Smoak ;
Till slaughter'd Legions fill'd the Trench below,
And bore their fierce Avengers to the Foe.

High on the Works, the mingling Hosts engage ;
The Battle, kindled into tenfold Rage,
With Show'rs of Bullets, and with Storms of Fire,
Burns in full Fury, Heaps on Heaps expire ;
Nations with Nations mix'd confus'dly dye,
And lost in one promiscuous Carnage lye.

How many gen'rous Britons meet their Doom,
New to the Field, and Heroes in the Bloom !
Th' illustrious Youths, that left their native Shoar,
To march where Britons never march'd before.
(O fatal Love of Fame ! O glorious Heat,
Only destructive to the Brave and Great !)
After such Toils o'ercome, such Dangers past,
Stretch'd on Bavarian Ramparts breathe their last.
But hold, my Muse, may no Complaints appear,
Nor blot the Day with an ungrateful Tear :
While Marlbro' lives, Britannia's Star dispense
A friendly Light, and shine in Innocence.
Plunging thro' Seas of Blood his fiery Steed,
Where-e'er his Friends retire, or Foes succeed ;
Those he supports, these drives to sudden Flight,
And turns the various Fortune of the Fight.

Forbear, great Man, renown'd in Arms, forbear,
To brave the thickest Terrors of the War ;
Nor hazard thus, confus'd in Crowds of Foes,
Britannia's Safety, and the World's Repose ;
Let Nations, anxious for thy Life, abate
This Scorn of Danger, and Contempt of Fate :
Thou liv'st not for thyself ; thy Queen demands
Conquest and Peace, from thy victorious Hands ;
Kingdoms and Empires in thy Fortune join,
And Europe's Destiny depends on thine.

The Life of JOHN,

1704.

At length the long-disputed Pass they gain,
 By crowded Armies fortified in vain;
 The War breaks in, the fierce Bavarians yield,
 And see their Camp with British Legions fill'd.
 So Belgian Mounds bear on their shatter'd Sides
 The Sea's whole Weight, encreas'd with swelling Tides.
 But if the rushing Wave a Passage finds,
 Enrag'd by watry Moons, and warring Winds,
 The trembling Peasant sees his Country round
 Cover'd with Tempests, and in Oceans drown'd.
 The few surviving Foes dispers'd in Flight,
 (Refuse of Swords, and Gleanings of a Flight)
 In ev'ry ruffling Wind the Victor hear,
 And Marlbro's Form in every Shadow fear,
 Till the dark Cope of Night, with kind Embrace,
 Befriends the Rout, and covers their Disgrace.

The Elector
 of Bavaria
 quits his ad-
 vantageous
 Camp.

The Elector of Bavaria (as I have said above) was no sooner informed of the Defeat of his Troops at Schellenberg, than he quitted his advantageous Camp, between Dillingen and Lawingen, and came to the other Side of the Danube, over-against Donawert, the third, in his March to the River Lech, to prevent the Confederates cutting off his Retreat to his own Country. The same Night, he sent Orders to his Garrison at Donawert, to set Fire to the Town, to burn their Bridges and Magazines, and then to retire; for which End, they had put Straw in every House; but the Confederates being advanced into the Suburbs, and laying their Bridge to pass into the Town, the Garrison durst not stay, for fear of having their Retreat cut off, and therefore, prefer'd their own Safety, before the Execution of their Master's cruel Orders, by which Means the Townsmen saved their Houses. The Enemy burnt only their Bridges, and some Magazines, and retired, in great Haste, early the next Day. At the same time, the Confederates entered the Town, without any Opposition, and found in it 2000 Sacks of Meal, great Store of Oats, and all Sorts of Provisions and Ammunition, which the Enemy had not Time to destroy.

Donawert
 taken by the
 Confede-
 rates;
 With a con-
 siderable
 Booty.

This Day, the Duke of Marlborough wrote another Letter to the States General, with an Account of this farther Success; but as it contains nothing but what I have already mention'd, I pass it by.

Farther
 Motions of
 the Confede-
 rate Ar-
 my.

The whole Confederate Army pass'd the Danube, the fifth of July, over several Bridges of Pontons, made for that Purpose, near Donawert, and encamp'd at Mertingen, in the Elector of Bavaria's Country, his Army being retired to the other Side of the Lech, and having entrench'd themselves under the Cannon of Augsburg. The sixth was observed, by the Duke of Marlborough's

borough's Orders, as a Day of Thanksgiving for the late Victory, throughout his whole Army; and Prince Lewis also directed *Te Deum* to be sung, on this Occasion, in his Camp, and in all the Towns adjoining. The Danish Horse, commanded by the Duke of Wirtemberg, encamp'd, the fifth, on the Schellenberg, and having pass'd the Danube, on the sixth, march'd to the Ground appointed for them in the Camp, where Count Palfi arriv'd the same Day with a Compliment from Prince Eugene to the Duke of Marlborough.

1704.

Prince Eugene sends a Compliment to the Duke, on his Victory.

The Duke, whose constant Custom it was, to make the most of every Advantage, was resolv'd to improve this, and to pursue the Enemy, before they recover'd out of the Consternation they were under. He, therefore, order'd the Count de Frize, with a Detachment of 4,000 Men, and twelve Pieces of Cannon, to prepare Bridges to pass over the Lech, at Kinderkingen, which were finish'd the same Evening, without any Opposition from the Enemy. The Detachment thereupon, immediately march'd over, and took Post in the Country of Bavaria, where they were re-inforc'd, the eighth, in the Afternoon, by 6000 Men more. The whole Army march'd at the same Time, and encamp'd, with the Right, at Hamler, and the Left, at Kinderkingen, near the River. Upon the first Notice of our Troops having begun to pass the Lech, the Garrison of Neuburg abandon'd that Place, and retir'd to Ingolstadt. A Detachment was, hereupon, sent, by the Duke of Marlborough, to take Possession of Neuburg, and Prince Lewis of Baden order'd General Herbeville, who commanded a separate Body of between 3 or 4000 Men, on the other Side of the Danube, to remain there, for the Security of a Place of so much Importance for the drawing of Provisions out of Franconia, to subsist the Confederate Army, while they continued in Bavaria.

The Duke improves his Advantage.

Takes Post in the Elector of Bavaria's Country.

Neuburg taken.

The Enemy having left a Garrison in Rain, a small Town, in the Circle of Bavaria, about half a League on the other Side of the Lech, six Miles East of Donawert, and nine West of Neuburg, the Confederate Generals resolv'd to attack it. The Army, therefore, decamp'd from Kinderkingen, the 10th of July, N. S. pass'd the Lech, and came with the Right, to Standa, and, with the Left, to Berchein. The 10,000 Men, which had pass'd the River, two Days before, were at the same Time, relieved, by nine Battalions, and fifteen Squadrons, which were to carry on the Siege of Rain, under the Command of the Count de Frize, to favour which Enterprize, the Army made a Motion to the Right, on the twelfth. The next Day, the Count de Vehlen, General of the Palatine Horse, came to the Confederate Camp, with Advice from Prince Eugene, that the Marshals Villeroy and Tallard, with an Army of five and forty thousand Men, had pass'd the Rhine, about Fort Kiel, giving out,

Rain besieged.

1704. out, that they were resolved to succour the Elector of Bavaria, and it was not doubted, but one of them would, at least, make the Attempt; his Highness, therefore, desired a Reinforcement of Horse might be sent him, to enable him the better to observe the Enemy's Motions. Prince Maximilian of Hannover (the late King George's Brother) was thereupon detach'd, with thirty Squadrons of Imperial Horse, with Orders to join Prince Eugene, with all possible Diligence; and the Duke of Marlborough sent, likewise, an Express to acquaint the latter, that, if he thought it necessary, a larger Number should follow.

Rain taken. The same Night, the Trenches were opened before Rain: The Garrison, at first, seem'd resolved to defend it to the last Extremity; but the Besiegers playing upon the Town, with 27 Pieces of Cannon; and the Approaches being carried on, with good Success, the sixteenth, in the Morning, the Garrison desir'd to capitulate, and, the Articles being agreed on, they marched out the next Day, being about 400 Foot, commanded by Count de Mercy, a Brigadier-General, and were conducted, by a Party of Horse, to the Elector of Bavaria's Camp, near Augsburg.

Farther Motions of the Confederate Army. A Detachment of 400 of the Allies took Possession of the Place, at the same Time, and found there four and twenty Brass Cannon, with some Ammunition, besides a considerable Quantity of other Provisions, which were order'd to be applied to the Use of the Troops. Orders having, likewise, been given to provide Magazines at Rain and Neuburg, for the Subsistence of the Forces, the Army decamp'd, the same Day, from Berchein, and came, with the Right, to Holtz, and the Left, to Osterhausen. The eighteenth, the Allies being encouraged by the Prosperity of their Arms, and willing to push forward their Conquests, continued their March, and encamp'd, with the Right, at Kuepach, and the Left, at Aicha, a very fine Town. Here the Enemy had a Garrison of 8 or 900 Bavarian Boors, who, refusing to submit, were Part of them put to the Sword, the rest made Prisoners of War, and the Town permitted to be plunder'd by the Soldiers. Here, likewise, the Generals took their Quarters, and caused a Magazine to be erected.

Aicha taken. The Emperor writes to the D. of Marlboro'. The Emperor, no sooner received Advice of this Success of the Confederate Army, which might justly be called *His Delivery from apparent Ruin and Desolation*, than he was thoughtful how to shew the grateful Sense he had, of the signal Service done him by the Duke of Marlborough; and, therefore wrote a Letter of Thanks to his Grace, an Occasion of the Victory of Schellenberg, a Copy and Translation of which are the following:

*The Emperour's Letter to the Duke of Marlborough upon the Victory
near Donawert.*

“ ILLUSTRIS sincerè Dilecte. Multa sunt & eximia
“ vestra in me, Domum meam & rem communem merita,
“ interque ea non postremo loco censenda, singulare Studium,
“ Cura & Diligentia, quæ in promovendo, festinandoque vali-
“ disimo Auxilio à Serenissima & Potentissima Magnæ Britanniae
“ Regina, & Generalibus Fœderati Belgii Ordinibus, mihi ad
“ Danubium sub misso testati estis. Nullum vero adhuc duco
“ illustrius, quam quod illico post exercitus vestri cum meo con-
“ junctionem in celerrimâ fortissimaque Castrorum hostilium ad
“ Donaverdam aggressionem expugnationeque, die hujus labentis
“ Mensis secundâ, vobis comparastis; hujus enim Successus,
“ quo mihi vix gratius, atque hoc quidem tempore opportunius
“ quicquam accidere potuit, potissimam partem Consilio, Pru-
“ dentiae & Executioni vestræ, nec non Copiarum sub Ductu
“ vestro militantium, miro Ardori & Constantia deberi, ipsimet
“ Belli Duces mei & Ministri asserunt.

1704.

The Empe-
ror's Letter
to the Duke
of Maribo-
rough.

“ Præterquam igitur, quod tam præclara fortium & egregio-
“ rum Virorum Testimonia, atque ipsa adeo publicorum factio-
“ rum Remuneratrix Fama, Nomini vestro laudes rependant
“ amplissimas, me quoque, quem commoda ex illa victoria in
“ publicam rem profluentia imprimis afficiunt, id vobis debere
“ existimavi, ut hoc literarum mearum calculo partam vobis
“ gloriam condecorarem, simulque certos vos redderem nullam
“ me dimissurum occasionem reipsâ vobis declarandi, quam gra-
“ tam & propensam erga vos Voluntatem geram.

“ Vos interim, ut quæ tam strenuè fortiterque cœpistis, pari
“ Alacritate & Industria prosequamini, omnique animi & viri-
“ um impetu, unâ cum supremo meo Locumtenente Generali,
“ Marchione Badensi, aliisque Belli Ducibus meis in id incumba-
“ tis, quò contextatis extrema cum primis, Bellumque hoc in vis-
“ ceribus Germaniæ, à Bavaro seditiosè excitatum, quam ce-
“ lerrime conficiatis, non tam vos hortor, quam certè expecto;
“ in hoc enim summam Laudem & Gloriam esse, idque & ipsi-
“ met Serenissimæ Reginæ vestræ in Superiori Germaniâ, ubi
“ post Hominum Memoriam Victicia Anglicani Nominis Ar-
“ ma visa haud sunt, sempiterni instar Trophæi fore, abunde
“ agnosceatis.

“ Quod superest Deum precor, ut Consilia Aususque vestros
“ secundis eventibus beet, & propensissimum Animi mei affectum
“ vobis iterum, iterumque confirmo.

Dabam in Urbe mea Viennæ, 12mo Julii, 1704.

This

1704.

This Letter was written with the Emperour's own Hand, an Honour rarely shewn to any but Sovereign Princes: And, indeed, as such he, in a Manner, treats the Duke, by beginning as he does.

The Translation of the foregoing Letter.

A Translation of it.

ILLUSTRIOUS, sincerely Beloved. Your Deserts towards me, my House, and the Common Cause, are great and many, and the singular Application, Care, and Diligence, which you have expressed, in bringing up and hastening the powerful Succours, which the most Serene and Potent Queen of Great Britain, and the States General of the United Netherlands, have sent me to the Danube, are not to be rank'd in the last Place; but nothing can be more glorious, than what you have done, after the Conjunction of your Army with mine, in the most speedy and vigorous Attack, and forcing of the Enemy's Camp near Donawert, the second of this Month; since my Generals themselves, and Ministers, declare, that the Success of that Enterprize which is more acceptable and advantageous to me, in this present Time, than almost any thing else that could befall me) is chiefly owing to your Councils, Prudence, and Execution, and the wonderful Bravery and Constancy of the Troops, who have fought under your Command.

"Therefore, altho' the Testimony of those great Men, and Fame itself, the Rewarder of noble Actions, do highly and justly extol your Name; I, who reap the first Advantage, which this Victory brings to the Common Cause, have thought myself obliged to honour and illustrate the Glory you have gain'd, by the Testimony of my Letter, and to assure you, that I shall lose no Opportunity to shew you by Effects, how grateful and well-inclin'd I am towards you. Mean time, that you carry on, with the same Alacrity and Industry what you have so valiantly and vigorously begun, and that in Conjunction with the Markgrave of Baden, my Lieutenant-General, and other Commanders of my Troops, you use your utmost Endeavours and Force, that the End may answer the Beginning, and that the War, which the Bavarians have seditiously raised in the Bowels of Germany, may be brought to a most speedy Conclusion; I do not so much exhort you to, as I am confident of it; for you cannot but be fully satisfied, that there is the highest Glory and Honour therein, and that this will be an eternal Trophy to your most serene Queen, in the Upper Germany, where the victorious Arms of the English Nation were never seen, in the Memory of Man. I pray God to bless, with a prosperous Success,

" your

“ your Councils and Enterprizes, and I confirm to you, again
 “ and again, the most favourable Inclination and Affection of
 “ my Mind towards you.”

1704.

“ Given in my City of Vienna, July 12, 1704.

Upon the delivering this Letter to the Duke, Count Wratislaw told his Grace, *That the Emperour desired he would accept of the Honour, intended him, of the Title and Dignity of a Prince of the Empire; whereupon his Grace pray'd the Count to represent to the Emperour; That he was extremely sensible of his Imperial Majesty's Goodness towards him, beyond any thing he could deserve, but that his Ambition was entirely bounded in the Queen's Grace and Favour, whose abundant Kindness had already been extended towards him, beyond whatever he could have aim'd at; and that he must refer himself wholly to her Majesty's Pleasure.* Thereupon, the Emperour wrote, with his own Hand, a Letter to the Queen, wherein, after a Congratulation for the late Victory against the French and Bavarians, near Donawert, ascrib'd, principally, to the Valour of the English Troops, by the Courage and Conduct of her Majesty's General, the Duke of Marlborough; his Imperial Majesty desired the Queen to lay her Commands on my Lord Marlborough, to accept a Testimony of his Imperial Majesty's Acknowledgment of his Services, since the Duke himself, when Count Wratislaw intimated to him his Master's Intention, made some Difficulty to admit it. Monsieur Hoffman, the Emperour's Resident at the Court of England, (July 23d. O. S.) seconded this Letter with a short Speech, to acquaint the Queen, *That he had Orders from his Master, earnestly to press, with all Respect, that her Majesty would be pleased to require his Grace to make no farther Scruple in that Matter.*

The Duke of Marlbro' refuses the Title of a Prince of the Empire.

The Queen was, at length, prevailed upon, to comply with the Emperour's Desire; but before her Pleasure could be made known to the Duke of Marlborough, his Grace had truly and sufficiently merited the Honour his Imperial Majesty intended him, by an Action that will immortalize his Name, and which raised him to a Level with the most celebrated Heroes of this or former Ages.

The Queen obliges him to accept of it.

The Confederate Army, under Prince Lewis, and the Duke of Marlborough, having rested two Days at Aicha, made a small March from thence, the Right advancing about half a League, on this Side that Town, and the Left to a Village called Roerbach. The next Morning, (the twenty-second of July, N. S.) the Duke of Marlborough, with the Piquet of the Cavalry of the Left, and a Detachment of 500 Foot, crossed the Paer, and marched to view the Ground for a Camp, near Friedburg, where the Enemy had put a Garrison of 200 Foot, and as many Horse, who, as soon as his Grace came upon the Plain, within Sight of the Town, retired towards their Army,

Farther Motions of the Confederate Army.

Friedburg taken.

1704.

driving their Horses, which were grazing near the Town, and which they had not Time to mount, before them. Three Squadrons of Dragoons were, thereupon, order'd to cut off their Rear; but by reason of the Ways thro' which they were to pass, they could not come up Time enough to prevent their Escape. However they took above 100 Horses in the Town, and pursued the rest to their grand Guard, which, upon their Approach, retired under the Protection of their Camp. His Grace went into the Town, where he left 400 Foot, and 100 Horse, under the Command of the Lord North and Gray, and then returned to the Camp.

The twenty-third, the Army marched again, and encamp'd, with the Right, at Wolfurtshausen, and the Left, at Oostmar-ring; the Town of Friedburg being in the Center of the Line, and within a League of Augsbourg, under the Cannon of which the Elector of Bavaria had so advantageously posted the Remains of his Army, that it was impossible to attack him, or to force him out of his Shelter; however, by this March, the Duke of Marlborough had entirely cut off all Communication between him and his Country, which his Grace had now wholly in his Power.

All Communication between the Elector of Bavaria and his Dominions cut off.

Proposals of Accommodation offered the Elector of Bavaria.

When the Duke had the Elector of Bavaria at this Disadvantage, he entered into a Treaty with him, and it was reasonable to believe he would have embraced the favourable Dispositions his Grace express'd towards him; since he took no other Advantage of his late Successes, and great Superiority, than to offer him such Terms of Accommodation, as, considering the present Condition of his Affairs, he had no Reason to expect, both for himself and his Brother. A late Historian says, he went even so far as to offer paying him the whole Charge of the War, if he would immediately break with the French, and send his Army to join the Imperialists in Italy. His Subjects, who were now at the Mercy of the Confederates, urged him vehemently to comply with these favourable Terms, and thereby prevent the Ruin and Desolation which threatned them. He seemed inclin'd to give Ear to them, and Messengers were frequently sent between the two Camps; but he was far from being in Earnest, and only made this Shew of Compliance to gain Time, while he sent Courier after Courier, with the most pressing Instances to hasten the Advance of the French Army. When he found he could gain no more Time, without coming to an actual Agreement, he seemingly approved of the Articles stipulated between Count Wratislaw and Monsr. Prilmeyer, and promised to come, in Person, to the Confederate Camp, to sign them; yet he recall'd his Word, upon Advice, that Marshal Tallard had pass'd the Black Forest, to join him, and sent back his Minister, to acquaint Count Wratislaw, *That since the*

Which he accepts of;

But refuses to ratify the Articles.

King

King of France had made such powerful Efforts to support him, he thought himself obliged, in Honour, to remain firm in his Alliance.

1704

This Breach of Promise, in the Elector, was highly, and, indeed, justly resented, by the Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Lewis of Baden, who, seeing there was no working, by fair Means, on his Electoral Highness, supported, as he was, by the French King; who had not only promis'd, to make good to him all the Damages he had sustain'd, or might sustain; but, as it was then reported every where, that he would set him on the Imperial Throne: They, therefore, ordered the Count de la Tour, General of the Imperial Horse, and the Count d'Oost-Frieze, Lieutenant-General in the Service of the States General, with thirty Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, to plunder and burn the Country of Bavaria, as far as Munich, the Capital of the Electorate; hoping, that either a generous Compassion for his distressed Subjects, or the Want of Subsistence, would, at length, conquer the Elector's Obstinacy.

His Breach of Faith resented;

And Orders given to ravage his Country.

Upon Notice of the Commission given to General de la Tour, the whole Country was in the utmost Consternation; the Inhabitants of several Places sent Deputies to the Duke of Marlborough, offering to pay large Contributions to prevent military Execution; but his Grace generously refused an Offer, by which he might easily have amassed great Riches for himself, and, consulting nothing but the Good of the Common Cause, answered, *That the Forces of the Queen of England were not come into Bavaria to get Money; but to bring their Prince to Reason*: So that those Generals put their Commission into Execution, with the utmost Severity, bringing away every thing that came within their Reach, that was worth taking, and burning or ruining the rest: And, in this Manner, were destroyed upwards of 300 Towns, Villages and Castles. The Elector of Bavaria, and the Marshal de Marsin, having evacuated Ratisbon, were forc'd, in the mean time, to keep close within their strong Camp and Intrenchments at Augsburg, in Expectation of another Army from France, under Marshal de Tallard.

Contributions offered;

But are nobly refused.

The Desolation of so fine a Country could not but very much affect the Elector, tho' it was not an effectual Cure for his Obstinacy: He wrote a Letter to the Duke of Marlborough, entreating him to put a Stop to these Ravages: He said, *He could not believe such Violences, so opposite to true Glory, were committed by his Grace's Orders, or those of Prince Lewis of Baden, and that, if they were continued, he should be obliged to make Reprials*. The Duke answer'd; *It was in his Power to put an end to them, by a speedy Accommodation*: But the Elector being buoyed up, by the near Approach of the Marshal de Tallard, repli-

The Elector of Bavaria writes to the Duke of Marlboro'.

His Grace's Answer.

1704.

The Elec-
tor's haugh-
ty Reply.
Marshal de
Tallard ad-
vances to the
Electors
Succour.
The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough de-
clares the P.
of Hesse-
Cassel
General of
Horse.
Farther Ad-
vice of Mar-
shal Tallard.

ed haughtily; *That since they had obliged him to draw the Sword, he had thrown away the Scabbard.*

While these Things were transacting, the Duke received Advice from Prince Eugene, that the Marshal de Tallard was arrived, the eighteenth, at Villingen; and that, thereupon, his Highness was marched, with twenty Battalions, and sixty Squadrons, including the thirty lately sent from the Duke's Army, to observe his Motions, having left the rest of the Troops, under the Command of Count Nassau-Weilburg, to defend the Lines of Stolhoffen. The hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel (now King of Sweden) being returned from Donawert to the Army, tho' he was not yet perfectly recovered of the Wound he received in the Action at Schellenberg, the Duke of Marlborough declared him General of the English and Dutch Horse.

The six and twentieth of July N. S. the Confederate Army made a general Forage, within Sight of the Enemy's Camp, without any Loss; and, the same Evening, Advice was brought, that the Marshal de Tallard, after he had been battering the Town of Villingen, six Days, had been obliged, upon Prince Eugene's advancing the twenty-third, to Rotweil, to raise the Siege; that he marched two Leagues the same Day, and was, the four and twentieth at Dutlingen; and that Prince Eugene would march, on the other Side of the Danube, to observe him.

Farther Mo-
tions of the
Confederate
Army.

The eight and twentieth, the Duke of Marlborough reviewed the Troops of the left Wing of his Army, and found them in very good Order; several of the Officers and Soldiers, who were wounded, at the Action of Schellenberg, being returned to their Regiments. The thirty-first, upon Advice, that the Elector of Bavaria had sent a Detachment of Horse towards Landsperg, the Duke of Wirtemberg was immediately sent out, with 2,000 Horse and Dragoons, to observe them; but the Duke had, soon after, Intelligence, that the Enemy's Detachment consisted only of four Squadrons, which were sent to re-inforce the Garrison of Munich. Orders were thereupon dispatched to the Duke of Wirtemberg, to join with the Count de la Tour, in the Execution of his Commission, which being performed, with great Severity, to the very Walls of Munich, and the Enemy, thereby, deprived of all Manner of Subsistence, on that Side, those Generals rejoined the Army, the third of August.

The besieg-
ing of the
strong Places
of Bavaria
resolved
upon;
And parti-
cularly In-
golstadt,

The Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Lewis of Baden, finding that the Elector of Bavaria was still inflexible, and that it was not possible to attack him in his fortified Camp, under the Cannon of Augsborg, without infinite Disadvantage; and considering, besides, that Marshal de Tallard was advancing, with a large Body of Troops, they resolved to attempt the reducing of the strong Places of Bavaria, and to begin with Ingolstadt, the

1704.

the most important Place the Elector had, in which his great Magazines were laid up. Prince Lewis took upon him to command and carry on the Siege, with the Imperial Troops, and the Duke of Marlborough undertook to cover it, with the auxiliary Forces, which, in case of Need, might be joined by those under Prince Eugene, who, by this Time, was advanced to Dillingen. The Confederate Army, thereupon, marched back (the fourth of August, N. S.) from their Camp at Friedberg, towards Aicha, burning all the Villages they had spared before, between those two Towns, and, having passed the Paer, encamp'd, that Night, at Kuepach, their Left Wing reaching to Aicha, and the Right, beyond the Castle of Winden.

Disposition of the Confederate Army on that Account.

The next Day, the Army again passed the Paer, near the Town of Schrobbsenhausen, leaving that Place to their Right, and encamp'd the Left Wing, at a Place call'd Closter-Berg, above the little Town of Hochenwaert, and the Right behind the Town of Schrobbsenhausen. The same Day, Prince Lewis of Baden went to Neuburg, to view the Artillery, and other Preparations for the Siege of Ingolstadt.

On the other hand, the Marshal de Tallard, with about 22,000 Horse and Foot, being come to Biberach, the fourth of August, N. S. in the Morning, he left his Troops, and went to the Elector's Camp. His Electoral Highness, after having left Mons. Chamarante in Augsburg, with eight Battalions, and four Squadrons of French Troops, marched, the fifth, with the rest of his Forces, to join the new Auxiliaries of that Nation, at Biberach, as if his Intent was to pass the Lech, at that Place, in order to attack the Confederate Army: But this was only a Feint to cover his true Design, which was to pass the Danube, at Lawingen, and to fall on the Army, which Prince Eugene had brought from the Lines of Biehl, and which was then encamped at Hochstadt, before his Highness could be re-inforced.

The Marshal de Tallard joins the Elector of Bavaria.

The sixth of August, Prince Eugene, having left his Troops at Hochstadt, went to the main Army, to confer with the Prince of Baden, and the Duke of Marlborough; and taking Notice, in his Way, of a Tract of Ground very proper for a Camp, being an Eminence, which reached from the Villages of Munster and Erlinghoven, to the Wood near Appenhoven, with a Rivulet before it, he thereupon sent Orders to his Army, to come and possess themselves of that advantageous Post; which was put in Execution that very Night.

Prince Eugene comes to the Confederate Camp.

The seventh, a great Council of War was held, in the Marshal de Tallard's Camp, at which all the General Officers of both Armies assisted. The grand Question was, whether they should pass the Danube, and if they should pass it, where to encamp? It was unanimously agreed, that, in order to draw the Allies out of Bavaria, it would be necessary to pass that River at La-

wingen;

1704.

wingen; but that Choice must be made of a Camp, where Forage would be plenty, and where they might rest secure from any Attack of the Allies, till all the Bavarian Troops, which were dispersed in several Places, should join the united Army. The General Officers, in Mons. de Marfin's Army, propos'd the Camp of Blenheim, as a secure Post, where they would have Forage in Abundance; the Proposal being made by those who knew, or should have known the Country, was agreed to, as well by the Marshal de Tallard, as Mons. de Marfin, and the Resolution was taken accordingly.

Ingolstadt
invested.

The same Day, the Duke of Marlborough having received Intelligence, that the Elector of Bavaria was come out of his Intrenchments, and was encamped by Tirshaupten, on the other Side of the Lech, between Biberach and Kosterholts, it was resolved to observe him, and, to that End, to advance towards Donawert. On the seventh, likewise, 800 Imperial Horse were detach'd, under Count Merci, Major General, to streighten the Town of Ingolstadt, on one Side, whilst Brigadier Baldwin, who had been commanded out towards Rain, with 500 Horse, ever since the fourteenth of July, received Orders to invest it on another Side. The same Day, Prince Lewis returned to the Camp, where he held a Council of War, with Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Marlborough; in which it was agreed, to remain by the late Resolution of Prince Lewis's besieging Ingolstadt, whilst the other two should observe the Elector of Bavaria. The eighth, the Army under the Duke of Marlborough marched from Hochenwaert, to Zanditzell, and that of the Emperour, under Prince Lewis, on the other Side of the little Town of Potmes, or Behmen, which was already reduced to Ashes. The ninth, the Duke advanced, within two Hours March of Rain, and posted his Left Wing near Enheim, and his Right at Tillingen; and from hence Prince Lewis bent his March directly to Neuburg, to repair from thence before Ingolstadt. He took with him two and twenty Battalions of Foot, the Regiments of Horse of Hohen Zollern and Cronsfield; the Cuirassiers of Merci, and the Dragoons of Castelli, leaving, in the Duke of Marlborough's Army, under the Command of the Duke-Regent of Wirtemberg, General of Horse, the Cuirassiers of Zanthen and Cusani, the Dragoons of Stirum and Aufftatz, Franconian Troops, two Squadrons of Horse-Grenadiers of Wirtemberg, and three others, in all eight and twenty Squadrons.

Prince Lewis
goes to be-
siege Ingol-
stadt,





- EXPLICATION**
Bridges over the Hase
A *late Brook*
B *Our Batteryes*
C *The Enemyes Batteryes*
D *The Enemyes Camp*
E *The first Attack on the Village of Blenheim*
The English Horse
F *Attacking the Gens d Arms Sword in Hand*
The rest of our left
G *Wing of Horse*
Ten Bat Attack the Vill-
H *age Obirklau*
The Imperial Horse
I *passing the River*
Eleven Bat of Prus-
K *sians*
L *7 Bat of Danes*

Paces
 1000 2000

CH A P. VII.

The Battle of Hochstadt, or Blenheim.

I AM now entering upon the Description of the greatest and most memorable Action, which this Age has produc'd, and which rais'd the Honour and Fame of our Illustrious Hero to the highest Pitch of Glory Mankind is perhaps capable of, and above what any Subject of England, not of the Royal Blood, ever attained to before. I shall, therefore, be as particular in my Relation of it, as all the Assistance I have been able to procure, from authentick Pieces, Letters, &c. could enable me to be; to which Pieces, Letters, &c. I shall refer, in my Relation, and add them at the End of it. Besides all these, I have had an Eye to whatever has been written by our Historians, and by Monsieur Dumont, Mons. Rouffet, and other foreign Authors, on the one Side, and by the Marquis de Quincy, F. Daniel, and other French Historians, on the other, which can serve to illustrate these Pieces.

The ninth, of August, N. S. the Duke of Marlborough was informed, that the Enemy was marching from Biberach to La-
wingen, in order to pass the Danube there. Prince Eugene, who, but a few Hours before had taken his Leave of the Duke, in order to return to his Army, came back, to tell his Grace, that he had received the same Advice; upon which, having consulted together, near two Hours, the Prince went back again, and re-join'd his Army, the tenth, by break of Day. The Duke, in the mean time, with his accustomed Vigilance, order'd the Duke-Regent of Wirtemberg, at two, in the Morning, to march before, with the eight and twenty Squadrons under his Command, and a few Hours after, caus'd him to be followed by twenty Battalions, under the Command of General Churchill. He directed them both, to use all imaginable Diligence, to join Prince Eugene, and promis'd, that he would soon be after them with the rest of the Army.

Accordingly, his Grace continued his March, the tenth, towards Rain, and encamp'd, with his Right, at Mittelstadt, and his Left at Pluckingen, having the Town of Rain in their Front, and the Quarters-General at Neder Schonevelt, where Bridges were already laid over the Danube. The same Day, the Prince of Wirtemberg, with the Horse and Dragoons, and after him General Churchill, with the Foot and Artillery, pass'd that River, on the Bridge that was at Merxen.

When Prince Eugene came, the tenth, early in the Morning, to his Army, he found them in Motion, and going to possess themselves

1704.

Advice of
the Enemy's
Approach.

Pr. Eugene
and the D. of
Marlboro'
consult to-
gether.

See Letter
C. and D.
below.

The Duke
marches
with his Ar-
my to join
the Prince.

Force and
Situation of
the Prince's
Army.

1704.

themselves of the Intrenchments of Schellenberg, whither the Officers, who commanded in his Absence, had already sent Pioneers, to put them again into a State of Defense; not judging it safe to wait the coming of the Enemy upon them, in the Camp of Munster, with an Army, which did not exceed 18,000 Men. The Prince, however, caused the Tents to be immediately set up again, contenting himself with sending the Baggage to Donawert; rightly conjecturing, that the Enemy, who passed the Danube, that Day, at Lawingen, could not come near his Army the same Evening, and that it would not be an Impossibility for him to maintain the important Post of Munster, till the Duke should join him.

Farther Intelligence of the Enemy.

In the mean time, to be thoroughly informed of the Motions of the Enemy, he sent out five Squadrons towards Hochstadt, which, being returned, reported, that the Enemy, after having passed the Danube, had not retaken their antient Camp, between Lawingen and Dillingen, but that their Right extended as far as Steinheim, and their Left was at Lawingen. The Prince, hereupon, dispatch'd an Express to the Duke, to acquaint him with it, and to press him to hasten his March: And, because it was most evident, that the Enemy, who were well informed of the Weakness of the Prince's Army, were so far advanced, that Day, only with a Design to attack his Highness the next, the Prince caused all his Infantry, and Part of his Cavalry, to march to the Camp of Schellenberg, keeping only with him two and twenty Squadrons of Dragoons, of his own Army, with the eight and twenty Squadrons, which the Duke-Regent of Wirtemberg had brought to him. He pass'd the Night, with those few Troops, in the Camp of Munster, keeping the Horses ready saddled, with a Resolution to preserve that Post, if possible, tho' without coming to an Engagement, till joined by the Duke of Marlborough.

Preparations made by the Prince.

The eleventh, the Express sent to the Duke came back, and informed the Prince, that his Grace had been upon the March, ever since two o'Clock in the Morning, with Design to join his Highness, that very Evening, at the Camp of Munster. He added, that the twenty Battalions, under General Churchill, were very near. Upon this, the Prince, who, on the other hand, was informed by his Parties, that the Enemy made no Motion that Day, caused all the Troops, which he had sent, the Day before, to Schellenberg, to return to the Camp of Munster. General Churchill came thither early, with his twenty Battalions, and, in the Evening, the Duke arrived, with his whole Army, the first Line of which had pass'd the Lech, near Rain, the Danube, at Donawert, and the Wernitz, near this last Place; and the second Line had passed the Danube, at Schonfeld, and the Wernitz, at Oppersmorgen. All the Troops being

The Duke of Marlborough joins Pr. Eugene. See Letter C. and D. below.

being thus joined, they encamp'd between the Villages of Munster, and Erlinghoven, and that of Apperfhoven.

1704.

They take a View of the Enemy's Army.

The twelfth, the Troops being too much harass'd with the foregoing Day's March, the Generals resolv'd to make a Halt, and only to take a View of the Enemy's Camp. Accordingly, at break of Day, the Generals advanced towards Schweiningen, to view the Enemy's Army, taking with them the whole Piquet, consisting of eight and twenty Squadrons. They had Thoughts of causing the Army to advance as far as Greinheim and Wolperstette; but that they perceived twenty Squadrons of the Enemy in the Plain of Oberklau; and, from the Eminence, which is by the Corner of the Wood, near Wolperstette, they saw by Means of Perspective-Glasses, that the Enemy's whole Army was in Motion, and their Horse marching forward. The Prince and the Duke went up to the Top of the Tower of Thiffingen (or Daapfheim) the better to view the Enemy, and they observed, that the advanc'd Squadrons stopp'd short, after they had perceived ours. At one in the Afternoon, they saw the Quarter-masters of the Enemy's Army set up their Camp-Standards, and mark the Camp from Blenheim to Lutzingen.

Situation of the Ground between the two Armies.

It will be highly necessary here, in order to give the Reader a better Idea of what follows, to give a particular Account of the Situation, and Circumstances, of the Spot of Ground which was then between the two Armies, and upon which the two Armies were encamp'd. It is a Plain of near two Leagues long, but of an unequal Breadth, the Entrance into it not being above the Breadth of a Canno. Shot, but widening soon after to the Breadth of about a League. It is border'd, on one Side, by the Wood of Schellenberg, and, on the other, by the Danube, and three or four Rivulets cross this Plain, in their Course to the Danube. This, with the Inconvenience of several Marshes, together with the Villages and Hamlets, which are scatter'd here and there, in this Plain, to the Number of above twenty, render'd the March of the Confederate Army, to attack the Enemy, very troublesome. The little Town of Hochstadt (which gave Name to this Battle) is situate at the other Extremity of the Plain, opposite to the Confederate Army, on the North Side of the Danube, and at the Mouth of a Rivulet, which, running by the Village of Oberwemingen, there falls into this River. Here it was, the Confederate Generals intended to have formed their Camp, but the Enemy were before-hand with them, and had taken Possession of the whole Space between Blenheim and Lutzingen, and had placed their advanc'd Guard on the other Side of the Rivulet, which was on the Front of their Camp.

1704.

So soon as the Generals returned to the Army, they ordered the necessary Passages to be made; and the Pioneers were sent near Thiffingen, to make Bridges of Communication on a Rivulet, which, indeed, was narrow, but had high Banks. They were hardly got to their Works, when the advanced Guards of the Enemy came so near as between Schweiningen and Thiffingen, and their Hussars, obliging the Pioneers to retire, as far as the advanced Guards of the Confederate Army, gave a Sort of Alarm to the whole Camp.

The Duke of Marlborough returned that Way, with the whole Piquet, seven Squadrons of Dragoons, which were encamp'd before the Quarters-General, and five English Battalions of Row's Brigade, with the Battalion of English Guards, which were followed by a Brigade of Hesse, and a good Party of the Army: But being come to the Rivulet, where the Pioneers had been repuls'd, they found that the Enemy not only retired, but returned full Gallop to their main Army. The Confederate advanced Guard was re-inforced, and left under the Command of a Major-General; and the two Brigades of Foot, which were in the Village of Thiffingen, were also left under the Command of a like Officer, who posted his Men in the Hedges thereabouts.

At four in the Afternoon, they plainly discovered, from the Tower of Thiffingen, the Enemy's Camp, their Tents being set up; and saw, that they were possess'd of a very advantageous Post, on a Hill; that their Right Flank was covered by the Danube, and the Village of Blenheim, and their Left by the Village of Lutzingen; and that they had before them a Rivulet, whose Banks were high, and the Bottom marshy; so that it was believed at first to be unpassable, as, indeed, it was afterwards found to be, in several Places. They had, besides, the Village of Oberklau, in the Center of their Army, and the Village of Unterklau, on the opposite Side of the Rivulet; and two Mills, towards the Mouth of the Rivulet, which secured the Passage on that Side, and served as Redoubts for the Defense of the River of Blenheim.

In these Circumstances, it was thought a very hazardous Enterprize, to attack so numerous an Army, in so advantageous a Post, which the Confederates could not approach, but by Filing off, and by Passing, in View of the Enemy, a marshy Rivulet, which could not be done in good Order. But, on the other hand, there seemed to be an indispensable Necessity of falling immediately upon the Enemy, before they had Time to fortify themselves, in that Post: For not only the Confederate Army would have wanted Forage, much sooner than Ingolstadt could have been taken, but the Generals had very good Informa-

The Enemy's advanced Guard retire with Precipitation.

Situation of the Enemy's Army.

Reasons which induced the Duke of Marlboro' and Prince Eugene to attack the Enemy in their advantageous Post.

Information, from intercepted Letters, that the Marshal de Villeroy had Orders to leave Monf. de Coigni, in the Camp near Offenbourg, with a Body of Troops, fufficient to keep thofe of the Allies within the Lines of Biehl, and was ready, with the Remainder of his Army, to make an Irruption into the Country of Wirtemberg. That Army might then have acted in Concert with the Elektor of Bavaria, and have been re-inforced by Detachments from that Prince's Army, to fall afterwards on the Rear of the Lines of Biehl; fo that, thereby, the French Armies would have eftablifhed the free Communication, from the Rhine to the Danube, and have forced all to fubmit to them, as far as the Mayn. In the mean Time, the Elektor, from his Camp at Hochftadt, might have ruined a great Part of the Circle of Franconia, and have brought things to that pafs, that the Auxiliaries, under the Duke of Marlborough, would not have been able to find, either Subfiftence, or Winter-Quarters, on the Danube, and in the Upper Germany; tho', on the other hand, that great and feafonable Supply, could not have left the Empire, in the Winter, without expofing it to the Brink of Ruin, from which they had fo lately, and fo happily retrieved it, and without leaving a very great Superiority to the Enemy. Some alledge another Reafon; viz. That in Cafe of a Victory, of which his Grace was pretty confident, he was now out of Danger of any Part of the Honour of it being attributed to Prince Lewis's Conduct; that of the Victory of Schellenberg having been (tho' unjuftly) almoft wholly afcribed to him, by fome, who made it their Buftnefs to leffen the Duke's Merit, where the leaft Pretence was to be found, tho' never fo far fetch'd.

Thefe (without confidering the laft mentioned) were prevalent Arguments to engage the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene to hazard a Battle, tho' under greater Difadvantages; yet there were not wanting thofe, who accus'd thefe two Great Generals of Rafhnefs in the Attempt, and infinuated that they would not have been fufficient to have excufed them, had Succefs been wanting. The Englifh (fay they in particular) would not have pardoned the Duke, for hazarding the Lives of their Countrymen, in Favour of the Imperialifts: But here thefe Remarkers feem to be under an undeniable Miftake; for we certainly were in an Humour, at that Time, to have facrificed more in Favour of that Court, which, in the Opinion of many, has not fince fhewn the greateft Marks of Gratitude, in Return. It is, indeed, true, that Succefs generally covers a rafh Action, and on the Contrary, a Mifcarriage is as often the Caufe, that Temerity is not forgiven. The Grounds, however, upon which thefe Arguments were founded, feem incontestable; and they had their due Weight with our Generals. For, that very Night,

The Refolution taken.

Some Obfervations thereupon.

1704.

Night, all the necessary Dispositions were made for the Attack, and the Bagage was sent to Rietlingen, a Village between Munster and Donawert.

The Duke's
unshaken
Steadiness
of Mind.

In the mean time, several General Officers came, and represented to the Duke of Marlborough the Difficulties of the Design, in their most lively Colours; but they had no Effect on his steady Resolution, which he had not fix'd, without weighing every Circumstance, and the Consequences which might, or could possibly, attend them. He knew, that the Post which the Enemy possess'd was capable of being put, in a very short Time, out of all Danger of future Attacks; he duly considered, that even a Defeat itself could hardly be more fatal than lying still and doing nothing: On the other hand, the Glory of a Victory, which he had in View, and which, from an Experience of the Bravery of the Troops under his Command, led by Officers of the most consummate Judgment and Valour, was alone capable to dispel these Clouds of Diffidence, however just, in the Minds of Men of a less enlighten'd Genius and Understanding: He, therefore, only told them, that he was sensible of all these Difficulties; but the Attempt was absolutely necessary: Upon which the Orders, which were distributed throughout the whole Army, were received with such Alacrity and Cheerfulness, as gave a happy Presage of the glorious Success that followed.

Gives Alac-
rity to
the whole
Army.

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough's ex-
emplary
Piety.

It plainly appeared, by every Circumstance of the Duke's Behaviour, antecedent to this glorious Action, that he was resolved, either to conquer, or dye in the Attempt; And (to his eternal Honour be it said) *a little before the Battle, he devoted himself to the ALMIGHTY LORD AND RULER OF HOSTS, in Presence of his Chaplain, and received the Sacrament.* And no less memorable and Praise-worthy is what his Grace is reported to have said, after the Battle, *viz. That he believed he had pray'd more that Day, than all the Chaplains of the Army.*

The Battle of Blenheim, or Hochstadt.

The Battle
of Blen-
heim.
Force of
both Armies.
See Letter
E. below.

The Confederate Army had 52 Pieces of Cannon, and consisted of 66 Battalions and 178 Squadrons, which might amount to 50 or 52,000 Men. That of the Enemy was near 60,000 strong, consisting of 82 Battalions and 160 Squadrons, with 90 (or, as some say, 100) Pieces of Cannon, 8 whereof were 24 Pounders. Their Right Wing was commanded by the Marshal de Tallard, and made up of the Army he had brought to the Elector's Assistance, consisting in 60 Squadrons, and 40 Battalions, of the best Troops of France. On the Left, was the Elector, with the Bavarians, and the Marshal de Marfin, with the French Troops under his Command. The Prisoners which were

were taken, owned, after the Battle, that they had 82 Battalions; but would confess only 147 Squadrons. Some Accounts diminish the Number of the Enemy's Squadrons to 140, and their Battalions to 80; whilst another Account says, our Army consisted of no more than 64 Battalions, and 166 Squadrons, of which Number, 1500 Horse were detach'd, with Prince Lewis of Baden. I have seen an Order of Battle, of the Confederate Army, (said to be) as it stood just before the Engagement, according to which, it consisted of 67 Battalions, and 181 Squadrons. This, however, is certain, that the united Army, of French and Bavarians, was considerably more numerous, than that of the Allies, under the Duke, and Prince Eugene; and the Marshal de Tallard himself confess'd them to be so, by about 4000 Men.

Having thus given my Readers an Account of the Force, State, and Situation of both Armies; of the Hazards that necessarily must attend the Engagement, which were such as required the utmost Vigilance, Conduct and Courage, even of those incomparable Generals, who were to lead it on, and direct it; and of the unavoidable Dangers which must have followed the Neglect of this favourable, this only Opportunity; I come now to *the Great, the Important Day* (to borrow an Expression of Mr. Addison's) *big with the Fate*, not of the German Empire only, but of All Europe. *A Day, the Remembrance of which will endure, as long as History shall be wrote or read; or, even, till Time shall be no more: A Day, which, in particular, decided the Destiny of the Elector of Bavaria, by the Loss of all his Country.*

The General was beat about an Hour after Midnight, the Assembly at half an Hour after one, the March at two, upon which the whole Confederate Army was in Motion, and, by three, they began to pass the Rivulet call'd Kessel, on several Bridges, which had been prepared the Night before. They filled off in eight Columns, of which two, of Imperial Foot, marched quite to the Right of all, towards the Height, along the Wood, having two Columns of Imperial Cavalry to their Left. The Left Wing, which was composed of the Auxiliaries, marched, likewise, in four Columns, viz. two of Foot, on the Left of the Imperial Horse, and two of Horse, on the Left of all. Thus the whole Army advanced as far as the Rivulet, near Thiffingen, where the advanced Guards were ordered to return to their respective Bodies, and the two Brigades of Hessian Infantry, which had been left, in that Village, under the Command of Major-General Wilks, with fifteen Squadrons, which the Duke of Marlborough commanded out, formed, on the Left of all, a ninth Column, and thus they marched towards Schweiningen.

The whole
Army
marches.

1704.

The Duke
and Prince
give Direc-
tions for the
Attack.

As soon as the nine Columns were arrived, between that Village and the Wood, they made a Halt, to observe the Enemy, who seem'd unconcerned, and did not make any great Motion. About six, the Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene, who had posted themselves on a rising Ground, call'd to them all the Generals, to give them the necessary Directions for the Attack, and then the Army advanced to the Plain, where they were drawn up, in Order of Battle. The Left Wing, which was under the immediate Care of the Duke of Marlborough, consisted in eight and forty Battalions and eighty-six Squadrons, whereof fourteen Battalions, and thirteen Squadrons, were English Troops; two and twenty Squadrons, Danish; fourteen Battalions and nineteen Squadrons, Dutch; thirteen Battalions, and five and twenty Squadrons, of the Forces of Lunenberg; seven Squadrons of the Troops of Hesse; and some Troops of Wirtemberg.

The Enemy
begins to be
in Motion.

About seven, before the Confederate Army was quite drawn up in Battalia, the Enemy, at the Approach of their Vanguard, gave a Signal, by firing two Pieces of Cannon, to call in their Foragers. They likewise set Fire to the Villages of Unterklau, Wolperstette, Weiler, Berghausen, and Schweinenbach, and their whole Army was perceived to be in Motion. They then beat the General, afterwards the Assembly, and the Confederates saw them in Arms before their Camp, their Generals, with their Aids de Camps, galloping to and fro, to put all Things in Order.

The Dispo-
sition of
their Army.

The Marshal de Tallard, in particular, having made all his Dispositions, on the Enemy's Right, where he commanded, gave Orders to Mons. de Surlauben, who commanded the Right of the Cavalry, to have a watchful Eye on the Motions of the Confederates, and that, as soon as a certain Number of them had pass'd the Rivulet, he should charge them. Monsieur de Clerambault had Orders to remain in the Village of Blenheim, and there to withstand the Enemy's Attack with all his Might. This, done the Marshal gallop'd to the Center, where he found the Elector, and the Marshal de Marfin, who had just been making the necessary Dispositions on their Left, and were ranging their Infantry in the best Posture they could, to withstand the Attack of the Allies. Mons. de Tallard gave his Electoral Highness an Account of what Dispositions he had made, with which he seem'd perfectly satisfy'd, and embracing him, told him, he hop'd he should do it, with a yet greater Satisfaction, in the Evening. The Marshal staid in the Center to observe the Disposition of the Confederates; and took that Time to dine, with three or four General Officers who were with him. He was prevail'd upon (as Mons. de Quincy says, much against his Will, and in a very wrong Time) to go to the Left, that he might be the better Judge of the Dispositions made there.

On

On the Confederate Side, two Brigades of Foot, commanded by the Lord Cutts, Lieutenant-General, the Major-Generals St. Paul and Wilks, and the Brigadiers Row and Ferguson, and supported by fifteen Squadrons, under the Command of Major-General Wood, were ordered, on the Left, to possess themselves of the two Water-mills, near Blenheim, which the Enemy immediately set on Fire.

1704.

A Detachment of the Confederates advanced.

The Confederate Army, in the mean time, advanced into the Plain; four Columns march'd to the Left, towards the Village of Greynheim, and four of the Imperial Troops, took the Right, towards the Village of Schweinenbach, leaving Wolperstette and Berghausen to the Left. Being come to the Rivulet, they found it difficult for the Cavalry to pass, the Banks being, on each Side, high, the Water standing, and, besides, it was marshy to the Right of Oberklau, as also between Unterklau and the Mills; it was therefore resolved to facilitate the Passage, by Means of the Planks of their Pontons.

Bridges laid over the Morass.

About eleven o'Clock, the whole Army being in Battalia, in two Lines, except some Squadrons which made a Body of Reserve, and the Morass being found marshy, and unpassable for the Infantry, they quickly made five Bridges, with the Planks of their Pontons, and repaired the Bridge on the High Road, which the Enemy had destroyed. At the same Time, Prince Eugene caused the Right Wing to march along the Wood, to fall on the Flank of the Elector, who extended his Left in Proportion, to prevent Prince Eugene's gaining his Flank, and in Order to face him. The Enemy fearing also, lest the Confederates should gain the Flank of their Right Wing, by possessing themselves of the Village of Blenheim, sent several Detachments of Foot that Way, and posted eight and twenty Battalions, and twelve Squadrons of Dragoons, in the Place: They also posted some Infantry in the Villages of Oberklau and Lutzingen, which extremely weakened their main Battalia, and was thought to be one of the principal Causes of their Defeat.

A great Overfight of the Enemy.

To favour the Passage of the Left Wing, the two Brigades of Foot, commanded by the Lord Cutts, were ordered to go over the Rivulet (which had been founded, by the Duke's Order) first: which done, they posted themselves in a Bottom near the Village of Blenheim, and, for several Hours, stood the Fire of six Pieces of Cannon, planted on the Eminence, near the Village, with wonderful Resolution. At the same Time, the Enemy fired very briskly on the Bridges, that were laid for the Passage of their Infantry; but the Confederates soon returned the Compliment, from two of their Batteries, one English, and the other Dutch; and the Execution was considerable, on both Sides.

Cannonading begun on both Sides.

The French, who own that they had 90 Pieces of Cannon, advantageously placed in a Line, before the whole Front of their Army

1704.

Army, pretend they did great Execution from their Batteries, and that the Allies lost 2000 Men before the Battle begun : But if it had been so, it redounds to their own Shame, to be so totally routed as they were, in the End, after so advantageous a Beginning.

About Noon, every Thing was ready, on the Left Wing, for the Attack ; and, because it was found, that, in several Places, the Horse would want Fascines, to pass the Morafs, Orders were given, that the Horse of the second Line should provide themselves, each Squadron with twenty. By this Time, a good Part of the Infantry, of the main Battalia, of the Confederate Army, had posted themselves in and about the Village of Unterklau, and the Prince of Holstein-Beck possess'd himself of that of Weiler or Schonbach, and caused a Counter-battery to be erected there.

The General Attack made.

These Preparations being all made, the Duke of Marlborough gave Orders for a General Attack, which was begun, on the Left, a Quarter before one. Major-General Wilks made the first Onset, with the five English Battalions of How, Ingoldsb'y, Marlborough, Row, and North and Gray, and four Battalions of Hessians, supported by the Lord Cutts, and Major-General St. Paul, with eleven other Battalions ; and the fifteen Squadrons of Horse, under the Command of Major-General Wood. The five English Battalions, led on by Brigadier Row, who charg'd, on Foot, at the Head of his own Regiment, with an unparallel'd Intrepidity, assaulted the Village of Blenheim, advancing to the very Muzzles of the Enemies Muskets ; and some of the Officers exchanging Thrusts of Swords, with the French, thro' the Pallisadoes : But being expos'd to a Fire much superiour to theirs, they were soon forced to retire, leaving behind them near one third Part of their Men, either killed or mortally wounded, and amongst the latter, Brigadier Row himself.

The English Infantry on the Left repulsed.

The French obliged to flee in their Turn.

In this Retreat, they were pursued by thirteen Squadrons of the French Gendarmerie and Carabiniers, who would have entirely cut them in Pieces, had not the Hessian Infantry stopp'd their Career, by the great Fire they made upon them. The French being repulsed, and forced to flee in their Turn, were chased by five Squadrons of English Horse, who, by this Time had pass'd the Rivulet : But whilst they rallied themselves, some fresh Brigades of the Enemy, superiour in Number, charged the English Horse, with great Vigour, and obliged many of them to repass the Rivulet, with Precipitation. Here the Hessians again performed notable Service, putting the Enemy to the Rout, by their continual Fire, and regaining a Pair of Colours, which they had taken from Row's Regiment. Whilst Row's Brigade rallied themselves, that of Ferguson, commanded by himself, attack'd the Village of Blenheim, on the Left ; but with no

Notable Service of the Hessians.

better Success; and, tho' both return'd, three or four times to the Charge, with equal Vigour, yet they were both still repuls'd, with like Disadvantage; so that it was found impossible to force the Enemy, in that Post, without entirely sacrificing the Infantry.

1704.
Forcing of
Blenheim
found im-
practicable.
The whole
Army pass'd
the Rivulet.
See Letter
Q. below.

The English Foot having thus begun the Engagement, on the Left, the Horse of the same Wing pass'd the Rivulet, pell-mell, over against the Center, or main Battalia, of the Enemy. The Horse of the Right Wing, likewise, pass'd the Rivulet, having made several Passages, with divers Pieces of Wood, which they found at hand, and a good Number of Fascines. In a Word, all pass'd and drew up, in Order of Battle, as well as the Ground would permit, on the other Side of the Rivulet. The Enemy gave them all the Time they could desire, for that Purpose, keeping themselves very quiet, on the Hill they were possess'd of, without descending into the Meadow, towards the Rivulet, in so much, that even the second Line of their Horse had Time to form themselves: *And to this Capital Fault of the French, some principally ascribe the Victory which ensued.*

An egre-
gious Mi-
stake of the
French.

It has been said, with what Truth or Grounds I shall leave undetermined, that this Neglect proceeded from an ill-timed Haughtiness and Presumption of the Marshal de Tallard, who being informed, that the Allies were laying Bridges on the Rivulet, used this Expression; *If they have not Bridges enough, I will lend them some*; and when they told him, that our Troops were actually coming over the Rivulet, is reported vainly to have said, *Let them pass, the more there comes over, the more we shall have to kill and take Prisoners.* But others, who make it their Business to excuse that General, assure us, on the contrary, *That he had given positive Orders, not to let the Enemy pass the Rivulet, but to charge them as they pass'd, which Orders were not executed.* Mons. de Quincy says, Orders were given to Mons. de Surlauben (as I have observed above) to charge when a certain Number of them were pass'd, and that Mons. de Clerambault should remain in Blenheim, which seems in some Measure, to favour the Report of the Marshal's Presumption.

Presump-
tion of
Marshal de
Tallard.

See the
Letter Q.
below.

At length, the Cavalry of the Confederates Left Wing marching up, towards the Hill, that of the Enemy began to move, and charged them, with a great deal of Fury. The French Infantry, which was in the Village of Blenheim, made, at the same Time, a terrible Fire, from behind some Hedges of that Village, on the Flank of the Confederate Cavalry, which were advanced too near; so that the first Line of Horse, of their Left, from the Head of the Line, to the three Regiments of the Troops of Hannover, viz. the Electoral Regiment, that of Voigt, and that of Noyelles, was put into such Disorder, that Part of them retired even beyond the Rivulet. Hereupon,

The two
Armies
come to a
closer En-
gagement.

1704.

Lieutenant-General Bulau, Commander in chief of the Troops of Lunenburg, brought up his own Regiment of Dragoons, and two of the Troops of Zell, viz. that of Major-General Villers, and that of Brigadier Bothmar, from the second Line, which charged the Enemy's Horse, with so much Vigour, that they broke them, and drove them beyond the second Rivulet, called Meulweyer, and from thence to the very Hedges of the Village of Blenheim. This gave Time to those who had given Ground, to repass the Rivulet, and to form a second Line, behind those Regiments of Dragoons, and some others that had joined them; so that those Dragoons remained in the first Line, all the remaining Time of the Action.

Part of the
Enemy's
Cavalry broken,
and obliged to re-
tire.

The Cavalry of the Confederates Left Wing, having by this Success, gained the Advantage of forming themselves entirely, in Order of Battle, advanced leisurely to the Top of the Hill, and charged several times the Enemy's Horse, who were always routed; but who, nevertheless, rallied every time, tho' at a considerable Distance, and thereby gave the Allies an Opportunity of gaining Ground. The latter preparing to make a fresh Attack, the Marshal de Tallard caused ten of his Battalions to advance, to fill the Intervals of his Cavalry, in order to make a last Effort; which the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, General of the Horse, and the Lieutenant-Generals Lumley, Bulau, Hompesch and Ingoldsby, perceiving, they caused three Battalions of the Troops of Zell, to come up to sustain the Horse. They then returned to the Charge; but the superiour Fire of the Enemy's Infantry put their first Line into some Disorder; so that it shrunk back, and remained, for some Time, at or about sixty Paces Distance from the Enemy, neither Party advancing against the other.

More of the
Enemy's
Horse broke
and routed.

Ten of the
Enemy's
Battalions
cut in Pieces.

Superiour
Conduct of
the Duke
of Marlbro'.

At length, the Allies renewed the Charge, and they did it with so much Vigour and Success, that having broke and routed the Enemy's Horse, the ten Battalions, who found themselves abandoned by them, were entirely cut in Pieces; none escaping but a very few Soldiers, who threw themselves on the Ground, as dead, to save their Lives.

It may not be improper to observe, in this Place, that the French themselves are obliged to allow the superiour Conduct of our British Hero. " During all these Charges, says Monf. de Quincy (and we find the same Remark, in other French " Historians) the Duke of Marlborough, having found the " Post of Blenheim impracticable, only made a Shew (of at- " tacking that Post) with a Front of Battalions, out of Mus- " ket-shot. These he caus'd to advance by Platoons only, " who, having discharged their Fire-Arms, retired, and gave " Way to others who reliev'd them, and did the same. This " was done, during the several Charges of their Cavalry, in " order

“ order to keep all the Troops, which were in the Village, in
 “ Action, while the Duke of Marlborough march'd the Strergh
 “ of his Troops, opposite to the Center of Mons. de Tallard's
 “ Army, where, he had observed, there was no Infantry. If
 “ this had been perceived (continues my Author, and that it
 “ was not, is an incontestible Proof of our General's superiour
 “ Conduct) it would have been easy to have prevented it, by
 “ marching thither all the Troops which were in the second
 “ Line of the Village, where they were of no Manner of Ser-
 “ vice ; but unhappily for us, we did not discover it, and the
 “ Allies knew how to take Advantage of our Neglect.

Marshal de Tallard rallied his broken Cavalry, behind some
 Tents, which were still standing in his Camp, but seeing Things
 in this desperate Condition, he resolv'd to draw off his Dragoons
 and Infantry, out of the Village of Blenheim. He thereupon
 sent one of his Aids de Camp, to the Marshal de Marfin, to
*desire him to face the Enemy with some Troops, on the Right of the
 Village of Oberklau, to keep them in Play, and favour the Retreat
 of the Infantry that was in Blenheim :* But Mons. de Marfin
 informed this Messenger, *that he had too much on his Hands, in
 the Front of his Village* (where he had to deal with the Duke of
 Marlborough in Person) *and the rest of the Line, to spare any
 Troops ; for he was so far from being victorious, that all he could
 do was to maintain his Ground.*

Desperate
 Condition of
 the Enemy.

See Letter
 Q. below.

In the mean time, Lieutenant-General Ingoldsbey made the
 Prince of Hesse, and the Lieutenant-Generals Lumley and Hom-
 pesch sensible, how easy it would be entirely to defeat the
 French Cavalry, by charging them on their Right Flank :
 Which Advice being put in Execution, with a great deal of
 Vigour, the Enemy were soon brought into Disorder, and put
 to Flight, and their Rout was entire. Part of them endeavour'd
 to gain the Bridge they had on the Danube, between Blenheim
 and Hochstadt : The other Part, among whom were the Gens
 d'Armes, were closely pursued by the Dragoons of Bothmar,
 and those who escap'd the Slaughter, threw themselves into
 the Danube, where most of them were drowned.

The French
 entirely
 routed.

In this Particular it is, that the French Accounts differ the
 most from ours : They allow but a very few to have been
 drowned in the Danube ; (Mons. de Quincy reduces the Num-
 ber to less than fifty ;) but they, at the same time, own, that
 Part of the Gens d'Armes, with several General Officers, were
 surrounded by the Confederate Cavalry, and that of those, who
 attempted to fight their Way through, a great many were taken
 Prisoners.

Those who fled towards Hochstadt rallied once more, and
 made a Shew as if they design'd to succour the rest ; but the
 Regiment of Bothmar faced them, and kept them in Awe,

1704.

Marshal de
Tallard taken
Prisoner.

Other Officers of Note
taken.

See Letter
Q. below.

The great
Power of
Fear and
Consternation.

for some Time, till being, at length, joined, by some other Regiments, the Enemy fled full Gallop to Hochstadt.

The Marshal de Tallard was surrounded by the Fugitives, and taken near a Mill, behind the Village of Sonderen, not far from the Danube, by Mons. de Boinenburg, a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Troop of Hesse, and Aid de Camp to the Prince of Hesse Cassel: He chose rather to surrender, than to run the Hazard of Drowning, as had been the Fate of most of his Cavalry, which had taken to the Danube, to escape from the Pursuit of the victorious Confederate Troops. He was taken in Sight of the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, as his Highness himself observ'd, in a Letter written to the States General, the Night after the Battle. The Marquis de Montperoux, General of Horse, de Seppeville, de Silly, and de la Valiere, Major-Generals; Monsieur de la Messilicre, St. Pouange, de Ligon-dais, and several other Officers of Note, were likewise made Prisoners, in this Defeat.

And here it may not be an improper Digression, to observe what a Power Fear and Consternation can have over a Body of Troops, when they are once possess'd with it, of which we have a flagrant Instance before us. These Troops, which compos'd the Right of the French Army, not only fled before the victorious English, but did it in the utmost Confusion and Disorder, without any Regard to the Command of their Superiours, or observing whither or which Way they fled. They look'd upon themselves as lost, beyond Hopes of Recovery, and giving Way to Despair, suffer'd themselves to be drove to Perdition, like a Flock of Sheep to the Slaughter. A whole Body of their Cavalry, the best and most renown'd of their whole Army, seiz'd with the same Panick, hurried away the Marshal de Tallard with them, in their Flight, and, void of all Thought, threw themselves, by whole Squadrons, into the Danube, Men and Horses, Officers and Troopers. Some few had the good Fortune to escape, but much the greater Part, to avoid an uncertain Death, which at worst could but have overtaken them in the Field of Battle, and laid them down in the Bed of Honour, rush'd upon a certain and ignominious Death in the River. The impotent Marshal, not capable of stemming this Torrent of Despair, was obliged to surrender Prisoner of War, with several other General Officers, who were in his Company.

The Village
of Oberklau
attack'd
with Success.

During these Transactions, at the Village of Blenheim, and in the Center, the Duke of Marlborough caused the Village of Oberklau, which was Marshal de Marfin's Quarters, to be attacked, by the Brigade of Berensdorff, consisting of ten Battalions. The Prince of Holstein-Beck, who commanded them as Major-General, and who came to the Army but the Day before,

fore, pass'd the Rivulet, at the Head of two Battalions, with great Resolution; but, as the Imperial Cavalry, which was to have supported him, were wanting in their Duty, and kept Musket-shot from him, he was hardly got over, when seven or eight of the Enemy's Battalions fell upon him, with great Fury, before he could form his two Battalions; so that one of them, that of Goor, was almost entirely cut in Pieces, and the Prince himself desperately wounded and taken Prisoner. They put the Prince, wounded as he was, upon a Waggon, in order to carry him away; but Fortune afterwards shifting Hands, he was retaken, in that Condition, with three or four bleeding Wounds on him, of which he afterwards died.

Notwithstanding this first Shock, these Battalions were no sooner supported, by some Danish and Hannoverian Cavalry, than they charged a second time; but with no better Success. Till, upon the third Charge, the Duke of Marlborough having himself brought up some Squadrons, which were supported by others of the Body of Reserve, made them advance with some Battalions beyond the Rivulet; whereupon the Enemy began to retire.

The Enemy obliged by the Duke to retire here likewise.

His Grace thought it now Time to repair towards the Attack of the Horse, where he, indeed, found the Action already decided in his Favour, as we have seen above; yet he came Time enough to have his Share of pushing the thirty Squadrons of French Horse, and, among them, most of the Gens d'Armes, into the Danube.

As soon as the Duke had perform'd these considerable Services, the Action in the Center being now decided, in Favour of the Confederates, his Grace caused Part of his victorious Cavalry to halt, to observe the Motion of that Part of the Enemy, which, by this time, was drawn up beyond the Morafs of Hochstadt. During this Halt, the Elector of Bavaria was perceiv'd making his Retreat from the Village of Lutzingen; upon which, a Messenger was dispatch'd to General Hompesch, (who, with several Squadrons, was pursuing the Enemy towards Morfelingen, and who had already overtaken two of their Battalions, and forced them to lay down their Arms) with Orders to face about, and march to join those who halted; as well to prevent the Elector's falling upon Hompesch's Rear, as to form a Body, in order to charge that Prince, who march'd in great Haste, but in pretty good Order, with his Squadrons on the Left, and his Battalions on the Right.

Farther Success of the Duke of Marlboro'.

Before General Hompesch returned from his Chace, the Right Wing of the Confederate Army was perceived at some Distance behind the Elector; and appearing to be Part of his Army, marching in such Manner as might easily have flank'd them, had the Duke of Marlborough immediately charged him, his

His great Prudence.

1704.

Grace, with great Prudence, sent out a Party to view them. During this Time, the Elector continued marching off, with great Precipitation, till he reach'd the Morafs of Morfelingen.

The French
in Blenheim
surrender
Prisoners.

The French Horse being entirely defeated, and the Confederates Masters of all the Ground, which was between the Enemy's Left, and the Village of Blenheim, the eight and twenty Battalions, and twelve Squadrons of Dragoons, which were in that Village, found themselves cut off from the rest of their Army; and despairing of being able to make their Escape, after a weak Attempt to repulse the whole Infantry which surrounded the Village, they, at length, capitulated, about eight, in the Evening, laid down their Arms, deliver'd their Colours and Standards, and surrender'd themselves Prisoners of War, on Condition that the Officers should not be search'd. The Duke, who upon all Occasions, shew'd a generous and tender Disposition to his Prisoners, not only granted this Condition, but, as an additional Favour, suffer'd the Officers to wear their Swords: And, Night coming on, the English Troops, to whom this little Army had surrender'd, form'd a Lane at Blenheim, in which the Prisoners were enclos'd, while they continued on their Arms, all Night, to secure them.

See Letters
L. & Q. below.

Only two
Battalions of
the whole
French In-
fantry es-
cape.

By this, it appears, that of the whole French Infantry, which the Marshal de Tallard had brought to the Assistance of the Elector of Bavaria, consisting of forty Battalions, all Veterans, and the very Choice of the French Infantry, only two Battalions escaped; since eight and twenty were here made Prisoners, and ten were entirely cut in Pieces, as we have seen above.

Some Re-
flections on
the Cause
of it.

See Letter
N. below.

The Fate of the ten Battalions, which were entirely cut off, and whose Slaughter those in Blenheim could not but know, without doubt brought a Panick upon them, which, in some Measure, caused this tame Surrender, for which their Commanders were severely (and, indeed, justly) censured, even by their own Countrymen, as having so quietly given up the choicest Infantry of France, and brought such a Stain upon the Nation, as the gaining of ten Battles will scarce wipe off again. One of their own Generals, speaking of their Pusillanimity, says, *Monf. de Clerambault* (who commanded those Dragoons and Infantry in chief) *without taking a Resolution worthy of his Name, with a powerful Body, which was yet entire, as soon as he saw the Rout of our Cavalry, caused his Postilion to sound the Danube, and throwing himself into it, was drowned.* The Marquis de Quincy, to excuse this Pusillanimity of Monf. de Clerambault, says, it was reported, that his Horse, being frighten'd by a Cannon-ball which pass'd near him, threw his Rider into the Danube, where he was drowned. The same Author draws, likewise, from hence, an Argument to excuse the tame Surrender of these Troops, "who (says he) if they had not

See Lettr
Q. below.

"lost

“ lost their Commander, might easily have retreated ; but the
 “ Marquis de Blanzac, who commanded under him, knowing no-
 “ thing of this Misfortune, waited for his Orders.” The same Ge-
 neral farther adds : *The Duke of Marlborough judging rightly, that*
there were old Troops in that Place, the overcoming of which would
cost him dear, made use of Mons. Desdonville, his Prisoner, to exhort
them to accept of their Lives. This (the Truth of which we have
 no Reason to doubt, the French themselves allowing it, in their
 Accounts,) is another Mark of the Duke’s consummate Pru-
 dence, in not unnecessarily hazarding the Lives of the Troops
 under his Command, and exposing them to apparent Danger,
 when the same End was to be attained by other Means : For,
 it is certain, so large a Body, posted in a Village so well forti-
 fied, that it had been able to resist the several strenuous At-
 tacks, which the Confederates had, that Day, already made
 upon it (as we have seen above) if they had continued to defend
 themselves, with the same Resolution, might have given the
 Confederates a great deal of Trouble, and would not have been
 subdued without great Bloodshed and Slaughter : Whereas, *See Letter*
 now, *that Infantry* (to use the Expression of a French Officer) *Q. below.*
is the Laughing-Stock of Nations.

Having given an Account of the Success of the Confederates,
 on the Left Wing, I come now to give an Account, what pass’d
 on the Right under the Command of Prince Eugene, who la-
 bour’d under great Difficulties, having to deal with the Elector
 of Bavaria, and the Marshal de Marfin, both old Generals, of
 great Courage, Conduct, and Experience ; especially the for-
 mer, who had commanded in all the Wars of Flanders, in King
 William’s Time, and had, before that, commanded the Impe-
 rial Army, in Hungary, and particularly in the Year 1688,
 took the famous City of Belgrade, from the Turks. Such Ge-
 nerals, I say, Prince Eugene had to deal with : The Infantry
 of this Wing, consisted only in seven Battalions of Danish, and
 eleven of Prussian Forces ; but his Cavalry was ninety-two
 Squadrons of the Troops of the Emperour, the King of Prussia,
 the Circle of Suabia, Wirtemberg, and other Princes and States
 of the Empire ; tho’ his Foot, in the End, proved most victo-
 rious, as we shall see below. The Enemy, on their Side, had,
 in their left Wing, thirty Battalions, and tho’ I do not any
 where find the precise Number of Squadrons they had in this
 Wing ; yet, by the Number we find Marshal de Tallard had
 in the other Wing, and the general Account we have of their
 whole Force, their Number, on this Side, must have been a-
 bout seventy or eighty ; and they had posted fourteen Battalions
 in the Village of Oberklau, the Attack of which, the Duke of
 Marlborough had taken upon him (as I have said above) with
 his Infantry.

Prince Eu-
 gene’s Suc-
 cess on the
 Right.

Force of the
 Confede-
 rates Right,
 and the E-
 nemy’s Left
 Wing.

1704.

The Horse of the Right Wing of the Confederates were posted, most of them, over-against Oberklau; but the eighteen Battalions, who were to the Right of all, had a great Way to march before they could get up the Hill; and, besides, the Passage of the Rivulet being very difficult, the Attack could not begin, on that Side, so soon as Prince Eugene could have wish'd. Moreover, the Troops of the Right, which posted themselves in a Bottom, not far from Lutzingen, were obliged to remain expos'd, during three Hours, to the cannonading of the Enemy, without being able to use their Artillery, till, at length, a Counter-battery was raised near the Wood.

The Infantry of the Right Wing successful. See Letter C. below. The Cavalry repulsed.

Tho' the Right could not charge till half an Hour after the Left had begun the Attack, yet they were pretty successful at first; for the Infantry, notwithstanding they were much inferior in Number to that of the Enemy, stood their Ground against them, with great Firmness and Resolution, and the Cavalry broke that of the Enemy's first Line; but they were so vigorously repulsed by that of their second Line, that Part of them were driven, in great Confusion, beyond the Rivulet; and the Infantry, having no more Horse to sustain them, was obliged, notwithstanding the great Resistance they made, to retreat, 3 or 400 Paces, with considerable Loss, especially the two Battalions, which were in the Flank; insomuch that Things were, at that Time, in a very bad Condition, on that Side. The Infantry stood firm near the Wood, and Prince Eugene having rallied the Horse, brought them up again to the Charge; but they were repulsed a second time. They were rallied once more, and, for near three Quarters of an Hour, they stood within about sixty Paces of the Enemy, neither Side making any Motion. The Confederates made use of that Time to post the Troops advantageously, and to put them in Order, after which they charged a third time. The Cavalry had, at first, some Advantage over that of the Enemy; but were afterwards repulsed by them: Whereas their Infantry broke and overthrew that with which they were engaged, tho' they could not march up to them, but thro' a most difficult Ground, where a small Number of Troops was sufficient to stop a greater. Upon this, Prince Eugene left his Cavalry, seeing little Likelihood of being able to rally them again, and put himself at the Head of the Infantry, who improving the Disorder, into which they had put that of the Enemy, pursued them over Hills, Dales, Rocks, and Woods, and, having charged them again, entirely routed them, and continued the Chace for above an Hour's March, as far as the Village of Lutzingen. Here Prince Eugene caused his victorious Foot to make a Stand, to give Time to his Cavalry, which had rallied a great Way behind, to rejoin them.

The Cavalry repulsed again.

The Infantry victorious.

See Letter C. and D. below.

1704.

It is very remarkable, that at this last Charge, when Prince Eugene's Infantry defeated, with so much Vigour, that of the Enemy, but two of their Squadrons stood by them, notwithstanding which, they pursued their Advantage, and gave the Enemy no Time to recover themselves. The French Horse, daunted by their Success, retir'd leisurely. Prince Eugene's Horse follow'd them, the same Pace, till having joined their Foot, the whole Wing continued the Chace, for the Space of an Hour, with all the Chearfulness, which could be expected from Troops wearied with an Action of above five Hours, after a March of ten Hours, in an extreme hot Day, and follow'd the Enemy, as far as the Villages of Morselingen and Teissenhoven, where they made a Shew as if they would stand their Ground, that they might gain Time to pass a great Morass, and reach Dillingen and Lawingen.

The Cavalry rallies, and rejoins the Foot.

The whole Wing pursues the Enemy;

As soon as the Action, on the Left Wing, was decided, the Duke of Marlborough dispos'd himself to march, with Part of that Wing, towards the Village of Oberklau, to charge the Left of the Enemy on their Flank, and to succour their own Right, under Prince Eugene; but he was informed by the Way, by one of that Prince's *Aids de Camp*, that there was no farther Occasion for it; that all was recovered, on his Highness's Side, and that the Enemy had abandon'd the Villages of Oberklau and Lutzingen, after having set them on Fire.

And obtains a complete Victory.

Thus this stupendous Battle, which, during near five Hours, was fought with dubious Fortune, ended, at last, in a most complete Victory, on that Side, which, before the Engagement, had a visible Disadvantage; and the Success of this great Day, under the Blessing of the All-ruling Providence, may justly be attributed to the invincible Courage and Intrepidity of the Confederate Troops, and to the Conduct and Bravery of their Generals; tho' the Enemy themselves, as I have said above, were guilty of some Oversight, which did not a little facilitate their Overthrow.

Causes of this Victory.

The Victory being thus completely gain'd, beyond all human Possibility of the Enemy's making any further Stand, the Duke, even while he was in hot Pursuit of the Fugitives, and had been sixteen Hours on Horse-back, thought his Happiness not complete, till he had dispatch'd a Messenger to England, that his Royal Mistress, and the whole Nation, might partake with him, in the universal Joy, occasioned by this Success: He, therefore, sent away Colonel Pack, one of his *Aids de Camp*, with a Couple of Lines to his Duchess, written on Horseback, with a Black-lead Pencil, on a Leaf torn out of his Pocket-book.

The Duke of Marlborough dispatches a Messenger to England.

See Letter B. below.

Having thus given a Description of this famous Action, according to what I have been able to collect from the best Writers and Relations, as well on our Side of the Question, as from

some

1704.

some Accounts given by the Enemy ; I had Thoughts of giving the Reader a Translation of the most circumstantial Account I have seen, on the French Side ; I mean that given by the Marquis de Quincy, *Brigadier in the French King's Army, Lieutenant-General of the Artillery, and Knight of the Military Order of St. Lewis*, in his *Histoire Militaire de Louis le Grand* : But upon comparing this Account with the foregoing Relation, I find so little Difference, that it would be superfluous ; especially as I have already remark'd, wherein they chiefly differ : And, besides, there not being the least Circumstance, even in this Account, tho' proceeding from the Pen of an Enemy, but what, in every Respect, redounds to the Glory of the two incomparable Heroes, who commanded the Confederate Troops, and who, in the Manner I have so amply describ'd above, triumph'd over the French and Bavarians.

Just Encomiums of the D. of Marlboro'.

As the whole Action was chiefly managed and directed by the Duke of Marlborough ; so the greatest Share of the Glory is certainly his Due ; and, indeed, it was at that Time, accordingly ascrib'd to him, both by Friends and Enemies ; a greater Instance of which cannot be, than that the Emperour, causing a noble Pillar to be erected, in the Field of Battle, with a Latin Inscription on it : He, therein, attributes this Victory to the Duke of Marlborough, concluding with these Words :

*Exercitui Victori, cum immortalis Gloria, imperavit
JOHANNES, Dux de MARLBOROUGH, ANGLUS.*

Of Prince Eugene ;

Justice, however, obliges me likewise to own, that Prince Eugene's Share of the Glory of this great Day, tho' not equal to that of the Duke, did not fall very short of it : And it is acknowledged on all Hands, that they both performed the Parts of consummate Generals ; both gave their Commands with all the Clearness and Composedness imaginable, exposed their Persons, where-ever their Presence was necessary, with the greatest Unconcernment, and preserved their Temper and Presence of Mind, in the most present Dangers. The Duke, for his Part, very narrowly escap'd being kill'd by a Cannon-Ball, which grazed under the Belly of his Horse, and covered him with Dirt. The Prince had a Horse kill'd under him, and was so near being taken, that one of the Enemy's Dragoons, among others, who rode up to him for that End, had hold of his Coat, when an Imperial Dragoon firing at him, kill'd him, and others coming up to his Assistance, the Enemy made off : And tho' his Highness was always in the thickest of the Enemy's Fire, he had the good Fortune to come off unhurt.

This Prince himself was not more forward, in sending Relations of this wonderful Success, to the several Courts of Germany, than he was in attributing it chiefly to the Valour and Con-

duft of the Duke of Marlborough; I, myself, have seen one of them to the Court of Zell, in which he is very sanguine in his Praises of our English Hero. 1704.

There is, in the Hands of a Canon of Wurtzburg, the Copy of the Inscription, said to be intended for a Pyramid, that was design'd to be erected in the Middle of the vast Plain, in which this famous Battle was fought, to perpetuate the Memory of it, and to the Honour of both our Heroes. If we may give Credit to a learned and ingenious Author, whose Manuscript Travels are now translating into the English Tongue, it was chosen out of a Hundred, composed by the most learned Men of Germany, for that Purpose: But, be this as it will, I think it very well deserves a Place here. Of both, in an Inscription.

MONUMENTUM,

Æternæ Memoræ Sacrum.

Anno M.DCC.IV. Die XIII. Augusti,

In hac Regione

Ingenti clade fusus est Exercitus Gallo-Bavarus.

Sub Ductu

Emanuelis Electoris, Comitumque de Tallard & Marfin.

Quorum primus proelio captus cum XL. Præfectis belli Primariis.

CLXXX. minoris Ordinis, & XII. Mill. Gregariis.

Præter deletos in Campo XII. Mill. & in Flumen præcipitados.

Exercitui victori cum immortalis Gloria imperavit

Hinc pro Leopoldo Cæsare Eugenius à Sabaudia Princeps,

Hinc Joannes Dux de Marlborroug Anglus.

Qui sub Auspiciis Annæ Reginae strenuum militem

A Tamesi ad Danubium duxerat,

Ut Germaniæ periclitanti succurreret.

Quod, junctis cum Ludovico Marchione Badensi copiis,

Expugnato ad Donawertham Monte, Valle, & Aggere munitissimo,

Summâ cum Fortitudine incepit.

Et post Conflictum inter Bleindheim & Hoechstatt,

Pari constantia & felicitate confecit.

Erat adversa acies & numero, & loci situ superior.

Neque alius patebat ad victoriam, quam per Paludes aditus.

Sciant foederati Duces inviam virtuti nullam esse viam.

Discant Proceres

Conjuratorem cum Patriæ Hostibus, rarò esse impunitam.

Et agnoscat tandem Ludovicus XIV.

Neminem antè obitum debere aut felicem

Aut magnum prædicari.

We must not, however attribute the Glory of this Day, wholly to our two great Commanders; and they themselves were too equitable, not to allow the Generals and other Officers, and the Troops,

1704.

Troops, under their Command, a large Share of it, without leaving it to Fame alone to make that Division, of which the Roman Orator gives us the following elegant Description : *Nam bellicas Laudes solent quidam extenuare verbis, easque detrabere Ducibus, communicare cum Militibus, ne propriae sint Imperatorum ; Et certè in Armis, Militum virtus, locorum Opportunitas, auxilia Sociorum, classes, comeatus, multum juvant, maximam verò partem quasi suo jure Fortuna sibi vindicat : Et, quidquid est prosperè gestum, id penè omne ducit suum.*

And of the
other Gene-
rals.

The other Generals of the Confederate Army, I say, discharged their respective Commands, with great Prudence, Activity and Valour : But among the rest, the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, and the Prince of Hannover, Generals ; Lumley, Hompesch and Bulau, Lieutenant-Generals ; Wood and Villers, Major-Generals of Horse ; the Lord Cutts, the Lord Orkney and Ingoldsby, Lieutenant-Generals ; the Prince of Holstein-Beck, Wilkins and St. Paul, Major-Generals ; and Row, Ferguson and Bernsdorff, Brigadiers of Foot, deserve particularly to be mentioned, for their great Bravery and prudent Conduct.

Bravery of
the Troops.

All the Troops, in general, fought with extraordinary Valour and Undauntedness ; tho' their Courage may have differ'd in some Circumstances, according to the particular Temper of the several Nations, which compos'd the Confederate Army. The English Foot shew'd their natural Fire, Briskness and Intrepidity, in their several Attacks of the Village of Blenheim ; the Prussian and Danish Infantry, their innate Firmness and Resolution, on Prince Eugene's Side, where they recovered all ; and the German Horse perform'd Wonders in the Center, particularly Bothmar's Regiment of Dragoons.

Praise and
Censure of
the Enemy.

Having thus recorded the deserved Praises of the Generals and Soldiers, on the Side of the Confederates, historical Justice and Impartiality call upon me to give the Enemy likewise their Due ; and here, I am oblig'd to allow, that as many of their Troops, as engaged, fought with Vigour and Courage ; insomuch that had their Generals performed their Parts, with answerable Prudence and Forecast, it is probable the Fortune of that Day might have remained undetermined. The Elector of Bavaria, it is true, maintained his Reputation of a brave and experienc'd Commander ; nor was he ill-seconded by the Marshal de Marfin ; (tho' some have been of Opinion, that Mons. de Marfin was highly blame-worthy, in refusing Assistance to Mons. de Tallard, as I have said above ;) but then, the Marshal de Tallard, and the Generals of the Enemy's Right Wing, were guilty of two inexcusable Faults ; first in throwing so great a Number of their Men, into the Village of Blenheim, whereby their Center was extremely weakened ; and, secondly, by suffering our Troops to

pass

pass the Rivulet, without any considerable Opposition, as I have already observed more at large above.

The French have indeed a Salve ready for every Sore, and (as a noted Author has justly observ'd) generally possess this Notion: " They were never routed, but it was either because it pleased the Court, that they should be routed, or because of some Jealousy betwixt their Generals. They lost (say they) the Battle of Hochstat, for want of a right Understanding betwixt the Elector of Bavaria and the Marshal de Tallard: That of Ramillies, because the Marshal de Villeroy would not let the Elector of Bavaria have the Honour of beating us: That of Oudenarde, because the Duke of Vendôme's receiving that Shock was a real Satisfaction to the Duke of Burgundy, the presumptive Heir of the Throne: And Mons. de la Motte, too, suffer'd himself to be beaten, near Wynendale, only in Complaisance to the Duke of Burgundy, who was apprehensive that he should not be able to persuade the King his Grandfather to a Peace, which he had very much at Heart, if Lisle was not taken by the Allies, which it could not have been, had they not let the Convoy pass, which Mons. de la Motte had attack'd. The passing of the Scheld, the raising of the Siege of Brussels, the Surrender of Ghent, without striking a Blow; was likewise all done by Order of the Duke of Burgundy, who was for a Peace upon any Terms, and could not obtain it without sacrificing both the Army and Glory of the King, his Grandfather.

As an Author of Reputation, who wrote in the Year 1705, of whom I made mention at the End of my Account of the Action at Schellenburgh, doubts of the Veracity of this Passage of the Rivulet, as far as regards the Difficulty and Danger of it; I shall the rather transcribe what he says on this Head, as he accompanies it with some other Remarks and Particulars not mention'd above, and give us an Account of the Appearance of Things on the Spot a Year afterwards.

" My Author (*continuing the Relation of his Travels*) goes on: " We left Donawert early in the Morning to continue our Journey towards Blenheim, where we arrived about ten o'Clock. " We order'd Dinner to be got ready in one of the five or six Houses which are built upon the Ruins of that Borough, and taking, for our Guide, a Peasant who knew the whole Field of Battle, we walked over it from End to End. The Man, first of all, pointed out to us the Disposition of the French Army: They were oblig'd to extend their Front from Blenheim, to the Foot of some little Hills which border a vast Plain, two Leagues from the Danube, (on which Blenheim was situated) to prevent their Left Wing's being attacked in the Flank, by Prince Eugene of Savoy, who commanded the Right of the

Allies:

Some Particulars relating to this Action by Mr. Blainville.

1704.

“ Allies : This Disposition proved the Ruin of their Army. The Duke of Marlborough being inform’d by his Scouts, that they had thinn’d the Depth of their Centre, in order to extend their Line to these Hills, *order’d the Rivulet, which runs thro’ the Plain, with a Part of the Marsh, to be fill’d up, and then attack’d the Centre of the Enemy, and put it to the Rout, &c.* (It is therefore, plain, by his own Relation, that there were a Rivulet and a Marsh to be fill’d up, before the Allies could attack the Enemy——) “ and thus they cut off their Communication with their Left Wing, commanded by the Duke of Bavaria and the Marshal Marfin, as well as with the 26 Battalions, and four Regiments of Dragoons, posted at Blenheim.

“ Tis true, *the Ground on which the French were drawn up, is somewhat higher than the rest of the Plain, and that it is even, in some Measure, naturally fortified by the Brook and the Marsh, especially after a Fall of Rain ; yet I can’t help observing, on this Occasion, how Distance magnifies Objects.* “ Our Gazette and weekly Courant Writers, have almost made a Miracle of the passing of this Rivulet : But *having, this Day, the second of July, 1705, passed and repass’d it, without wetting my Feet, in twenty different Places, and found this terrible Marsh quite dry ; have I not Reason to conclude, that this Battle, being fought the 13th of August, last Year, after a very dry Summer, the Passage of this Brook, which hath been represented as so difficult, must have been incomparably less so to the Soldiers, who had besides thrown vast Quantities of Fascines into it ?*

I must here beg Leave to differ from our Author, and to think he has not so great Reason to make such a Conclusion : He allows that the Soldiers threw vast Quantities of Fascines into it, (i. e. *into the Brook, or the Morass*) or, at least, into a Hollow Way, at the Foot of the higher Ground, which probably was on both Sides of it. He may have gone over it, without wetting his Feet ; but is that any Argument, that he might have done the same eleven Months before ? May not twenty Incidents have occasion’d the Difference ? Which for Brevity’s sake, I omit enumerating ; and I think the Vouchers I have already given, without more, which I otherwise could give, sufficiently establish the Facts beyond all Room for Doubt : They were all, or at least most of them, Eye-Witnesses ; all known Persons of Distinction and Probity, as much to be believed as any German Officer ; who, as being such, may possibly have been prejudiced by Envy or otherwise, against the English and other Troops, on the other Wing, who carried off the greater share of the Glory of the Day. I must therefore say, with our Author, for whom I have otherwise deservedly very great Regard, that I give more Credit to the Testimony of these known, named, and distinguish’d Vouchers, the Originals of many of

of whose Testimonies have gone thro' my Hands, than to any anonymous German Officer whomsoever: And why mayn't I, likewise, say with him; "*Pluris est oculatus Testis unus, quàm auriti decem: qui audiunt audita dicunt, qui vident planè sciunt*:" and why not, *Ergo testificat a loquor?*" But to return to our Author.

"We stopp'd a little, to consider the Ruins of a large Mill, that was at the Head of the Left Wing of the French. The Officer along with us, who was present at the Attack of this Mill, told us, that Marshal Marfin having placed in it five or six hundred Grenadiers, with a Lieutenant-Colonel and some other Officers, they defended themselves so vigorously, and made so terrible a Fire, that they made a great Slaughter, and then retir'd in good Order, after having themselves put Fire to the Mill. Upon this Prince Eugene having attacked some Bushes and thick Hedges, by which the Head of the same Wing was cover'd, the Germans were driven back three times very smartly, and the Enemy so opportunely employed five or six Pieces of Cannon, loaded with Pieces of Old Iron, and hid among the Bushes, that they killed above 3000 Men including those that were slain at the Attack of the Mill. This so discourag'd the German Infantry, that had they not received News of the Defeat of the Enemy's Centre, and of the Marshal Tallard's being taken, they had certainly turned their Backs, in spite of all the Efforts of Prince Eugene, and the other General Officers, to rally them.

"This Major added, that if the French Troops, which were station'd at Blenheim, had marched in Line of Battle along the Danube, without giving Time to the whole Army of the Allies to unite and invest them; this Army was so fatigued by Battle, Dust, and Heat, that they were not in a Condition to oppose the Retreat of so considerable a Body of fresh Troops, that had not yet been engaged.

"Having spent almost three Hours in surveying this Field of Battle, which gave so decisive a Stroke, for the Interest and Liberty of Europe, at the Expence of 20,000 Lives, we came back to the Ruins of Blenheim, a Borough standing before this Battle, upon the Brink of the Danube. Tho' the Corn was now very high in this Plain, we could still see many direful Vestiges of the bloody Tragedy that was acted here. Fragments of Bodies half buried, Legs, Arms, Skulls, whole Carcasses of Men and Horses, intermix'd with But-ends of Muskets, Pieces of Swords, and old Rags, which the Peasants had not thought worth while to carry off, after the Retreat of the Armies, presented a most dismal frightful Scene to the Eye and Imagination.

"The

1704.

" The little Town of Blenheim, and all the surrounding Countries for five or six Leagues in Circuit, are so ruin'd, that one would think the Armies were but just gone. In Reality, was it not for the little Corn in the Plain, one would take it for a Desert fill'd with the miserable Remains of destroy'd Villages, Towns and Castles; the horrible Fruits of War.

The Duke of Marlborough entertains two French Generals, after the Battle.

An Observation made by one of them.

See Letter R. below.

It is remarkable, that, after the Fight, two French Generals were entertained at Supper, by the Duke of Marlborough, who, with his accustomed Heroick Modesty, endeavour'd to divert the Discourse, from the Business of the Day; but the French Officers would still be bringing it upon the Carpet; and one of them said; *That there was a Critical Moment, in which Victory had been absolutely theirs, if the Gens d'Armes had done their Duty.* Of the same Opinion were, likewise, all those who would justify the Marshal de Tallard's Conduct; which being known to the Gens d'Armes, they wrote a Letter to one of the French King's Chief Ministers, to clear themselves of that Aspersions; of which I shall subjoin a Copy.

An inconsiderable Proposal made by the M. de Tallard. The Duke's prudent Answer.

Compliments which pass'd between the Duke and the Marshal.

A Passage, which happened soon after Marshal de Tallard was taken, shews into what Perplexity his Mind was cast, by this Misfortune. The Lord Tunbridge, one of the Duke of Marlborough's Aids de Camp, came to the French General, to offer him his Service, telling him he was going to the Duke; upon which the Marshal desired his Lordship to tell his Grace; *That if he would let those poor People (ces pauvres Gens) alone, (meaning the French in Blenheim) and suffer them to retreat, he would send Orders not to fire on the Confederates.* This unreasonable Proposal being reported to the Duke, his Grace said; *He wondered Mons. de Tallard did not consider, that he had no Command where he now was.*

The same Night, the Marshal, with two or three more, were carried, in the Duke's Coach, to the Prince of Hesse's Quarters, where his Grace, making him a Visit, the next Day, told him, *He was sorry, that such a Misfortune should fall personally on one, for whom he had so great an Esteem.* Mons. de Tallard returned the Compliment, by telling his Grace, *That he had the Honour of having vanquished the best Troops in the World.* To which the Duke wittily replied; *He thought his own Troops were the best in the World, since they had conquered those, which the Marshal accounted to be so.*

Consequences of this Victory.

This Victory, tho' as great and compleat in itself, as any ever was gained, was still greater in its Consequences. It was introductory to all the Success which follow'd, during the Course of this War, either in Italy or Flanders; and certain it is, that had it not been for this Victory, the Emperour could not have maintained himself in his Dignity and Estates, and must, this very Year, have been forced from his Capital; for the Hungarians were now almost universally in Rebellion; and whilst the

Elector

Electors of Bavaria penetrated into Upper Austria, and had taken Lintz, the chief Town thereof, the Hungarians ravaged the Lower Austria, and even threatned Vienna itself: For the Rebels, at this time, wanted nothing but Artillery, and other Necessaries for a Siege, to have taken both that, and the strongest Towns in Hungary; which Deficiency would soon have been supplied, by French Money, had not the *Glorious Day of Blenheim* prevented it, and obliged the Monarch of France to empty his Treasures, in recruiting his Forces, and filling his Magazines, where it was more immediately necessary. The Emperour was, also, at this time, so low, that his Forces in Italy, upon the Po, were almost dwindled into nothing, and the poor Remains of them had been obliged to retire into the Trentin, while the Duke of Savoy was very hard press'd by the Duke de Vendosme, and his whole Country in great Danger of being made an absolute Conquest: But this great and unexpected Success gave a new Turn to the Posture of Affairs, on every Side; and Lewis the Great had afterwards such a Train of ill Success, that he had, in the Course of this War, as much Reason to complain of the Frowns of Fortune, as he had before to exult in her Smiles. And tho', in all the Advices, which we received from the Emperour's Territories, before this Battle, great Care was taken to put the best Colour upon every thing, in Favour of his Imperial Majesty, and to gloss over his deplorable Circumstances; yet, in his Letter of Thanks to the Duke of Marlborough, on account of this Victory, he owns them pretty freely; and with great Reason and Justice: For (*as a late Author very pertinently observes*) "the Emperour was almost at the Mercy of his Enemies, and scarce any thing less than the mighty Efforts of this amazing Campaign, as Things were then circumstanced, could have prevented his Ruin. The March from the Rhine to the Danube, the Battle of Schellenberg, the Desolation brought upon Bavaria, by the Obstinacy of the Elector, and the Glorious and Divine Action at Hochstadt, are all little less than MIRACLES, and deserve to be considered and applauded accordingly.

See Letter M. below.

A.

THE Enemy's Loss, according to their own Confession, in several intercepted Letters, amounted to near 40,000 Men, in which Number they included 4 or 5,000 Men whom they lost in their precipitate Retreat to the Black Forest, either by Desertion, or by the Pursuit of the Hussars and Peasants, who made a great Slaughter of the Stragglers. And, indeed, if it be considered, that after an exact Computation, the Number of the Prisoners the Confederates made, exceeded 13,000 (some Accounts say, 14000) Men, of which above 1200 were Officers;

The Loss of the Enemy in the Battle.

See Letters K. L. C. D. and E. below.

1704.

See Letter
H. below.See Letter
G. below.

that they cut in Pieces 10 French Battalions, on their Right, and overthrew, into the Danube, near 30 Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, most of whom were drowned; that their Left Wing did also suffer very much, especially the Foot; that, besides 95 Officers, who were found at Hochstadt, Dillengen and Lawingen, the Number of the Wounded, whom (as it has been said, from good Authority) they brought off from Ulm, exceeded 7,000 Men, of which 1000 were Officers, and the great Number of Officers found buried in the Villages, thro' which the Army afterwards march'd; if all this, I say, be considered, it must be owned, that these Letters spoke within Compass. This also agrees with what Monsf. de Marfin wrote to the King of France, soon after, viz. that the Elector of Bavaria, and himself, had, the Night before conducted to Ulm, one and thirty Battalions, and sixty-two Squadrons, which is all that I can find escaped from this Battle, of the French and Bavarians, except Stragglers; and we need not doubt, but Monsf. de Marfin made the best of his Story to the King, as well in this, as when he told him, in his Letter, *they had lost 10,000 Men, besides what were taken, and very many wounded.*

Tho' the French have been industrious enough in concealing their particular Losses; yet it is known, that the Count de Verue, General of the Horse was kill'd, Monsieur de Busen, and Count de Clerambault, Lieutenant-Generals, drowned in the Danube: That Messieurs de Blainville and Surlauben, Lieutenant Generals, died of their Wounds; that Monsieur de Marillac, Brigadier, only Son to the Counsellor of State of that Name, the Duke d'Humieres, Brother to the Duke d'Aumont, the Marquisses d'Arpajou, de Hautefort, and de Beringhen, were either killed or drowned, and that the Marquis de la Baulme, only Son to the Marshal de Tallard, was mortally wounded, and died a few Days after the Action.

The least Computation made of the Loss of the French, which can be said to be any Ways impartial, allow it to have been 30,000 Men, viz. 14,000 kill'd and wounded in the Field of Battle, and drown'd in the Danube; 13,000 Prisoners, and 3,000 deserted, or otherwise lost in the Action, and precipitate Retreat. The Paris Gazettes, indeed, have reduced them to a something less Number; but I need not tell the Reader, that it is not to them we are to go in Search of Truth.

See Letter
K. below.

The Prisoners of Note, besides the Marshal de Tallard, were very numerous, of which I shall give a List below.

Booty.

Besides the Prisoners, the Confederates got many other Ensigns of a compleat Victory; as above 100 Pieces of Cannon, great and small, 24 Mortars, 129 Colours, 171 Standards, 17 Pair of Kettle Drums, 3,600 Tents, 34 Coaches, 300 laden Mules,

Mules, 2 Bridges of Boats, 15 Pontons, 24 Barrels, and 8 Casks of Silver.

1704.

This Success cost the Allies 4485 Men kill'd, 7525 Men wounded, and 273 lost, or made Prisoners. A great Number in itself, but an inconsiderable Price for the infinite Advantage which the Allies gained by their Victory. They lost few Men of Note, except the Prince of Holstein Beck, and Brigadier Row, who died of their Wounds after, and Philip Dormer, Lieutenant-Colonel of the English Guards, Major Frederick Cornwallis, Lieutenant-Colonel Dallyel, Lieutenant-Colonel Fetherstonhaugh, Major Creed, Colonel John White, Lord Forbes, Captain, Major Chenevix, who were killed in the Fight. The principal Persons among their Wounded were, the Lord North and Gray, who lost his right Hand; the Lord Mordaunt, who had his left Arm shatter'd, Colonel Hamilton, Lieutenant-Colonel Levingston, Lieutenant-Colonel Peyton, Major Granville, Maj. George Morgan, Lieutenant-Colonel Britton, Major Armstrong, and Major Hetley.

Loss of the
Confederates.

See Letter
1. below.

Having thus given a particular Relation of this famous Battle, and glorious Victory, fought and obtained under the chief Conduct and Management of the great Duke of Marlborough, to his immortal Honour, I shall, as well to corroborate many Circumstances already mention'd, as to illustrate what has been said above, by the Addition of several others, subjoin the Copies of the sundry Letters, &c. referred to above, written by the chief Persons, who had a Share in the Transactions of this Day, with Answers to some of them, and such other Pieces relating thereunto, as I have been able to procure, and which may contribute to give my Readers a compleat Idea of this wonderful Action, and of every Circumstance attending it.

B.

A Letter written by the Duke of Marlborough, on Horseback, with a Leaden Pencil, to his Duchess.

Aug. 13. 1704.

" I Have not Time to say more, than to beg of you to pre-
" sent my humble Duty to the Queen, and to let her Ma-
" jesty know, that her Army has had a glorious Victory:
" Monsieur Tallard, and two other Generals, are in my Coach,
" and I am following the rest: The Bearer my Aid-de Camp,
" Colonel Pack, will give her Majesty an Account of what has
" passed: I shall do it in a Day or two, by another more at
" large.

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough's
Letter to his
Duchess,
written with
a Pencil.

MARLBOROUGH.

A Letter from the Duke of Marlborough to Mr. Secretary Harley.

Camp at Hochstadt ; Thursday Morning, Aug. 14. 1704.

SIR,

A Letter
from the
Duke of
Marlboro'
to Mr. Secr.
Harley.

I Gave you an Account on Sunday, of the Situation we were then in, and that we expected to hear the Enemy would pass the Danube, at Lawingen, in order to attack Prince Eugene. At eleven, that Night, we had an Express from him, that the Enemy were come over, and desiring that he might be re-inforced as soon as possible ; whereupon, I ordered my Brother Churchill to advance, at one o'Clock in the Morning, with his 20 Battalions, and by three, the whole Army was in Motion. For the greater Expedition, I ordered Part of the Troops to pass over the Danube, and follow the March of the 20 Battalions, and, with most of the Horse and the Foot of the first Line, I pass'd the Lech at Rain, and came over the Danube at Donawert ; so that we all joined the Prince that Night, intending to advance, and take this Camp of Hochstadt. In order whereto, we went out, on Tuesday, early in the Morning, with 40 Squadrons, to view the Ground ; but found the Enemy had already possess'd themselves of it : Whereupon, we resolv'd to attack them, and, accordingly, we march'd between three and four, yesterday Morning, from the Camp at Munster, leaving all our Tents standing ; about six, we came in view of the Enemy, who, we found, did not expect so early a Visit. The Cannon began to play about half an Hour after Eight : They form'd themselves in two Bodies ; the Elector, with Monsieur Marfin, and their Troops, on our Right ; and Monsieur de Tallard, with all his own, on our Left, which last fell to my Share. They had two little Rivulets, besides a Morass, before them, which we were oblig'd to pass over in their View, and Prince Eugene was forced to take a great Compass to come to the Enemy : so that it was one o'Clock before the Battle begun. It lasted with great Vigour till Sunset, when the Enemy were oblig'd to retire, and, by the Blessing of God, we obtained a compleat Victory : We have cut off great Numbers of them ; as well in the Action, as in the Retreat ; besides upwards of 30 Squadrons of the French, which I push'd into the Danube, where we saw the greatest Part of them perish : Monsieur de Tallard, with several of his General Officers, being taken Prisoners, at the same Time : And, in the Village of Blenheim, which the Enemy had

1704.

had intrench'd and fortify'd, and where they made the greatest Opposition, I obliged 26 entire Battalions, and 12 Squadrons of Dragoons, to surrender themselves Prisoners at Discretion. We took likewise all their Tents standing, with their Cannon and Ammunition, as also a great Number of Standards, Kettle-Drums and Colours, in the Action; so that I reckon the greatest Part of Monsieur Tallard's Army is taken or destroy'd. The Bravery of all our Troops, on this Occasion, cannot be express'd, the Generals, as well as the Officers and Soldiers, behaving themselves with the greatest Courage and Resolution; the Horse and Dragoons having been obliged to charge four or five several times. The Elector and Monsieur de Marfin were so advantageously posted, that Prince Eugene could make no Impression on them till the third Attack, at near seven at Night, when he made a great Slaughter of them: But being near a Wood-side, a good Body of Bavarians retired into it, and the rest of that Army retreated towards Lawingen, it being too late, and the Troops too much tired, to pursue them far. I cannot say too much in the Praise of the Prince's good Conduct, and the Bravery of his Troops on this Occasion. You will please to lay this before her Majesty, and his Royal Highness, to whom I send my Lord Tunbridge with the good News. I pray you will likewise inform yourself, and let me know her Majesty's Pleasure, as well relating to Monsr. Tallard, and the other General Officers, as for the Disposal of near 1200 other Officers, and between 8 or 9000 common Soldiers, who being all made Prisoners by her Majesty's Troops, are entirely at her Disposal; but as the Charge of subsisting these Officers and Men must be very great, I presume her Majesty will be inclin'd, that they be changed for any other Prisoners that offer. I should likewise be glad to receive her Majesty's Directions, for the Dispatch of the Standards and Colours, whereof I have not yet the Number, but guess there cannot be less than 100, which is more than has been taken in any Battle these many Years.

You will easily believe, that in so long and vigorous an Action, the English, who had so great a Share in it, must have suffered, as well in Officers as Men, but I have not yet the Particulars. I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble Servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

1704.

The Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the States of the United Provinces.

High and Mighty Lords,

The Duke
of Marl-
borough's
Letter to
the States
General.

" I Gave myself the Honour to write, on Sunday last, to
 " your High Mightinesses, to acquaint you with our Reso-
 " lution to besiege Ingolstadt, and with the Posture of the Ene-
 " my. The same Day, in the Evening, we were informed,
 " that the Enemy had passed the Danube at Lawingen; where-
 " upon I ordered, about Midnight, General Churchill, who
 " had that Day pass'd the Danube, with twenty Battalions, to
 " re-inforce Prince Eugene, and at three o'Clock in the Morn-
 " ing, I march'd, with the rest of the Army; and for greater
 " Expedition, Part of the Forces march'd the same Way as Ge-
 " neral Churchill had done, and the Horse, with the first Line
 " of the Infantry, pass'd the Lech, at Rain, and the Danube,
 " at Donawert. We joined Prince Eugene the same Day, in
 " the Evening, and encamp'd the Right at Apertzshofen, and
 " the Left at Munster, designing to encamp, the next Day, in
 " the Camp at Hochstadt; but when Prince Eugene and I went
 " to view the same, with forty Squadrons, we found that the
 " Enemy had prevented us, and were posted therein; where-
 " upon we resolv'd to march against them, as we did yesterday.
 " The Army was in Motion, at two in the Morning, which
 " the Enemy did not expect, and we came in Sight about six,
 " and began to cannonade between eight and nine. As the
 " Enemy had two Rivulets before them, and a sort of a Morass,
 " the Cavalry was oblig'd to file, and Prince Eugene forc'd to
 " fetch a great Compass about; and it was full one o'Clock, in
 " the Afternoon, before we could engage. The Enemy form'd
 " two Bodies, the Elector and Monsieur de Marsin had the
 " Left, and Monsieur de Tallard the Right, with all his Forces.
 " It was my Lot to have to do with the latter. The Action
 " grew very hot, and lasted till Sun-set, when it pleas'd God
 " to bless the Allies with one of the greatest and most compleat
 " Victories that ever was. It is impossible to express the Bravery
 " of our Troops; and the Generals, Officers, and Soldiers de-
 " serve all the Praise that can be given. The Horse were
 " oblig'd to renew the Charge four or five times; but I have
 " not Time now to enter into the Particulars. The whole Army
 " of the Enemy was routed. We made a terrible Slaughter of
 " them, and took their Camp, with their Cannon and Ammuni-
 " tion. On my Side, we drove about thirty Squadrons into the
 " Danube, where we saw them perish, for the most part. We
 " have

1704.

" have taken Monsieur de Tallard, with many of the General
 " Officers, Prisoners. The Enemy had fortify'd a Village call'd
 " Blenheim, wherein I have taken twenty-six Battalions, and
 " twelve Squadrons, all Prisoners at Discretion. We have be-
 " sides taken a great Number of Standards and Colours.

" I have not yet a particular Account of what was done in
 " the Right; but the good Conduct of Prince Eugene, and the
 " Bravery of his Troops, have shone in a particular Manner, on
 " this glorious Day, upon which I could not defer any longer
 " to congratulate your High Mightinesses, referring to Colonel
 " Panton, one of my Adjutants General, who was in the Ac-
 " tion, to you give the further Particulars, by Word of Mouth.
 " I am, &c.

Sign'd,

From the Camp at Hochstadt,
 August 14, 1704.

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

This Letter, as well as the Subject of it, could not but be
 highly agreeable to their High Mightinesses; and they were
 not backward in shewing the grateful Sense they had of the
 Duke's Services, by a speedy and polite Answer, in which they
 did him the Honour justly due to his extraordinary Merit.

See Letter
 F. below.

General Hompesch, likewise, gave an Account of this Vic-
 tory, in a Letter to the States General, which he concluded in
 these Words: " The Duke of Marlborough gave Orders with
 " great Prudence and Conduct, and expos'd himself in the most
 " dangerous Places during the whole Action, giving Directions,
 " with a Presence of Mind, amidst the hottest Fire. Prince
 " Eugene, on his Part, has done as much as possible: And the
 " hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel was in the Midst of the
 " Action, and has very much distinguish'd himself, &c.

Extract of a
 Letter from
 General
 Hompesch,
 to the States
 General.

E.

*Another Letter from the Duke of Marlborough, to the States of the
 United Provinces.*

High and Mighty Lords.

" I Gave myself the Honour to write to your High Mighti-
 " nesses, on Thursday last, by Colonel Panton, one of my
 " Adjutants General, to impart to you the happy Success of the
 " Arms of the Allies in Germany, and the glorious Victory
 " which we have obtained over the Enemy, of which we feel
 " every Day the good Influence. The Number of Prisoners en-
 " crease hourly, and we reckon to have now about 11,000,
 " besides about 1200 Officers. I must confess, that great Num-

A second
 Letter from
 the Duke
 to the States
 General.

1704.

“ber is very troublesome to us, there being few Places in this
 “Country to put them in. This obliges me to desire your
 “High Mightinesses, to do me the Honour to let me know
 “whether we may send down by Water, the Share of the Pri-
 “soners belonging to England and your High Mightinesses,
 “that they may be disposed of in the Places of the United
 “Provinces. Mean time, we shall endeavour to ease selves
 “of them in this Country, as soon as possible, for nothing else
 “stops us here.

“As the Face of Affairs, in this Country, is wholly chang’d
 “at present; Prince Eugene and I have imparted to Prince
 “Lewis of Baden our Sentiments, that to amuse ourselves at
 “the Siege of Ingoldstadt, at present, will be but losing of
 “Time, and that we believe it will be more advantageous
 “for the Good of the common Cause, to join all our Forces, to
 “streighten more and more the Enemy, and oblige the French
 “to quit Germany, and repass the Rhine; for then, not only
 “Ingoldstadt, but also the whole Country of Bavaria, must fall
 “of themselves. We have an Instance of it in the Case of the
 “City of Augsburg, which the Enemy quitted yesterday Morn-
 “ing. Their Deputies are come hither to desire our Protec-
 “tion, and a Detachment is marching thither to take Possession
 “thereof. We hourly expect an Answer from the Prince of
 “Baden on this Subject.

“This Day, we have return’d Thanks to God, thro’ the
 “whole Army, for his Favour to us, which appears the more
 “conspicuous, in that the Enemy own, that their Army con-
 “sisted of 82 Battalions and 147 Squadrons, which were ad-
 “vantageously posted; whereas we had but 64 Battalions and
 “166 Squadrons, of which Number, 1500 Horse, were de-
 “tach’d with the Prince of Baden. This Evening, we are to
 “make publick Rejoycings, by a general Discharge of all our
 “Artillery and small Shot, throughout the Army.

“I have nothing farther to add, but I cannot conclude, with-
 “out repeating to your High Mightinesses, that the Valour and
 “good Conduct of the Baron de Hompesch, and your other
 “Generals, and also the Bravery which the Officers and Sol-
 “diers of your Troops have express’d, on this Occasion, de-
 “serve the greatest Encomiums: I therefore flatter myself, that
 “in filling up the Vacancies, your High Mightinesses will have
 “a particular Regard for such who have been in the Action,
 “and for the Recommendation of their Generals, who were
 “Eye-witnesses of their Behaviour. I am, &c.

From the Camp at Steinheim,

August 17, 1704.

Sign’d,

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

General

General Hompesch wrote another Letter of the same Date, to the States General, in which, among others, he has the following Expressions, in Honour to our great Commander: "Tho' I have already commended the Valour and Prudence of the Duke of Marlborough, I must again repeat, that no one can sufficiently praise him, for the Zeal and Vigilance he shew'd in this Action. The same may be said of Prince Eugene: And after the Example of these two Generals (who are remarkable for their Goodness and Conduct) our whole Army is in a perfect Harmony."

1704.
Extract of
another Letter
from G.
Hompesch.

The States General of the United Provinces, who have generally shewed themselves good Judges of Merit, wrote the following Letter to the Duke of Marlborough, which is a very illustrious Testimony of the Obligations the Allies acknowledged to be due to him.

F.

Their High Mightinesses Letter to the Lord Duke of Marlborough, in Answer to that of his Grace, which was brought to them by Colonel Panton.

"Colonel Panton has brought to us your Excellency's welcome Letter, dated from the Camp, at Hochstadt, the 14th Instant, and has related to us what passed in the memorable Battle fought the Day before.

A Letter
from the
States General
to the
Duke of
Marlboro'.

"We return your Excellency most hearty Thanks, for the speedy Notice you were pleased to send us of so agreeable News. After the first Blow you gave them at Schellenberg, we had reason to expect somewhat much greater would follow; but never durst have carried our Hopes so far, as to think of so glorious and complete a Victory, as you have, with the Army of the Allies, gained over the Enemy.

"The Action of that Day has placed the Greatness of your Merit in its true Lustre: A Day, whose Glory might have been envied by the greatest Captains of past Ages, and whose Memory will endure thro' all Ages to come.

"We heartily congratulate your Excellency upon this Occasion, and rejoyce for the Glory you have acquired, as well as for the Advantage the Common Cause has obtained thereby. This Action will let France see, that her Troops are not invincible, and will prove such a Blow, as that King never felt, in the whole Course of his Reign: And, therefore, we give Thanks to God, whose Goodness has blessed your brave Attempt, and pray that he will prosper more and more your generous Designs: Assuring you, that none can be with greater Esteem, and more Sincerity, than we are, &c."

In

1704.

Extract of a
Letter from
the States
General to
the Queen.

In a Letter, which the States General wrote to the Queen, on this Occasion, they acknowledge, that it was the Bravery of the English Forces that principally contributed to the Victory, and that *the whole was done under the prudent and Valiant Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough, who in this Battle, reaped Laurels, that never will fade.*

G,

The Marshal de Marfin's Letter to the King of France, concerning the Battle of Hochstadt.

A Letter
from the
Marshal de
Marfin to
the French
King.

“ ON the 10th, in the Morning, we had Advice, that Prince
“ Lewis of Baden, with 24 Battalions, and 31 Squa-
“ drons, was detach'd from the Enemy's Camp, to besiege In-
“ goldstadt, upon which we resolv'd to march to Lawingen :
“ And the Post of Hochstadt being found most advantageous,
“ the Elector encamped his Army there. On the twelfth, we
“ called a Council of War, to consider whether we should stay
“ for the Enemy, who was marching towards us, and resolv'd
“ we should. On the 13th, in the Morning, the Armies came
“ in Sight of one another. The Marshal de Tallard, and his
“ Troops, had the Right, and the Elector and I were on the
“ Left. Prince Eugene was on the Enemy's Right, and the
“ Duke of Marlborough on their Left ; the Enemy spent the
“ whole Morning in Movements, to draw themselves up with
“ Advantage ; and, at nine o'Clock, the Cannon began to
“ play on both Sides. About one of the Clock, the Battle grew
“ hot ; the Elector broke the Enemy's Right several times ;
“ but they immediately rallied again. Their Foot stood brave-
“ ly to it, being supported by their Horse. Our Right did
“ likewise make several advantageous Charges, upon their Left ;
“ but about six, at Night, the Enemy pass'd a Morass, which
“ our Engineers thought impassable, and attack'd our Right on
“ the Flank, and broke the same. Twenty-six Battalions and
“ four Regiments of Dragoons threw themselves into the Vil-
“ lage of Blenheim, where they were encompassed by the En-
“ my, and oblig'd to surrender.

“ When the Elector saw this unhappy Result, we resolv'd to
“ retire, with the Left, and the Body of the Battle, to Ulm ;
“ some of the Cavalry of the Right join'd us ; but several
“ Squadrons not being able to come up with the Body, threw
“ themselves into the Danube, where the Marshal de Tallard
“ was taken. We arriv'd yesternight at Ulm, with 31 Bat-
“ talions, and 62 Squadrons, without being pursued, and have
“ saved 18 Cannon, with Part of the Baggage. Of your Ma-
“ jesty's, and the Bavarian Troops, there are 10,000 kill'd,
“ besides

besides what are taken; but we have very many wounded;
abundance of Officers and Soldiers, who have escaped from
the Enemy, join us continually. I shall speedily send your
Majesty an Account of the State of our Army, after the
Battle, that it may be compar'd with that sent by the Elector
five Days ago.

1704.

H.

The Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the States General.

From the Camp at Sefelingen.

High and Mighty Lords,

I Gave myself the Honour to write to your High Mighti-
nesses, on Sunday last, from Steynheim. The next Day
the Marshal de Tallard, with the other Officers of Note,
were sent towards Franckfort and Hanau, under a Guard
of Dragons: We have made the Repartition of the
other Prisoners, who are sent into the neighbouring Places,
that they may be more easily guarded, till they are sent a-
way. Their Number is greater than was at first believ'd,
since they exceed 13,000 Officers and Soldiers, including a-
bout 3000 which have listd themselves in the Confederate
Troops. On Tuesday, the Army decamp'd, and march'd to
Gondelfingen. Yesterday we advanced to Ober Elchingen,
and, this Day, to this Camp, which is about half a League
from Ulm. We have found a great Number of Officers bu-
ried in the Villages thro' which we marched, and some
Citizens of Ulm assure us, that when the Enemy march'd
from thence, they carried away about 7,000 wounded, a-
mongst whom were about 1,000 Officers. They burnt a
great many Waggons, to make use of the Horses to carry
off the Officers upon Brancars (a Sort of Litters.) Our Hus-
sars, and several Parties of Horse, follow them very closely,
who, together with the Boors, have kill'd a great Number of
the Soldiers of the Enemy, whom they found straggling. We
begin to streighten Ulm, expecting the Arrival of the Prince
of Baden, who passed the Danube, this Day, at Donawert,
and as soon as he is come, and that we have regulated what
Troops are to carry on this Siege, I shall advance towards
the Rhine, with the Forces that I have the Honour to com-
mand. This Morning, a Deputy of the City of Memming-
gen came to our Camp, to desire our Protection; and reports,
That the Electress of Bavaria was gone thro' that Place, with
5 of her Children, under a Guard of 14 Squadrons, to join
the

A Letter
from the
Duke of
Marlboro' to
the States
General.

1704.

" the Elector, who, according to our last Advices, was about
 " Dutlingen, with the Marshal de Marfin. I am, &c.

Signed,

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

I.

*A List of the English Officers kill'd or wounded, in the Battle of
 Blenheim.*

F O O T.

A List of the
 English Of-
 ficers kill'd
 or wounded
 at Blenheim.

OF the Battalions of Guards. Col. Philip Dormer, kill'd.
 Lord Mordaunt, Capt. Ja. Dormer, Capt. Pocock, Enf.
 Reeves, Enf. Champion, wounded.

Of the Lord Orkney's two Battalions. Col. White. Enf.
 Mac Conway, Enf. Craig, kill'd. Capt. Ja. Cunningham, Lord
 Forbes, Capt. Montgomery, Capt. Bruce, Capt. Lindsey, Lieut.
 Harroway, Lieut. Lisle, Enf. Hume, wounded.

Of General Churchill's Regiment. Lieut. Scrimfour, Lieut.
 Palfrey, kill'd. Lieut. Col. Peyton, Major Hetley, Capt.
 Meols, Capt. Luke, Capt. Slaughter, Enf. Montgomery, Enf.
 Bolton, Enf. Champion, Enf. Smith, wounded.

Of Brigadier Webb's Regiment. Capt. Leon. Lloyd, Lieut.
 Beiser, wounded.

Of the Lord North and Gray's Regiment. Capt. Daws,
 Sir J. Sandes, Capt. Cavendish, Capt. Burton, Lieut. Freer,
 Lieut. Weeks, Enf. Breames, Enf. Dawson, kill'd. Lord North
 and Gray, Major Glanville, Capt. Cunningham, Capt. Spot-
 wood, Lieut. Buller, Lieut. Boylblank, Lieut. Hornby, Enf.
 Croy, Enf. Rossington, wounded.

Of Brigadier How's Regiment. Major Cornwallis, Capt.
 Tankard, Lieut. Kerr, Lieut. Simmons, Enf. Jackson, kill'd.
 Lieut. Col. Bretton, Major Armstrong, Capt. Villebonne, Capt.
 Gaston, Lieut. Bason, Lieut. Dickenson, Lieut. Harrison,
 Enf. Lesly, Enf. Hargrave, Enf. Edwards, Enf. Dean, Enf. Pa-
 trick, Enf. Dawson, wounded.

Of the Earl of Derby's Regiment, Capt. Coghlan, Lieut.
 Brown, Enf. Sabin, Enf. Hesketh, kill'd. Col. Hamilton, Capt.
 Hesketh, Capt. Flemming, Capt. Lee, Capt. Horne, Lieut.
 Ayloff, Lieut. Reddith, Enf. Gordon, Enf. Machrich, Enf.
 Hook, wounded.

Of Brigadier Hamilton's Regiment. Capt. Browne, Capt.
 Rolliston, Enf. Moyle, kill'd. Major Cane, Capt. Pennetire,
 Capt. Hufley, Capt. Vauclin, Lieut. Smith, Lieut. Roberts,
 Lieut. Weddle, Lieut. Blackney, Lieut. Harvey, Enf. Trip,
 wounded.

Of

Of Brigadier Row's Regiment. Col. Dalyel, Capt. Stretton, sen. Capt. Stretton, jun. Lieut. Vandergracht, Lieut. Will. Cambell, Lieut. Travillion, kill'd. Brigadier Row, Major Campbell, Capt. Crawford, Capt. Fairlee, Lieut. Dunbar, Lieut. Ja. Douglas, Lieut. Elliot, Lieut. Ogilvy, Lieut. Maxwell, Lieut. Stuart, Lieut. Primrose, Lieut. Gordon, wounded.

Of Brigadier Ferguson's Regiment. Capt. Campbell, Lieut. Arch. Douglas, Lieut. Seaton, Lieut. Moncriff, Enf. Hay, killed. Lieut. Col. Levingston, Capt. Smart, Capt. Blackader, Capt. Borthwick, Capt. Wilson, Lieut. Ferguson, Enf. Bernard, Enf. Maclean, Enf. Ogilvy, Enf. Row, Enf. Dalrimple, Enf. Olephant, Enf. Marshal, Quarter-Master Stephenson, wounded.

Of Lieutenant-General Ingoldby's Regiment. Major Geo. Morgan, Capt. Hen. Cookman, Lieut. Hugh Smith, Lieut. Griffith Jones, Lieut. Bailey, Lieut. Fleetwood Dormer, Lieut. Rowland, Lieut. John Paterfon, Adjutant Powel, wounded.

Of the Duke of Marlborough's Regiment. Capt. Fitz Simmons, Capt. Bailey, Lieut. Parrot, kill'd. Capt. Tichburn, Capt. Pollixfen, Capt. Gardiner, Capt. La Coude, Lieut. Finch, Lieut. Alboreton, Lieut. Whitehall, Enf. Turner, Enf. Douglas, wounded.

Of Col. Meredith's Regiment. Lieut. Cairnes, Lieut. Edmonds, Lieut. Biron, wounded.

The Dragoons suffer'd so little, that only the Adjutant of Ross's Regiment was much wounded.

H O R S E.

Of Lieutenant-General Lumley's. Lieut. Barton, Adjutant Kingston, wounded.

Of Lieutenant-General Wood's Regiment. Lieut. Col. Featherstonehagh, Cornet Odiarn, kill'd. Capt. Armstrong, Capt. Shute, Lieut. Dove, Cornet Forrester, Cornet Stevenson, wounded.

Of Lieutenant-General Windham's Regiment. Major Che-nevix, Lieut. Payne, Cornet Thompson, Cornet Sanders, Quarter-Master Crocker, kill'd. Capt. Windham, Lieut. Hall, Cornet Ward, Cornet Nevil, Lieut. Edmonds, wounded.

Of the Duke of Schomberg's Regiment. Major Creed, Lieut. Hawker, Quarter-Master Charleton, kill'd. Capt. Prime, Cornet Creuseau, Lieut. Palmes, wounded.

Of Col. Cadogan's Regiment. Lieut. Grebeir, kill'd.

The following Officers died afterwards of their Wounds, viz. Brigadier Row, Lord Forbes, Capt. in the Royal Regiment of Foot; Capt. Luke, of General Churchill's Regiment; Capt. Vauchlin of Brigadier Hamilton's Regiment; and Capt. Gardiner of the Duke of Marlborough's Regiment.

1704.

Note. The Regiments named in this List, with the Lord John Hay's, and Major General Ross's Regiment of Dragoons, are all the English and Scotch Forces that march'd with the Duke of Marlborough into Germany.

K.

*A List of the Prisoners of Note, taken at the Battle of
Blenheim.*

A List of
the Prisoners
of Note ta-
ken in this
Battle.

THE Marshal de Tallard; Marquis de Montperoux, Maître de Camp, General of Horse; Monsi. de Hautefeuille, Maître de Camp, General of Dragoons; Marquis de Marivaux, Lieutenant-General; Marquis de Blancfac, Marshal de Camp of Foot; Monsi. de Valseme, Marshal de Camp; Marquis de la Valiere, Marquis de Silly, Brigadiers-General of Horse; Monsi. Desnoyville, Monsi. d'Amigay, Chevalier de Croissi, Monsi. de St. Second, Monsi. de Signey, Monsi. de Montfort, Brigadiers-General of Foot; Monsi. Jolly, Brigadier-General of Dragoons; Marquis de Seppeville, Monsi. de la Massiliere, Brigadiers-General of the Gens d'Armes; Marquis de Sassenage, Aid de Camp, and Son-in-Law to the Marquis de Tallard; Marquis de St. Pouange, the Chevalier de Ligonday, Colonels of Horse; Marquis de Nonan, Colonel of the Regiment of Provence, Count de Tavannes, Count de Schack, Monsi. Biancourt, Monsi. Sauboeuf, Count de Lionne, Marquis de Lassy, Baron d'Ellen, Colonels of Foot; Marquis de Vassy, Marquis d'Aurival, Colonels of Dragoons; Prince Maubecq of Lorraine, Capt. of Horse; Marquis d'Auvet, Capt. of the Gens d'Armes; Monsi. de Caraman, second Lieutenant of the Gens d'Armes, and Colonel; Monsi. d'Ovillars, Ensign of the Gens d'Armes; Monsi. Tuissac, Guidon of the Gens d'Armes: And the Sieurs de Breuil, and la Morcelaire, Commissaries of the Artillery.

L.

*A List of the French Troops made Prisoners at Discretion, in the
Village of Blenheim, the 13th of August, 1704.*

A List of
the French
Troops
taken in the
Village of
Blenheim.

FOUR Regiments of Dragoons, viz. that of the Maître de Camp-General, La Reine, Vassy and Rouan, consisting of three Squadrons each. Seventeen Regiments of Foot, viz. Navarre three Battalions, Senneterre two, Creder German two, Aunis two, Artois two, Provence one, Languedoc two, Blaisois one, Argentois one, Surlaube two, St. Second one, Lassy one, Boulois one, Mourroux one, Montfort two, Royal three, of the Artillery one; in all 28 Battalions. The Duke

of

of Marlborough, however, in his Letters to Mr. Secretary Harley, and to the States General, mentions but 26 Battalions : As does, likewise, one of the French Generals, in his Letter to Mons. de Chamillard. General Hompesch, in a second Letter to the States General, calls them 27 Battalions, as do, likewise, some other Accounts : But they all agree, that they were at least 26.

1704.
See Letters C. and D. below.
See Letter Q. below.

M,

The Emperor's Letter to the Duke of Marlborough, upon his Grace's Victory at Hochstadt.

Illuſtriſſime Conſanguinee & Princeps chariſſime. Lubenter admodum his Dilectionem veſtram compello nominibus, quam non tam propter antiquiſſimam præclaræ Familiz ſuz Nobilitatem, quam ob propria decora & inſignia in Me, Domumque meam auguſtam & Sacrum Romanum Imperium merita, inter Romani Imperii Principes ſponte mea cooptandam duxi. Extare nimirum volui etiam hoc maximi in Germania Honoris à me in Vos merito collati publicum Monumentum, quo magis omnibus pateat, quantum cum Sereniſſimæ Magnæ Britanniz Reginæ, quod Rebus meis, & Imperii ob perſidam Bavari ad Gallum defectionem non leviter concuſſis, eximias ſuppettias in Vindeliçiam & Baviarîam uſque ſub ductu veſtro miſerit, tum Dilectioni veſtræ Me & Imperium debere ultro agnoſcâm, quod tam prudenter, tam fortiter, tam proſperè res geſtæ ſint ; cum non Fama ſola, ſed meæ quoque Militiz Supremi, Laborum veſtrorum & Victoriarum Socii & Participes, eas veſtris imprimis Conſiliis & Virtuti Anglicarumque, & Aliarum Copiarum, ſub directione veſtra militantium Fortitudini, acceptas referant. Tantæ vero hæ ſunt, præſertim Hochſtetdenſis, cui parem de Gallis reportatam Secula non noverunt, retrò ut non modo Hoſtium pernicioſiſſimos conatus repulſos, & Vacillantis non nihil Germaniz, ſeu verius univerſæ Europæ, Res rurfus firmatas eſſe gratulari poſſimus, ſed etiam porro ſperare liceat, plenam mox & integrâm Chriſtiani Orbis Libertatem, contra Gallicam Potentiam ejus Cervicibus imminentem, feliciter aſſertum iri. Quod cum Dilectionem veſtram ſtudia & operam ſuam omnem ſine ceſſatione impenſuram certus abunde ſim, id mihi ſolum ſupereſt, ut fortunatos ſucceſſus appreçer, Vobisque uberiora gratiſſimi animi documenta quavis occaſione promptiſſimè exhibenda denuò pollicear.

The Emperor's Letter to the Duke of Marlboro'.

Dabantur in Urbe mea Viennæ, 28 Auguſti, 1704.

A literal Translation of this Letter.

1704.

A Transla-
tion of that
Letter.

“ **M**OST illustrious Cousin, and most dear Prince, I do
 “ gladly call by these Names your Grace [*or rather Di-*
 “ *lection, a Stile by which the Princes of the Empire*] whom
 “ I have freely, and of my own accord, admitted among the
 “ Princes of the Holy Roman Empire, not so much in Consi-
 “ deration of your noble Family, as upon Account of your
 “ personal Merit, and your great Deserts towards me, my Au-
 “ gust House, and the Holy Roman Empire. I have been
 “ willing that this publick Monument of the supreme Honour
 “ in Germany, which I have so deservedly conferr’d upon you,
 “ should remain, that it may more and more appear to all the
 “ World, how much, as I freely own it, I, and all the Em-
 “ pire, owe to the most serene Queen of Great Britain, for
 “ having sent her powerful Assistance as far as Augsburg and
 “ Bavaria itself, under your Conduct, when my own Affairs,
 “ and those of the Empire, were so much shaken and disor-
 “ der’d, by the perfidious Defection of the Bavarians to the
 “ French; and to your Grace, upon account that Things have
 “ been so prudently, so vigorously, and successfully transacted:
 “ For not only Fame, but likewise the Generals of my Forces,
 “ the Companions and Sharers of your Labours and Victories,
 “ attribute the same chiefly to your Counsels, and the Valour
 “ and Bravery of the English, and other Forces, who fought
 “ under your Conduct. These Actions are so great, and par-
 “ ticularly that of Hochstadt, past Ages having never seen the
 “ like Victory obtain’d over the French, that we may rejoice
 “ to see, not only the most pernicious Efforts of the Enemy re-
 “ puls’d, and the Affairs of Germany, which were somewhat
 “ tottering, or rather those of all Europe, secured and settled
 “ again; but, likewise, that it may be reasonably hoped, that
 “ the full and perfect Liberty of the Christian World shall be
 “ rescued from the Power of France, which was so imminently
 “ impending over it. Being entirely persuaded and sure, that
 “ your Grace will, without Intermiſſion, apply all your Care
 “ and Industry towards that End, there remains nothing else
 “ for me, but to wish you a prosperous Success, and that I as-
 “ sure you of farther Marks of my Gratitude, upon all Occa-
 “ sions, which I shall be ready to express.

Given in my City of Vienna, August 28, 1704.

N.

The Marshal de Villars's Letter to the Abbot of St. Pierre.

“ I Understand, by your last Letters, that some People out
 “ of Compassion for unfortunate Men, excuse, that seven and
 “ twenty Battalions, and four Regiments of Dragoons, should
 “ choose to surrender Prisoners of War, while our Left Wing
 “ remained almost entire. These Sentiments are very little like
 “ those of the antient Romans, who, after the Battle of Cannæ,
 “ when Hannibal was at their Gates, were so far from excusing
 “ their Prisoners, that they would not suffer their Soldiers,
 “ who had made their Escape out of that Fight to come into their
 “ City. Curio, Cæsar’s Lieutenant, thought very differently
 “ from these Gentlemen; he would not retire with his Caval-
 “ ry: *How could I appear* (said he) *before Cæsar, after having*
 “ *lost his Legions?* What could they do better (say some silly
 “ People) than to save the King a great Number of Troops
 “ and Officers? ’Tis upon such Occasions as this, that one must
 “ answer with old Horatius, Father to the three Champions of
 “ the Romans, in our Corneille, when he heard his Son was
 “ run away.

1704.

A remark-
 able Letter
 from the
 Marshal de
 Villars to
 the Abbot of
 St. Pierre.

*Qu’il mourut,
 Ou qu’un beau Desespoir a’ors le secourut!*

(Had he died on the Spot, or been relieved by a noble
 Despair.)

“ Thus the Spanish Infantry, at Rocroy, commanded by the
 “ old Count de Fontaines, chose rather to perish than to beg
 “ Quarter. Ought not the Soldiers and Officers, seeking to
 “ fight their Way, with the Bayonet at the Muzzle of their
 “ Guns, to have prefer’d a glorious Death, to the Ignominy of
 “ perishing with Hunger and Misery in their Prisons? I blush
 “ for our Nation, when I reflect on so base a Surrender, and I
 “ see, with a Grief beyond Expression, how short we come
 “ of the antient Romans, and even of French whom I have
 “ known.

Sign’d,

The Marshal DE VILLARS.

1704.

O.

A List of the Partition of the Officers, Soldiers, Horse, and Dragoons, taken by the Allies, at the Battle of Hochstadt.

Prince EUGENE's Share.

	Bat.	Capt.	Lieut.	S. Lt.	Serg.	Sold.
Prince Eugene's Share of the Prisoners.						
Navarre	3	32	34	37	40	1029
Santen	2	20	16	18	33	570
Greder	2	29	33	0	28	236
Aunix	2	17	15	10	36	441
Surlaube	2	24	34	8	38	360
Monro	1	8	8	6	20	297
Agenois	1	62	10	11	21	240
Laffy	1	11	7	3	18	200
Blaffon	1	6	6	8	19	292
	15	153	163	91	253	3665
Cannoniers						88
2 Commiff. of Artill.		2				23
Cavalry						155
Dragoons.	Squ.	Offic.				
Maist. de Camp.	3	38				300
Vasse	3	38				289
						4520

The Rest of the Regiments.

Roy. Artill.	1					110
Nice	1					146
		231	163	91	253	4776
Captains						231
Lieutenants						163
Under-Lieutenants						91
Sergeants						253
Soldiers, Horse, and Dragoons						4776

Total of Prince Eugene's Share 5514

Duke of MARLBOROUGH, &c.

275

1704.

P.

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH's Share.

	Bat.	Capt.	Lieut.	S. Lt.	Serg.	Sold.	The Duke of Marlboro's Share of the Prisoners.
Royal	3	32	29	22	42	980	
Provence	1	6	5	3	19	316	
Bolonnois	1	10	9	10	20	308	
St. Second	1	11	13	0	18	213	
Languedoc	2	16	20	15	32	586	
Artois	2	20	20	16	33	660	
Rebec	1	1	6	2	16	175	
Chabillant	1	4	0	0	17	70	
Montfort	2	15	17	15	29	419	
	14	115	119	83	226	3727	

Officers wounded.

At Dillingen	0	60	0	0	0	0
Cavalry	0	35	0	0	0	145
Dragoons.	Squ.					
La Reine	3	50	0	0	0	281
Rohan	3	40	0	0	0	290

The Rest of the Regiments.

Albaret	1	0	0	0	0	148
Bandeville	1	0	0	0	0	120
Auxeroys	1	0	0	0	0	239
	300	119	83	226	4950	

Captains	—	—	—	—	—	300
Lieutenants	—	—	—	—	—	119
Sub-Lieutenants	—	—	—	—	—	83
Sergeants	—	—	—	—	—	226
Soldiers, Cavalry, and Dragoons	—	—	—	—	—	4950
						5678

Total of the Duke of Marlborough's Share, 5678. In the whole, 11,192, besides 3000, who had taken Service among the Allies.

A Letter from a French General to Mons. de Chamillard, Minister of State, in France.

SIR,

Straßburg, Aug. 30, 1704. N. S.

A Letter
from a
French Ge-
neral, to
Mons. de
Chamillard.

“ **T**HE Army march’d, the twelfth, from Dillingen and Lawingen, to go and encamp at Blenheim, along a Rivulet, that edged the Front of our Camp, which was said to be moorish, but was not so ; our Right reaching to the Danube, and our Left to a Hill, covered by a thin Wood. The Elector having press’d to march forward, upon a Belief that the Enemy were not joined, Mons. de Tallard consented to it, and relied upon People who had served a Year and a half in that Country, to post himself as I told you. The Camp was hardly marking, when Information was brought to the Marshal, that the Enemy appeared on the other Side of the Rivulet, that bordered the Front of our Camp. He went that Way immediately, and having caused some Troops to go over, the Enemy retir’d to their Camp.

“ Several People press’d the Elector to march up to them, assuring him, that they were not joined. The Marshal dissuaded him from it ; representing to him, that, before they advanced, they ought to be thoroughly informed. In order to that, a great Detachment was made to approach them nearer ; and we made some Prisoners, who assured us, that they were joined ; whereupon we returned back, and had no other Thoughts but to encamp. About five o’Clock, in the Morning, the Enemy march’d in their Turn to view us, with the great Piquet, with whom they advanced as far as Schweiningen, and then retir’d.

“ The next Day, at two in the Morning, the Enemy beat the General, and march’d, in order to attack us. At six, in the Morning, we were still ignorant of their Design ; but seeing them advance towards us, in four great Columns, we began to believe they had a Mind to fight us. We beat the General, in our Camp, and soon after, founded to Horse : And, in that Interval, the Resolution was taken, how to post ourselves. To make you comprehend it, without a Plan, and at this Distance, I must resume the Situation of our Camp. Our Right reached to the Danube, having the Village of Blenheim in our Front, where was Mons. de Tallard’s Quarters ; and the Village of Lutzingen to the Left of our Camp, where was the Elector’s Quarters. All the first Line of Foot, of Mons. de Tallard, had its Right to the Danube, that it might be at hand, to be posted in the Village of Blenheim, which

“ which was before it. That first Line consisted of nineteen
 “ Battalions, on the Left of which we had posted all our first
 “ Line of Horse, so that they joined the Horse of Mons. de
 “ Marfin. Next to this was the rest of his Army, which
 “ reach’d as far as the Hill, and of which I shall not give you
 “ the Particulars, because I was not there, having had Em-
 “ ployment enough in our Right.

“ The second Line was drawn up as usual, that is to say,
 “ the Infantry in the Center; the two Armies having Commu-
 “ nication one with another, and making together eight Bat-
 “ talions, and 140 Squadrons. In the Center of both Ar-
 “ mies, there was a Hill, which commanded all the Plain, and
 “ whose gentle Declivity reach’d as far as the Rivulet, that run
 “ along the Front of our Camp; and, over against that Hill,
 “ was a Village call’d Unterklau, which we caused to be set
 “ on Fire, as well as two Mills, that were on the Rivulet, in
 “ the Way down to Blenheim; so that it was resolv’d to defend
 “ only the Passage of the Rivulet, and the Morass, the Gene-
 “ rals being order’d to charge the Enemy, as they pass’d, and
 “ to take Heed not to let too many of them pass.

“ This Resolution being taken, we posted the nineteen Bat-
 “ talions of our first Line, and seven of the second, in the Vil-
 “ lage of Blenheim. We, also, placed there our four Regi-
 “ ments of Dragoons, on Foot, to the Right, along the Da-
 “ nube; and from the Village of Blenheim to that of Oberklau,
 “ we posted, on two Lines, eight and forty Squadrons of Mons.
 “ de Tallard’s Army, and two and thirty of that of Mons. de
 “ Marfin, with nine Battalions in the Center, and the Brigades of
 “ Champagne and Bourbonnois, to the Right of Mons. de Mar-
 “ fin’s Village, that they might be at hand, to sustain either
 “ his Village, or the Right of his Cavalry. We plac’d Batta-
 “ lies in all the Front, and both Armies cannonaded one ano-
 “ ther, till ten or eleven in the Morning, when the Attack first
 “ began. During this Cannonading, Advice was brought to
 “ Mons. de Tallard, that the Enemy march’d a great Number
 “ of Infantry, to the Right; but that their Design was to attack
 “ the Left of Mons. de Marfin, as the weakest Side, by reason
 “ of the thin Wood, to which it reach’d. He went with Speed
 “ to the Right, which the Enemy did really design to attack,
 “ being advanced to pass the Rivalet, in the whole Front of
 “ the Hill I have mention’d before, where all their Horse was
 “ posted, over against the Right of Mons. de Marfin,

“ Mons. de Silly, and one of his Friends †, were upon that † The Wri-
 “ Line, and seeing that our Men were drawing off our Battery, ter of this
 “ they went thither and stop’d them; and seeing the English Letter.
 “ preparing themselves to attack the Village of Blenheim, they
 “ resolv’d to cause the first and second Line of Horse to march,

1704.

“ as if the Marshal (de Tallard) had been there present. He rode
 “ up to them full Gallop, and made them, indeed, advance; but
 “ unfortunately the Brigades of the two Rights did only march,
 “ nor did the Gendarmerie move, which gave the Enemy Time
 “ to form, without any Disturbance, several Lines of Horse, in
 “ all the Space of Ground, whither the Tooops did not march,
 “ till above three Quarters of an Hour after that first Charge.
 “ All the Men the Enemy had in the Bottom of the Valley were
 “ repulsed, as well those who happened to be in the Way of
 “ the Gendarmerie, who march’d, at last, intoxicated with Con-
 “ ceit of that small Advantage. We prepared ourselves to re-
 “ ceive the Enemy a second time, and neglected the great
 “ double Lines, which were forming at the Foot of that fatal
 “ Hill. Mons. de Silly had his Horse kill’d under him, and
 “ thinking how to get another, when his Friend, seeing the
 “ Marshal de Tallard, joined him, and gave him an Account of
 “ the Attack of the Village. Mons. de Tallard resolved to go
 “ thither, and, by that Means, the Hill was neglected, he not
 “ being able to perceive what pass’d at the Foot of it.
 “ Thus they enter’d the Village, and Mons. de Tallard re-
 “ doubled his Care to secure that Post. At length, he went
 “ out of that Village, and returned to the Cavalry. As he
 “ came to the Right, the Enemy began a fresh Attack: They
 “ advanced to the Village of Blenheim, to the very Muzzles of
 “ our Muskets, but were repulsed. The Gendarmerie, who,
 “ with Sword in Hand, thought to have repuls’d the Enemy,
 “ that were before them, were expos’d to the Fire of some In-
 “ fantry, well posted, and were charg’d by some English Squa-
 “ drons, which made them give Way, and drove them beyond
 “ a Rivulet which they had behind them. In this Charge,
 “ Messrs. de Surlaube and d’Imecourt had their Horses killed
 “ under them, and the first received six or seven Wounds. The
 “ Brigade of Silly, thro’ the Intervals of which the Gendarmerie
 “ pass’d to rally themselves, charged the English, and made
 “ them repass the Rivulet, with Precipitation.
 “ During this brisk Attack, the Generals of our Left, and
 “ of Mons. de Marfin’s Right, awak’d out of their fatal Drousi-
 “ ness, and caus’d some Brigades to march to the Enemy,
 “ whom they saw advanced almost to the Top of the Hill.
 “ All our Brigades charg’d briskly, and made all the Squa-
 “ drons they attack’d give Way; but these Squadrons being
 “ sustained by several Lines of Horse and Foot, our Men were
 “ forced to shrink back, and throw themselves on our second
 “ Line, which being at some Distance, gave the Enemy Time
 “ to gain Ground, which they maintained by their Numbers,
 “ and their *slow and close March*. We rallied the Squadrons of
 “ our first Line, and they charg’d again with the same Success;

“ but

“ but they were still overpowered, as were also the said Brigades, and, at last, the second Line.

“ Monf. de Tallard interlaced our Battalions with our Cavalry, with Design to make a last Effort to break the double Lines of the Enemy. Our Men march'd up to them gallantly, and the Enemy's first Line threw themselves on their second. We gained some Ground, and advanced to charge the second Line; but this being sustained by a third and fourth, *Our Troopers fled, and our poor Battalions were cut in Pieces.* We rallied again the third time the Cavalry which was broken; but it was so diminished by the several Charges, that it now formed but one Line.

“ Things being in this Condition, Monf. de Tallard considered, that it was high Time to draw off the Dragoons and Infantry out of the Village of Blenheim, and, exhorting his Cavalry to stand their Ground, he took that Resolution. He sent a trusty Person to Monf. de Marsin, *to desire him to face the Enemy, with some Troops, on the Right of his Village, to keep them in Play, to favour the Retreat of our Infantry; but* he represented to the Messenger, *that he had too much on his Hands, in the Front of his Village, and the rest of the Lines; to think of sparing any Troops, he being so far from victorious; that he could but just maintain his Ground.* During this Discourse, our Horse had faced the Enemy; but, on a sudden, they were ordered to wheel about, which, you will imagine, was done with great Disorder. In short, this was so precipitate a Flight, that many cast themselves into the Danube, and the Enemy let loose three Regiments of Dragoons after them. Monf. de Tallard was environ'd with the Fugitives, and taken in that Rout. Messieurs de Mauperoux, de la Valliere, Silly, Seppeville, Messeliere, St. Pouange, Ligondais, and several others, were also made Prisoners.

“ The taking of Monf. de Tallard is a great Misfortune for the King: For it is certain, that, with his Infantry, he might have made a very honourable Retreat; whereas that Infantry is now *the Laughing-Stock of Nations*, and useless to the King, for a long Time, in a War so violent as this is. In short, to give you an Account of all that happened on that fatal Day, Part of our Cavalry, and all the Gendarmerie, having thrown themselves towards the Danube, into a narrow Nook, which formed a Demi-Island, they found themselves cut off from the rest of the Army; which forced many brave Men to throw themselves into the Danube, to save themselves.

“ The News of this being brought to Grignan's Brigade, which was retired more to the Left, to pass the Morais at Hochstadt, they rallied and march'd to the Enemy, and made them abandon the Defilee, in which they were; and, there-

1704

by, disengaged all those, who were not either killed or taken. They then formed themselves on the Height of Hochstadt, and, marching on, faced the Enemy, which gave us Time to draw off the Wounded from that Place. This was the sad Fate of a brisk and good Cavalry, which might have been used to better Purpose; but which we give over lamenting, as soon as we begin to consider the wretched Destiny of our Regiments of Foot.

Messieurs de Clerambault and Blanzac were the Officers who commanded the Dragoons and Infantry in the Village of Blenheim; and all that we can learn from some Officers, who were made Prisoners, and are come to our Camp, is, that Monsieur de Clerambault, *without taking a Resolution worthy of his Name, with a powerful Body, which was yet entire, as soon as he saw the Rout of our Cavalry, caused his Postillion to found the Danube, and throwing himself into it, was drowned.* The Enemy, having surrounded the Village of Blenheim, by several Lines, advanced to streighten it, close on the Left Flank, where our Right of Horse was before posted. Our Men were soon alarmed, and the Colonel of the Royal Regiment bethought himself of saving his Life, and that of his Soldiers, whom he caused to lay down their Arms, and himself surrendered the Colours. The Soldiers of Surlaube, who were likewise, in the Left Flank, put themselves into Disorder, and entered the Center of the Village in Confusion. Mons. de Siviére, being informed of this Disorder, called the Regiments of Provence and Artois, and all that were resolute, to him, and, with Sword in Hand, drove the Enemy to the very Head of their Cavalry, and returned to the Village leisurely. Mons. de Siviére had his Wrist broken. *The Duke of Marlborough judging rightly, that they were old Troops in that Place, the overcoming of which would cost him dear, made use of Mons. Desnoyville, his Prisoner, to exhort them to accept their Lives.* Mons. de Blanzac consented to it, and did his best to get the Consent of Navarre, who buried his Colours. All yielded. Mons. de Blanzac signed the Articles; but Siviére and Jourry refused to set their Hands to them. They were all disarmed, and had their Colours taken from them. *Grief will not suffer me to carry this Recital any farther.* You may well imagine what a sad Spectacle it is to see six and twenty Battalions, and four Regiments of Dragoons Prisoners. I leave that Black Idea, and return to the Village of Oberklau. the Quarters of Mons. de Marsin.

When he saw the Horse on his Right, and ours, routed, he bethought himself of retreating, with his Left, which, thro' the Care of Count de Bourg, had always repuls'd the Enemy, having charged them as they were half pass'd. He drew

1704.

“ drew off all his Infantry, and march'd leisurely, as far as the
 “ Morals of Hochstadt, which he repass'd in good Order, and
 “ came to Dillengen, where the Resolution was taken to send all
 “ the Horse to Ulm, by Goldenfingen; and to cause all the
 “ Baggage to pass the Danube, during the Night. In the
 “ Morning, we drew up all the Infantry, and came to encamp
 “ at Lipeht, leaving 1000 Men at Lawingen, with Orders to
 “ retreat, as soon as the Enemy should approach, and to burn
 “ the Bridge, which was done; and marching since, with Pre-
 “ cipitation, we bring, to the King, *the poor Remains of an*
 “ *Army griev'd to Death*, and which is no otherwise Guilty, than
 “ *thro' the Non-performance of the positive Order*, which had been
 “ given, *not to let the Enemy pass the Rivulet*, and to charge
 “ them as they pass'd, *altogether, and not by Brigades, as we did;*
 “ *against a Body formed and formidable*, which at last penetrated
 “ into our Center, and surrounded the Infantry, &c.

R.

A Letter from the Adjutant of the Gendarmerie, to Monsieur de Chamillard.

My Lord,

“ **I**N Obedience to your Command, in your Letter of the
 “ Fifteenth, to inform you of all that happened among the
 “ Gendarmerie, I shall begin, in the Absence of the Major,
 “ with acquainting you with the Despair of all the Officers, up-
 “ on the News they receive from Paris, wherein they find that
 “ Mons. de Silly spreads injurious and malicious Reports against
 “ them. Is it possible, my Lord, that the Reputation of a
 “ Body so well established every where, by so many different
 “ Actions, can depend on the *Caprice or Malice of a private*
 “ *Man, without Experience?* And is it just to believe him, if he
 “ has a Mind to disgrace so many brave Men, who, in the Sight
 “ both of Friends and Enemies, have done all that could be ex-
 “ pected from Men of Courage? In that unfortunate Day, they
 “ did not fear to expose themselves to Death, for the Glory of
 “ the Nation, and the King's Service; nevertheless, it is but
 “ too true, that he has made People believe all that he had
 “ a Mind to say against us; so prevalent are the first Impres-
 “ sions! And, we are told, he has dared to advance, that the
 “ Flight of the Gendarmerie had occasioned that of the Ca-
 “ valry. All the Army knows, that we had charged twice,
 “ before the Cavalry had approach'd the Enemy; that we
 “ faced them till six o'Clock in the Evening; and that it was
 “ in the Center, which was thin and weak, where the Enemy
 “ pierced thro'. This is Matter of Fact, which, I'll maintain,
 “ no Body will dare to contradict. Wherefore, my Lord, do
 “ not deny us, on this Occasion, so very nice for us, and of so

A Letter
 from the
 Adjutant of
 the Gendar-
 merie, to
 Monsieur de
 Chamillard.

“ great

1704.

“ great Consequence for all, the same Privilege, which is at-
 “ lowed to most Criminals; that is, not to pass Judgment upon
 “ us, upon the Report of a single Man, especially one so ex-
 “ ceptionable; but be pleased to judge of us, on the Testi-
 “ mony of several unexceptionable Witnesses, who are Men of
 “ Experience, who can see clearly what passes on Days of
 “ Action, and whom *Truth alone, not Envy, will cause to*
 “ *speak.*

“ You know, my Lord, we are very much envied; Wit-
 “ nesses the Battle of Spire, in which the Gendarmerie broke
 “ thro’ the Enemy, with so much Rapidity, that they, there-
 “ by, gave Time to our Infantry to come up: Nevertheless,
 “ some had the Confidence to speak ill of them, and to represent
 “ their Valour as Temerity, and their Conduct as Over-cau-
 “ tiousness: But you were soon informed of the Truth, and
 “ did us the Justice which was due to us, as soon as you
 “ knew we march’d by Orders of the Generals only, and that
 “ we had discharg’d every Part of our Duty. Do us the Fa-
 “ vour, my Lord, to search into the Bottom of this last Af-
 “ fair; wherein our Body, as they were posted, could do no
 “ more, than sacrifice themselves, as they did, without be-
 “ ing able to succeed in their Charges, being continually exposed
 “ to the Fire of a close Body of Infantry, sustained by several
 “ Ranks; and, above all, posted in a shallow Way, with Palli-
 “ sadoes before it. It is true, these Pallisadoes were not per-
 “ ceived, especially by those, who speak so rashly; but they
 “ were perceived by those who approach’d the Enemy, so near
 “ as we did. I must also make bold to tell you, my Lord, we
 “ have taken Notice more than once, that the Marshal de Tal-
 “ lard had no Kindness for us; tho’, since he is a Prisoner, he
 “ has honoured us with several Compliments, on the Valour of
 “ our Officers, regretting so many gallant Men, who were either
 “ killed or wounded. The Respect we have for him will not
 “ suffer us nicely to enquire into our Misfortune of not being in
 “ his Favour: However, out of a certain Confidence, which
 “ Truth suggests, we cannot imagine, that he can say openly
 “ any ill Thing against us; nor that he could charge Monsieur
 “ de Silly, to cast on us the Faults of that unfortunate Day,
 “ which, out of Discretion, we will impute to no Body.

“ The Marshal de Tallard did not see the two first Charges
 “ we made, not being returned to us till after those two Actions.
 “ He was gone to the Left of Mons. de Marfin’s Army, and
 “ he might have seen, at his Return, that the Enemy had but
 “ too much Time to form four Lines, before us, one upon the
 “ other, which baffled our Efforts, and disappointed our good
 “ Intentions. We overthrew, indeed, their first Line, more
 “ than once; but it was still succoured, and animated again,
 “ by

“ by three others. Had we been Men who would run away,
 “ how could we have had fifty-one Officers killed or wounded,
 “ tho’ there were three and twenty absent? And most of the
 “ rest had their Horses kill’d under them, as well as the great
 “ Number of the Gens d’Arms, of whom I have already had
 “ the Honour to inform you.

“ Messieurs de Lainon, de Hautefort, de Magnac, and se-
 “ veral others, may acquaint you, that we remained with
 “ them, till ten o’Clock, at Night, on the Height of Hoch-
 “ stadt; that we drew out of the Castle Monf. de Surlaube and
 “ Monf. de la Bahme, and that we brought up the Rear of
 “ all, as far as Ulm. After all this, may not we hope, my
 “ Lord, that you will be pleased to inform the King of the
 “ Truths I have the Honour to write to you, which are most
 “ certain? And that you will, thereby, give some Comfort to
 “ Officers, who are grieved to Death, and driven to Despair,
 “ by having their Lives left them, after they had their Honour
 “ taken from them?

I must not conclude this Chapter, without observing that the
 Muses were not backward on this Occasion. Many were their
 Productions in Honour of the glorious and ever-memorable
 Action, of which I have been giving a Relation. I shall give
 my Readers a Couple of the most celebrated; and begin with
 one we find inserted in Tom Brown’s Works.

On the Duke of Marlborough’s Victory at Hochstadt in 1704.

THE conqu’ring Genius of our Isle returns;
 Inspir’d by Ann, the Godlike Hero burns;
 Retrieves the Fame our ill-led Troops had lost,
 And spreads reviving Valour thro’ the Host.
 In distant Climes the wond’ring Foe alarms,
 And with new Thunder Austria’s Eagle arms.
 The Danube’s Banks, forgetting Cæsar’s Name,
 Shall echo to the Sonnd of Marlborough’s Fame.
 The Shepherd’s Pipes rejoyce o’er Gallick Blood,
 And with eternal Purple stain the Flood.

Verfes on
 the Battle of
 Hochstadt.

But of all the Poetical Performances, which appeared on this
 Occasion, none came up to that inimitable Poem of Mr. Addi-
 son’s, call’d the Campaign; which would very well deserve a Place
 here entire, among other Monuments of our Hero’s Glory; but
 as I have given the Reader some Fragments of this excellent
 Piece, in other Parts of this Work, I shall only insert that Part
 of it here which regards this auspicious Day.

T H E

1704.

Part of Mr.
Addison's
Campaign.

THE fatal Day its mighty Course began,
That the griev'd World had long desir'd in vain :
States, that their new Captivity bemoan'd,
Armies of Martyrs, that in Exile groan'd ;
Sighs from the Depth of gloomy Dungeons heard,
And Pray'rs in Bitterness of Soul preferr'd.
Europe's loud Cries, that Providence assail'd,
And ANNA's ardent Vows, at length, prevail'd ;
The Day was come, when Heav'n design'd to show
His Care and Conduct of the World below.

Behold, in awful March, and dread Array,
The long-extended Squadrons shape their Way !
Death, in approaching terrible, imparts
An anxious Horror to the bravest Hearts ;
Yet do their beating Breasts demand the Strife,
And Thirst of Glory quells the Love of Life ;
No vulgar Fears can British Minds controul,
Heat of Revenge, and noble Pride of Soul,
O'er-look the Foe, advantag'd by his Post,
Lessen his Numbers, and contract his Host :
Tho' Fens and Floods possess'd the middle Space,
That unprovok'd they would have fear'd to pass,
Nor Fens, nor Floods, can stop Britannia's Bands,
When her proud Foe rang'd on their Borders stands.

But O, my Muse, what Numbers wilt thou find,
To sing the furious Troops in Battle join'd !
Methinks I hear the Drum's tumultuous Sound,
The Victor's Shouts, and dying Groans confound ;
The dreadful Burst of Cannon rend the Skies,
And all the Thunder of the Battle rise.

An Obser-
vation of
the Tatler
on some
Lines of it.

“ The Author of the Tatler observes, that *the highest Act of the Mind is to possess itself with Tranquillity in imminent Danger, and to have its Thoughts so free, as to act, at that Time, without Perplexity.* He then mentions several of the Similies of the Antients to express this Act ; after which he goes on :
“ *But the sublime Image I am talking of, and which I really think is as great as ever enter'd into the Thought of Man, is in the Poem call'd the CAMPAIGN ; where the Simile of a Ministring Angel sets forth the most sedate, and the most active Courage, engaged in an Uproar of Nature, a Confusion of Elements, and a Scene of Divine Vengeance.*” This sublime Image is painted in the following fourteen Lines.

“ **T**WAS then great Marlboro's mighty Soul was prov'd,
That in the Shock of charging Hosts unmov'd,
Amidst

“ Amidst Confusion, Horror, and Despair,
 “ Examin’d all the dreadful Scenes of War;
 “ In peaceful Thought, the Field of Death survey’d,
 “ To fainting Squadrons sent the timely Aid,
 “ Inspir’d repuls’d Battalions to engage,
 “ And taught the doubtful Battle where to rage.
 “ So when an Angel, by Divine Command,
 “ With rising Tempests shakes a guilty Land,
 “ Such as of late o’er pale BRITANNIA pass’d,
 “ Calm and Serene he drives the furious Blast;
 “ And pleas’d the ALMIGHTY’s Orders to perform,
 “ Rides in the Whirlwind, and directs the Storm.

These Lines (adds the Author, I mentioned above) compliment the General, and his Queen, at the same Time, and have all the natural Horrors, heighten’d by the Image, that was still fresh in the Mind of every Reader. (Meaning, I presume, the dreadful November-Storm.) Our excellent Poet then proceeds.

Continuation of Part of the Poem.

But see, the haughty Household Troops advance!
 The Dread of Europe, and the Pride of France.
 The War’s whole Art each private Soldier knows,
 And with a Gen’ral’s Love of Conquest glows;
 Proudly he marches on, and, void of Fear,
 Laughs at the shaking of the British Spear;
Vain Insolence! with Native Freedom brave,
The meanest BRITON scorns the highest Slave;
 Contempt and Fury fire their Souls, by Turns,
 Each Nation’s Glory, in each Warrior burns:
 Each fights, as in his Arm th’ important Day,
 And all the Fate of his great Monarch lay:
A Thousand glorious Actions, that might claim
Triumphant Laurels, and immortal Fame,
Confus’d in Crouds of glorious Actions lye,
And Troops of Heroes undistinguish’d dye.
 O Dormer, how can I behold thy Fate,
 And not the Wonders of thy Youth relate!
 How can I see the Gay, the Brave, the Young,
 Fall in the Croud of War, and lye unsung!
 In Joys of Conquest, he resigns his Breath,
 And, fill’d with England’s Glory, smiles in Death.

The Rout begins, the Gallic Squadrons run,
 Compell’d in Crouds to meet the Fate they shun;
 Thousands of fiery Steeds, with Wounds transfix’d,
 Floating in Gore, with their dead Masters mixt;
 Midst Heaps of Spears and Standards driv’n around,
 Lye in the Danube’s bloody Whirlpools drown’d.

Troops

1704.

Troops of bold Youths, born on the distant Soan,
 Or founding Borders of the rapid Rhône,
 Or where the Sein her flowry Fields divides,
 Or where the Loire thro' winding Vineyards glides ;
 In Heaps the rolling Billows sweep away,
 And into Scythian Seas their bloated Corpse convey.
 From Blenheim's Tow'rs the Gaul, with wild Affright,
 Beholds the various Havock of the Fight :
 His waving Banners, that so oft had stood
 Planted in Fields of Death, and Streams of Blood ;
 So wont the guarded Enemy to reach,
 And rise triumphant in the fatal Breach ;
 Or pierce the broken Foe's remotest Lines,
 The hardy Veteran with Tears resigns.

Unfortunate Tallard ! Oh who can name
 The Pangs of Rage, of Sorrow, and of Shame,
 That, with mix'd Tumult, in thy Bosom swell'd !
 When first thou saw'st thy bravest Troops repell'd,
 Thine only Son, pierc'd with a deadly Wound,
 Choak'd in his Blood, and gasping on the Ground,
 Thy self in Bondage by the VICTOR kept !
 The Chief, the Father, and the Captive wept.
 An English Muse is touch'd with gen'rous Woe ;
 And, in th' unhappy Man, forgets the Foe.
 Greatly distress'd ! thy loud Complaints forbear,
 Blame not the Turns of Fate, and Chance of War ;
*Give thy brave Foes their Due, nor blush to own,
 The fatal Field by such great Leaders won ;
 The Field, whence fam'd EUGENIO bore away
 Only the second Honours of the Day.*

With Floods of Gore, that from the Vanquish'd fell,
 The Marshes stagnate, and the Rivers swell.
 Mountains of Slain lye heap'd upon the Ground,
 Or 'midst the Roarings of the Danube drown'd ;
 Whole Captive Hosts the Conqueror detains,
 In painful Bondage, and inglorious Chains ;
 Ev'n those who 'scape the Fetters and the Sword,
 Nor seek the Fortunes of a happier Lord,
 Their raging King dishonour, to compleat
 Marlbro's great Work, and finish the Defeat.

An Obser-
 vation of
 the Tatler
 upon the
 whole,

This whole Poem (*says the Author of the Tatler*) is so exquisite-
 ly Noble and Poetick, that I think it an Honour to our Nation
 and Language. Such a Performance (*continues he*) is a Chro-
 nicle as well as a Poem, and will preserve the Memory of our
 Hero, when all the Edifices and Statues erected to his Honour
 are blended with common Dust.







Several Medals were likewise struck, on this Occasion: In London we had the following.

1704.
Medals
struck on
this Occa-
sion.

On the Battle of BLENHEIM.

On the Face, the Queen's Bust, with her Title, as usual.

On the Reverse, Britannia, with her Spear, in her Right Hand, and Victory, with her Attributes, in her Left: Near her a Captive pinion'd on Trophies: with this Legend,

DE GALL. ET BAV. AD BLENHEIM.

That is, *De Gallis, & Bavaris, ad Blenheim*: In English, *Of the French and Bavarians, at Blenheim*.

IN the Exergue.

CAPT. ET CÆS. XXX. M. SIGN. RELAT. CLXIII.

That is: *Capta & cæsa Triginta Millia, Signa Relata, Centum Sexaginta Tria, 1704.* In English, *Thirteen Thousand Men taken or killed, and One Hundred Sixty Three Standards or Colours carried off, 1704.*

In Holland the two following Medals appeared on this Occasion.

I.

A large Medallion, on the Face of which are represented the Busts of Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Marlborough, facing each other, with these Inscriptions over them:

EUGENIUS, PRINCEPS SABAUDIÆ.
JOHANNES, DUX MARLBOROUGH.

Eugene Prince of Savoy. John Duke of Marlborough.

Under them, in the Exergue, is the following Distich:

HIC POLLUX, HIC CASTOR ADEST, QUOS GLORIA
FRATRES,
HOOGSTETQUE FACIT. TU QUOQUE, GALLE, VIDES.

Behold Pollux and Castor, whom Glory, and the Battle of Hochstadt have render'd Brethren: Of which Thou, O France, art a Witness.

On

1704.



On the Reverse, is represented the Battle of Hochstadt, with our two Heroes, on Horseback, encouraging and giving a good Example to their Troops. The Field of Battle is cover'd with the Enemy's Dead; and on the Front is seen a Troop of them laying down their Arms, and, among them, the Marshal de Tallard delivering his Sword to our victorious General. In the Air, Fame trumpeting the Glory of this memorable Day; with the following Words:

HEROUM CONCORDIA VICTRIX.

The Victory is owing to the Unanimity of these two Heroes.

And, in the Exergue, is the following Distich:

QUÆ CONJUNCTA SIMUL NUNC FULGENT SIDERA, AMICIS,
HOSTE TRIUMPHATO, PROSPERA CUNCTA FERUNT.

These two bright Constellations, which shine forth here with the greatest Lustre, having triumph'd over the Enemy, carry Prosperity with them, where-ever they go.

II.

A large Medal, representing, on the Face, Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Marlborough, in the Habit of a Roman Warrior, on their Knees, imploring the divine Assistance, in the following Words:

UT SESE TERTIUS ADDAT DUX DEUS.

That the Almighty would join with them, and be their Leader.

And, on the Reverse, a Representation of the Battle of Hochstadt, with the following Inscription round it:

SOCIUM COMITANTIBUS ARMIS
TEUTONIÆ TANTIS SE TOLLIT GLORIA REBUS.
AD HOCHSTADT, 13. AUGUSTI, 1704.

Such Glory has accrued to Germany, by the Junction of the Troops of her Allies, at Hochstadt, Aug. 13. 1704.

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

Proceedings of the Confederate Armies, after the Battle of Hochstadt, with other Transactions to the Conclusion of the Year, 1704.

HAVING given as particular an Account as I have been able, of the famous Battle of Hochstadt or Blenheim, I now proceed to what follow'd, after this Victory, the remaining Part of the Campaign.

1704.

The Elector of Bavaria, and the Marshal de Marfin, having gathered the Remains of their Defeat, behind the Morafs of Hochstadt, rested there some Hours, and, that very Night, caused their Baggage to pass the Danube, and sent their Horse towards Ulm, by Gondelfingen. The next Morning, before Break of Day, they drew off the Infantry, and passed the Danube at Lawingen, where they left 1000 Men, with Orders to retreat as soon as the Enemy should approach, and to burn the Bridge, which was done accordingly. The Elector sent Orders, at the same time, to his Troops in Augsborg and other Places, to quit them, and come to join him, at Ulm, whither he marched, with the greatest Precipitation. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene would have followed him, with equal Speed; but the great Number of their Prisoners was a Luggage, which retarded their Progress four or five Days.

Retreat of the Elector of Bavaria.

See Letter Q. in the foregoing Chapter.

The Night after the Battle, the Confederate Army drew up, and lay on their Arms, near the Morafs of Hochstadt, their Left extending itself towards the Village of Sonderen, and the Right towards Morselingen. The next Day (the fourteenth of August, N. S.) they made a small Motion, and came with the Right to Wittisling, and the Left to Steinheim, opposite to Lawingen and Dillingen, where the Duke of Marlborough thought fit to stay, till the nineteenth of August, that his wearied Troops might refresh themselves, and those who were slightly hurt recover their Wounds.

Motions of the Confederate Army.

It may here very naturally be asked; Why, after so compleat a Victory, and the great Consternation and Confusion the Remains of the Enemy's Army was thrown into, the Confederate Generals, upon their abandoning the Places they had seiz'd, did not cut off their Retreat towards, and over the Rhine again, and why they did not surround them in a Country, where Victory had now render'd the Allies their Masters and Superiours? To this it may be answered; That their Troops were not only very much fatigued, but in want of several Sorts of Provisions; that they were very much embarrass'd with their

Reasons why the Confederate Generals suffer'd the Enemy to retreat.

1704.

great Number of Prisoners; and that they could not know what Succours or Re-inforcements the Enemy might meet with in their March, in which, at least they would find the Marshal de Villeroy, with his little Army.

Opinion of
the Duke
of Marlboro
and Prince
Eugene;

His Grace and Prince Eugene, therefore, wisely considering;
“ That the Face of Affairs in that Country was wholly chang-
“ ed, they imparted to Prince Lewis their Sentiments, that to
“ amuse themselves at the Siege of Ingolstadt, would be but
“ losing Time; and that they believed it would be more ad-
“ vantageous, for the Good of the Common Cause, to join
“ all their Forces, to streighten the Enemy more and more, and
“ oblige the French to quit Germany, and repass the Rhine;
“ for then, not only Ingolstadt, but also the whole Country of
“ Bavaria must fall of themselves.

Verified.

Nor was it long before this Opinion of the Duke's, and of Prince Eugene's, was confirm'd, by the Example of the City of Augsburg, which the French, in Garrison there, quitted, the sixteenth of August, carrying with them four Hostages, as a Security for 2000 sick and wounded Men, whom they left in the Place. The Magistrates, being, thereupon, immediately assembled, sent four Deputies to wait on the Duke of Marlborough, and desire his Protection. His Grace gave them a very favourable Reception, and told them, *They had nothing to fear from the Troops of her Britannick Majesty, and the States General, who were only sent against the Enemies of the Empire and their Allies*: And thereupon, his Grace sent a Detachment to take Possession of that City. Nothing could be a greater Argument of the Enemy's Weakness, and Consternation, than the abandoning of this important Place, situated upon a considerable River, covering Bavaria; which the Elector was in a Condition, before this Disaster, to maintain, without the Assistance of the Marshal de Tallard.

The City of
Augsburg
desire the
Duke's Pro-
tection.

See Letter
E. in the
foregoing
Chapter.

His Answer.

A Thank-
giving cele-
brated in the
Army.

The Prison-
ers of Dis-
tinction sent
towards
Frankfort.

See Letter
O. and P.

Farther
Progress of
the Confe-
derate Ar-
my.

The next Day, the whole Confederate Army return'd their solemn Thanks to Almighty God, the Giver of all Victory, and made a triple Discharge of all their Cannon and small Arms, as a Rejoicing for their late glorious Success. The eighteenth, the Marshal de Tallard, with most of the other Prisoners of Distinction, were sent from Hochstadt, towards Hanau and Frankfort, under a Guard of forty English Horse. At the same Time, the Repartition of all the rest of the Prisoners being made, the Duke of Marlborough's Share amounted to 5678 Men, and that of Prince Eugene to 5514, in all 11,192; besides 3000 Germans of the Regiments of Greder and Surlauben, who list'd themselves voluntarily in the Service of the Allies.

The nineteenth, the Enemy march'd from Steinheim, and encamp'd with the Right at Puntz, and the Left at Gondelsingen,

from

1704.

from whence they advanc'd, the twentieth, to Languenau and Ober-Elchingen, and the next Day came to Sefelingen, within little more than an English Mile from Ulm, where the Elector of Bavaria not thinking himself safe, had left a Garrison of four French, and five Bavarian Battalions, and was retired up the Danube towards the Iller. The same Morning the Duke came to Sefelingen, a Deputy from the City of Memmingen (a free and Imperial City of Suabia, which had been seized by the Elector of Bavaria) waited on his Grace, to desire his Protection, and reported; That the Electress of Bavaria was gone through that Place, with five of her Children, under a Guard of fourteen Squadrons, endeavouring to join the Elector, who was then about Durlingen.

See Letter H. in the foregoing Chapter.

Memmingen desires the Duke of Marlboro's Protection.

The Elector of Bavaria's Communication with his own Country being entirely cut off, a Trumpeter came the twenty-third, at Night, to the Confederate Camp, with a Letter from his Electoral Highness, desiring the Duke would give Conveyance, to one enclos'd, to the Electress, which his Grace forwarded by a Trumpeter of his own to Munich, whither the Electress was gone with her Children. The next Day Prince Lewis of Baden came to Sefelingen, to confer with the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, having left his Army encamp'd at Lawingen.

The five and twentieth, these three Generals had a long Conference, wherein they concerted the farther Operations of the Campaign; and it was resolv'd: "That, seeing the Enemy were returning towards the Rhine, all the Confederate Forces should likewise march that Way, except three and twenty Battalions, and some Squadrons, which should be left under the Command of General Thungen, to carry on the Siege of Ulm, and that Count Wratislau should continue in the Camp before that Place, to manage the Negotiations with the Electress, who made some Overtures, to deliver, not only Ulm, but the whole Electorate of Bavaria, upon certain Conditions."

A Conference between the Duke, Prince Lewis, and Prince Eugene.

Result of it.

This Resolution being taken, the Confederate Troops removed, the next Day, from the Neighbourhood of Ulm, towards the Rhine, by different Roads, for the Ease of the Country of Wirtemberg. The Dutch and Hessians march'd together one Way; the Hannoverians and Lunenburgers, another; and the English and Danes under the Command of General Churchill, advanced from Sefelingen to Launsheim. The seven and twentieth, the latter continued their March to Grosz-Seisen, and the eight and twentieth to Eberspach, where they rested the nine and twentieth. The thirtieth, they came to Grosz-Heppach, and, the thirty-first, to Mundelshheim, where the Duke of

Proceedings thereupon.

1704. Marlborough joined them, the same Evening, from the Camp before Ulm.

The Duke of Marl. entertain'd by the Duke Regent of Wirtemberg.

The first of September, the English and Danish Troops halted, at Mundelsheim; and the Duke of Marlborough having received an Invitation from the Duke Regent of Wirtemberg, by his Grand Marshal, to his Residence at Stuttgart, his Grace went thither, that Morning, accompanied by several General Officers, and, after a very magnificent Entertainment, return'd in the Evening, to the Army, which, the next Day, pass'd the Neckar, at Lauffen, and came to Grosz-Gardach. The third, they left Grosz-Gardach, and advanced to Eppingen; and, the fourth, the Duke of Marlborough, with the English and Danish Horse, marched to Steffelt, whilst the Foot moved, the same Day, to Odenheim.

His Army passes the Neckar.

The Enemy retires over the Rhine.

The Enemy having repass'd the Black Forest, and being since retir'd over the Rhine, Prince Eugene did not go to Rotweil, as he intended, but went directly to Raftat, to draw the Troops together, and march with them towards Philipsburg, where he arriv'd the second of September. The fifth, early in the Morning, the Duke of Marlborough went from Steffelt to Philipsburg, where he was receiv'd with all imaginable Respect, under a general Discharge of the Cannon of that Place; and, from thence he made a Visit to Prince Eugene, at his Quarters at Waghaus. After Dinner, the Prince and the Duke went together, accompanied by the Count of Nassau-Weilburg, and other General Officers of the Palatine Troops, and, passing the Rhine, viewed the Camp of Spierbach. In the Evening, the Duke return'd to Steffelt, where the English and Danish Foot being arrived, that Day, his Grace advanced, the sixth, with the Army, to Kirloch; and having Advice there, that several of the Enemy's Squadrons appeared on the rising Ground, over against Philipsburg, he order'd the English and Danish Horse to pass the Rhine, with all Expedition, to join the Palatine Troops, which Prince Eugene had sent over that Morning. They immediately advanced towards the Enemy, who, thereupon, retired over the River Queich, to Gemersheim, and our Army encamp'd on this Side.

The English and Danish Horse pass the Rhine.

The Enemy retires before them.

The rest of the Army passes the Rhine.

The seventh, the English and Danish Foot, with the Dutch Troops, and those of Lunenburg and Hesse, likewise pass'd over, and, together with those that were before on that Side, encamp'd on the Spierbach. The eighth, in the Morning, they were join'd by the Imperial Horse, and Prince Lewis arrived, at the same time, from Aschaffenburg. They had Advice, that the Marshals de Villeroy, and de Marfin, with Monf. de Coigny, and the Forces under his Command, were advanced to the River Queich, and had possess'd themselves of all the Passes, to prevent the Confederates going over that River, in order to invest

vest Landau. The ninth, at Day-break, the Army march'd from Spierbach, with Intent to encamp as near the River Queich, as the Ground would allow of, near to Belheim-Pass, in order to bring the Enemy to a second Battle, or to oblige them to quit the Pass. But the Generals having Advice, that the Enemy had quitted their Camp, on the other Side that River, and were retired, in great Confusion, towards the Laute, notwithstanding they had been, for some Days, fortifying and pallissading all the Fords and Passes, Orders were immediately given for the Army to advance, and pass over it, which they did, that Afternoon; the Foot marching over, on several Bridges, which the Enemy had broke down, but were soon repair'd, and the Horse fording it over, in several Places; and they encamp'd, with their Right at Offenbach, near Landau, and their Left at Rellen, being the Ground from whence the Enemy had retir'd that Morning; having left Store of Fruits and other Refreshments behind them.

1704.

The Enemy forsake all their Passes;

Which the Confederates take Possession of.

The same Day, a Party of Imperial Horse, having met some Squadrons of the Enemy, commanded by the Duke de Monfort, a Major-General, who had been conducting four Battalions, and a Sum of Money, into Landau, fell upon them, with great Vigour, and put them to the Rout, killing upwards of 100 on the Spot, taking several Prisoners, and desperately wounding their Commander, who died a few Days after. The tenth, in the Morning, they advanced again, towards the Enemy, who lay that Night, on their Arms, and as soon as they had Notice, that the Confederates intended to march, retired in great Confusion, towards the River Lauter, while the Confederates encamp'd with their Right, at Barelroth, and their Left at Langencandel, where they halted the eleventh.

Some of the Enemy's Squadrons routed.

In the mean time, the Enemy passed the Lauter, and march'd to Haguenau; and having thus quitted all the Posts from whence they might have obstructed the Attack of Landau, Prince Lewis march'd thither, the twelfth, with the Troops which were to besiege that Place, in order to invest it; and the Duke of Marlborough, with Prince Eugene, came to the Camp of Crone-Weissenburg, on the little River Lauter, to cover the Siege.

Their Army retires in great Confusion.

Landau invested by Prince Lewis.

The Duke and Prince Eugene cover the Siege.

The Duke put a Garrison into Lauterburg, and gave Directions, that one of the Bridges, which the Confederates had, at Philipsburg, should be brought from thence, and laid over the Rhine, near that Town, to preserve a Communication with the other Side of the River, for the better Subsistence of the Army. Brigadier-General Ferguson march'd, the same Day, with five Battalions of English Foot, viz. one of the Royal Regiment, General Churchill's, the Lord North and Gray's, Brigadier Row's, and Brigadier Meredith's Regiments, for Mentz, where they

1704.

they were to embark with the French Prisoners, and to conduct them to Holland.

The French Prisoners sent for Holland.

Ulm surrendered to the Allies.

Booty found there.

The same Night, likewise, the Duke of Marlborough received an Express from General Thungen, with Advice, "That having formed the Siege of Ulm, and received his great Artillery, the eighth of September, the Garrison beat a Parley; the tenth, and, the eleventh, surrendered that Place, upon honourable Terms, which he was inclined to grant, that no Time might be lost for the farther Execution of the Projects of this Campaign." The Imperialists found in Ulm, 222 Pieces of Brass Cannon. 12 Iron Guns, 25 Brass Mortars, 1200 Barrels of Powder, with other Stores and Provisions in great Abundance; a seasonable Supply for carrying on the Siege of Landau.

I shall now leave the D. of Marlborough, for a while, making the necessary Preparations for this Siege, and return to England.

The States General congratulate her Majesty on the Victory of Blenheim.

The twentieth of August, O. S. Mons. Vryberge, Envoy Extraordinary from the States General, deliver'd to her Majesty, at Windsor, a Letter from their High Mightinesses, and, by express Order from his Masters, *congratulated her Majesty upon the late Victory obtained, by the Army of the Allies, under the valiant and wise Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough.*

See Letters B. C. in the foregoing Chapter.

The joyful News of the great Victory obtained by her Majesty's Forces, and those of her Allies, had been brought over to England, some Days before, first by Colonel Park, and soon after by the Lord Tunbridge, who both attended the Duke of Marlborough, as his Aids de Camp, on that great Day. Hereupon her Majesty, being deeply sensible of this general Blessing, "and most devoutly acknowledging the Goodness of Almighty God, who had afforded her his Protection and Assistance; in the just War, in which she was engaged," appointed the seventh of September, to be observed throughout this Kingdom, as a Day of publick Thanksgiving.

A general Thanksgiving appointed.

Great Rejoycings throughout all England, on that Day. Numerous congratulatory Addresses presented to her Majesty.

As this Victory was, in all its Circumstances, the most glorious and considerable, that had been gained in many Ages, the Rejoycings in London and Westminster were suitable to the great Occasion; and her Majesty's Subjects gave all the Demonstrations imaginable of their Affection to her Majesty's Person, and Zeal for her Government. This Festival was observed, in all the other Parts of her Majesty's Dominions, if not with the same Solemnity, yet with as great Affection and Loyalty; and both before that Day, and many Months after, her Majesty's Court was throng'd by Deputies from all the Corporations and publick Societies, in the three Kingdoms, and in the remotest Plantations, who waited on her Majesty with congratulatory Addresses, for the glorious Successes of her Majesty's Arms, under the wise Conduct

did of the Duke of Marlborough. Nor did the foreign Ministers, in England, omit to compliment her Majesty, on that great Occasion.

1704.

I shall now return to the Duke of Marlborough, whom I left, with Prince Eugene, at the Camp of Crone-Weissenburg, covering the Siege of Landau, before which Place the Trenches were opened the sixteenth of September, N. S. The Day before, his Grace went to the Camp before that Place, and, upon his Return, was seized, that Night, with a Fit of an Ague, of which, however, he happily recovered, in a short time.

The Trenches open'd before Landau.

While the Duke of Marlborough lay covering the Siege, the Marshal de Villeroi came and look'd on him; but as the Confederates were exalted with their Success, so were the French too much dispirited with their Losses, to make any Attack, or to put any thing to hazard in order to raise the Siege. They retired and went into Quarters, trusting to the bad State of the Imperial Army, who were ill provided, and ill supplied. Prince Lewis had neither Engineers nor Ammunition, and wanted Money to provide them; so that if the Duke had not supplied him, he must have been forced to give over the Siege.

Puissance of the French.

Ill State of the Imperial Army.

The twenty-first, the King of the Romans (afterwards, Emperor Joseph) arrived before Landau, and the Duke of Marlborough, who by this time was perfectly recovered of his Indisposition, waited on his Majesty, the next Day, accompanied by Prince Eugene, and several other General Officers. His Grace was received by that Imperial Prince, with such Demonstrations of Joy and Affection, as sufficiently express'd the high Esteem he had of his Grace's personal Merit, and of the great Services he had done to his Majesty's Family, and to the whole Empire.

The King of the Romans comes before Landau.

Is visited by the Duke of Marlboro'.

The illustrious Author of the Campaign describes this Interview, between the King of the Romans, and our Hero, in the following excellent Lines.

Austria's young Monarch, whose Imperial Sway
Scepters and Thrones are destin'd to obey,
Whose boasted Ancestry so high extends,
That in the Pagan Gods his Lineage ends,
Come from a-far, in Gratitude to own
THE GREAT SUPPORTER OF HIS FATHER'S THRONE:
What Tides of Glory to his Bosom ran,
Clasp'd in th'Embraces of the GODLIKE MAN!
How were his Eyes with pleasing Wonder fix'd,
To see such Fire, with such Sweetness mix'd!
Such easy Greatness, such a graceful Port,
So turn'd and finish'd for the Camp or Court!

1704.

Achilles thus was form'd with every Grace,
And Nireus shone but in the second Place;
Thus the great Father of Almighty Rome
(Divinely flush'd with an immortal Bloom,
That Cytherea's fragrant Breath bestow'd)
In all the Charms of his bright Mother glow'd.

The Royal Youth, by Marlbro's Presence charm'd,
Taught by his Counsels, by his Actions warm'd,
On Landau, with redoubled Fury, falls,
Discharges all his Thunder on its Walls;
O'er Mines and Caves of Death provokes the Fight,
And learns to conquer in the Hero's Sight.

The Duke staid two Days before Landau, and, having view'd the Approaches, which he found in pretty good Forwardness, he return'd to his own Camp, at Crone-Weissenburg, whither Prince Eugene followed him, the next Day; and, upon his Arrival, four Regiments were sent to re-inforce the Siege.

The eight and twentieth, in the Morning, the Duke of Marlborough again waited on the King of the Romans, to a Review of the Army before Landau, which had been lately re-inforced by the Troops from before Ulm, and his Grace returned to Weissenburg, the next Day.

The King of the Romans visits the D. of Marlborough.

The second of October, the King of the Romans, attended by the principal Officers of his Court and Army, went from his Camp before Landau to Crone-Weissenburg, to make the Duke a Visit, and see his victorious Troops. His Grace, having Notice of his coming, drew up his Forces, in two Lines, and receiving his Majesty, at the left Wing of his Army, waited on him all along the Line, and saluted him with a triple Discharge of all the Artillery and small Arms. The King being extremely well satisfied, at the good Condition he found the Duke's Troops in, and pleased with the Entertainment, he, and his whole Court and Officers, had received from his Grace, returned in the Evening to his Quarters near Landau. The seventh, the Duke of Marlborough paid another Visit to the King of the Romans, and Prince Lewis of Baden, with whom he had a long Conference, after which he viewed the Approaches, and, the tenth, return'd to his Camp, at Weissenburg; the next Day, Mons. Wachtelberg, Envoy from the King of Poland, to the Emperour, and the Marquis de Prie, Envoy from the Duke of Savoy, waited on his Grace, with Commissions from their respective Masters.

The D. of Marlborough uneasy at the Length of the Siege.

The Length of the Siege of Landau made the Duke of Marlborough very uneasy at Crone-Weissenburg; his Grace being afraid that he should not have Time to execute his Designs on the Mosel, which were no less important than the taking of Landau.

Landau. The Duke, ever watchful for the Good of the common Cause, had formed a Design to take Winter-Quarters on the Mosel, where France lay open; and he hoped, the ensuing Summer, to have penetrated into the Heart of that Kingdom; but this Project proved abortive, thro' the ill Conduct of the Germans, as we shall see below. It is allowed by all the Officers of the Army, that his Grace spared no Cost, in procuring Intelligences; and, therefore, his Uneasiness encreased, upon Advice, that the French intended to send a Re-inforcement towards Triers, from the Netherlands and Haguenau; which made him resolve to prevent the Enemy, and to march thither, in Person, with Part of his Forces, and to leave the rest under the Command of Prince Eugene of Savoy, at Crone-Weissenburg. This Resolution being taken, his Grace sent, the thirteenth of October, N. S. some Battalions, and a Detachment of Dragoons, to take Possession of Homburg, with Orders to fortify that Post. That Detachment was followed, by another, commanded by Colonel Blood, and, on the twenty-second, the rest of the Forces, designed for that Expedition, marched to Homburg, where the Duke joined them, the four and twentieth. His Grace hastened his March, as much as possible, through a mountainous Country, which is in a manner desert, and, on the eight and twentieth, arrived at Hermerkel, within six Leagues of Triers, where three Deputies of that City waited on his Grace, and acquainted him. *that as the French had still 300 Men in the Fort of St. Martin, they were apprehensive of some ill Usage, if his Grace did not prevent it.* Upon this Account, the Duke marched, the nine and twentieth, before break of Day, with all the Horse and four Battalions of Foot; and about eleven of the Clock, his Vanguard appearing in Sight of Triers, the French abandoned the Fort, having thrown their Ammunition, and some Corn, into the Mosel. The Duke's Dragoons pursued them to the Banks of the River, and took Part of their Baggage, with some Prisoners. The Enemy had no sooner pass'd the River, than they burnt the Bridges, and, in all Probability, would have done more Mischief, if the Duke had not come so suddenly to dislodge them.

1704.
A noble Design of the Duke's, Defeated by the ill Conduct of the Germans.

The D. of Marlboro' goes on an Expedition to the Mosel.

Secures the City of Triers.

The extraordinary Affiduity and Vigilance which the Duke of Marlborough shew'd, upon every other Occasion, is in a particular Manner visible, in this Expedition, wherein he readily expos'd his own Person to the Fatigue and Inconveniences of so uncouth a March, rather than entrust a Matter of so great Importance, as the securing proper Winter-Quarters for the Troops under his Care, to the Execution of a more inferior Officer.

The City of Triers, which the Duke of Marlborough had, in this Manner secured, is pretty large, and reckon'd the most antient of Europe.

His

1704.

The Fortifications of Triers repaired.

Repartition of the Winter-Quarters made.

The D. of Marlboro' views Traerbach.

Returns to Landau.

Sends the English Cavalry towards Holland.

A Treaty concluded with the Electress of Bavaria.

The D. of Marlboro' ends his Campaign.

His Grace being thus possess'd of that important Post, he summoned a great Number of Pioneers to work on the Fortifications of Triers; he went, the next Day, to view the Ground about Saar, and caused a Camp to be mark'd at Confarbruck, on that River, for the Horse to cover those that work'd on the Fortifications of Triers, whither the Cavalry march'd accordingly, the first of November, N. S. The same Day, the Duke made the Repartition of the Winter-Quarters, to the several Generals under him, and, in the Afternoon, went towards Traerbach, accompanied by the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, and other Generals. They lay, that Night, at Fels, the next Day, at Nimeguen, and came to Bern-Cassel, the third of November, about Noon. His Grace went immediately to the rising Grounds near Traerbach, to take a narrow View of the Place, and review'd the Dutch, which were lately arrived, in the Neighbourhood, from the Maese; and having given the necessary Directions for the Siege of Traerbach, the Care of which was committed to the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, his Grace set out, the next Day, early, on his Return to the Camp at Crone-Weissenburg.

His Grace came, that Night, to Kern, the next Day, to Kayserlauteren, and, the sixth, at Night, to the Camp before Landau, where he found the Besiegers Masters of the Counterscarp, on which they had raised some Batteries; and more being perfected, the next Day, they had about sixty Pieces of Cannon firing to make a Breach. The eighth of November, the Duke returned to Weissenburg, somewhat displeased with the Slowness, with which the Siege of Landau was carried on; and considering, that the French had sent all their Horse of the Household, from their Camp at Haguenau, to put them into Winter Quarters, his Grace ordered the English Cavalry to march from Crone-Weissenburg towards Holland.

The tenth of November, the Treaty of Accommodation, between the Emperor and the Electress of Bavaria, was concluded, by the King of the Romans, and the Deputies of her Electoral Highness, who was to surrender all the Towns, in her Possession, to his Imperial Majesty, to continue at Munich, with a Guard of 400 Men, and to have a yearly Pension allowed her, out of the Revenues of that Electorate, for the Support of her Court and Family; and this was one of the immediate Consequences of the ever-memorabile Victory obtained by the Duke of Marlborough, at Blenheim.

About the Middle of November, the Duke of Marlboro' being sensible that the Siege of Landau would not last much longer, took his Leave of the King of the Romans, and the other Generals, ordered the English Foot to decamp, and march towards the Rhine, in order to be embark'd for Holland; and having given the necessary Directions, for the Winter-Quarters of the rest of the Forces, under

under his Command, resolved to crown his glorious Campaign, by an important Negotiation with the King of Prussia, in favour of the Duke of Savoy; in order to which, his Grace set out from Weissenburg, on his Journey to Berlin, the fifteenth of November.

1704.

And goes to Berlin.

The twenty-third, the Garrison of Landau beat a Parly, and Hostages being exchanged, the King of the Romans granted the Garrison very honourable Terms; in Pursuance of which they delivered one of the Gates, the five and twentieth, and, the six and twentieth, marched out of the Place, to the Number of 3,400 Men, which were left out of 7,000, of which the Garrison consisted, at the Beginning of the Siege. The Loss of the Besiegers was less in Proportion; for they had not above 2000 Men killed, and about twice as many wounded.

Landau surrenders.

The Duke of Marlborough arrived at Berlin, the twenty-second of November, in the Evening, having been received, in all the Towns, thro' which he pass'd, lying mostly in the Territories of the Langrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Duke of Wolfenbittel, the Elektor of Hannover, and the King of Prussia, with extraordinary Marks of Respect.

The D. of Marlboro's Arrival and Entertainment at Berlin.

His Grace, upon his coming to Berlin, was met, without the Town, by the King's Great Chamberlain, the Field Marshal, the Lord Raby, her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to that Court, and several other Persons of Distinction, who accompanied him to the House for the Entertainment of Ambassadors, where his Grace, with his Retinue, was lodged, and entertained during his Stay there. His Grace had Audience, that very Evening, of the King and Queen, and was received with great Marks of Affection and Esteem. The four and twentieth, the Prince Royal (the late King of Prussia) entertained him at Dinner, where were present the King and Queen, with the foreign Ministers, and several Persons of Quality; and, at Night gave a Supper, and afterwards a great Ball, for his Grace's Entertainment.

The late King of Prussia was of a middling Stature, and in very good Plight of Body; or rather inclin'd to be corpulent: His Air commanded Respect; yet, when he pleased, no Prince in the World could be more gracious; he was often heard to speak to his Officers in such a kind Manner, as could not but charm them. His Genius for military Discipline was justly to be admir'd, and it was easily perceiv'd, that with the Glance of an Eye, he could discover the least Fault committed against that wonderful Exactness which he introduced in the Evolutions of his Troops. He exercis'd them daily himself about Noon, either on the Parade before the Palace, at Berlin, or behind it, in the fine Garden made by his Father, but by him destroyed and converted to the same Use, and frequently in both, their March being generally directed that Way; and he was so intent on it, that tho' Showers of Rain interven'd, it seldom interrupted him,

Character of the late K. of Prussia, and of his Royal Consort.

1704.

him, unless very violent, nor would he rarely be prevail'd upon to put on a Cloak; and I have more than once observ'd publick Ministers and Strangers (for the Parade was a sort of Levee,) not a little uneasy on that Account. He married Sophia Dorothea, now Queen-Mother of Prussia, Sister to his present Majesty of Great-Britain. This Princess does every Thing that is worthy of her august Extraction; never did Daughter more resemble a Father; like him, she has the same Benignity and Wisdom, Equity, Justice and Sweetness of Temper: She knows the Charms of a private Life and Friendship on a Throne; she is ador'd by her Subjects and her Domesticks, and is the chief Darling and Blessing of both: To a thousand Virtues, worthy of Veneration, she has added the singular Talent of speaking the Language of several Countries, which she never saw, with as much Delicacy as if they had been her Mother-Tongue: And the Grandeur and Majesty that accompany all her Actions, induce even those who do not know her, to be of Opinion that she was born to reign. The late King of Prussia had a numerous Issue by her, most of whom are yet living, and his present Majesty of Prussia, at their Head. His late Majesty (as I have already observ'd) could, when he pleas'd, be very gracious, but was, in general, not a little a Slave to his Will, and made every one else so; by which he, in a great Measure, lost the Affections of his People, in the latter Years of his Life, especially by the Liberty allow'd by his Officers, (probably countenanced from above) to the common Soldiers, to harass and tyrannize over the lower, and indeed the middling Classes of his Subjects; of which I have very frequently been an Eye-Witness in many Instances, in my Travels thro' several Parts of his Dominions, but more particularly by their arbitrary Proceedings in enlisting his Troops; and since the Endeavours of a Great Prince to retire out of his Dominions, which were censur'd as something more than
—y.

The five and twentieth, the King had, for the Duke's Entertainment, a Combat of wild Beasts, in his Amphitheatre; and, at a Supper, which the Lord Raby gave his Grace, the King, with the Margrave, his Brother, came and supped with him.

All the Ministers of this Court (which was then very splendid) the Foreign Ministers residing there, and other Persons of Distinction, who were then in that City, strove, each in a particular Manner, how they should best express their Sense of his Grace's Personal Merit, and of the signal Advantages the Empire had received from his Courage and Conduct. The six and twentieth, the Prince Royal of Prussia set out for Hannover, and the Duke of Marlborough left that Court, likewise, and proceeded towards the same Place, being extreamly well satisfied with his Reception, and the Success of his Negotiation. The
King

1704.

King presented his Grace, at his Departure, with a Hat, with a Diamond Button and Loop, and a Diamond Hat-band, valued at between twenty and thirty thousand Crowns, and two fine Saddle Horses, with rich Furniture, besides other rich Presents. His Majesty gave, likewise, noble Presents to Mr. Cardonnel, his Grace's Secretary, and to other Principal Persons of his Retinue.

Among other Articles of the Negotiation, in which the Duke succeeded, his Grace obtained, that 8000 Prussians should march into Italy, to serve there, for the Relief of the Duke of Savoy, under the Command of Prince Eugene, who having been Eye-witness of their Behaviour, at the Battle of Blenheim, could not sufficiently praise their Bravery and Resolution, and was the more desirous of having them in his Army; and with this Re-inforcement, and other Assistances procured him by the Duke of Marlborough, his Highness saved Italy from the Ravages of the French, and relieved the Duke of Savoy, who was besieged in Turin. I must not here omit taking Notice of the Expedition, with which his Grace always managed whatever he undertook; of which we have a memorable Instance now before us; for, notwithstanding all the Diversions he was obliged to be Partaker of, yet he had dispatch'd his Business in less than four Days Time. And he not only succeeded in these Negotiations, by which he kept the Duke of Savoy firm to the Alliance; but also laid down such Schemes, at the Court of Berlin, as suspended their Disputes with the Dutch, about the Estate of the late King William; for which wise Conduct his Grace had the unanimous Acknowledgement of the whole Confederacy, *That he had done the greatest Services that could be to the Common Cause, in that Juncture.*

The Duke of Marlborough's Negotiations at the Court of Prussia.

The Prince Royal of Prussia, and the Duke of Marlborough, arrived at Hannover, the first of December; where his Grace was received with all imaginable Demonstrations of Respect and Kindness, by that Elector (his late Majesty King George I.) the Princess Sophia, and all the rest of that Court, and always eat with their Electoral Highnesses. The fourth, the Prince Royal of Prussia left Hannover, and continued his Journey to Holland. The Duke of Marlborough, who intended to have set forward, at the same time, but was prevail'd upon, by the Elector, to stay a Day longer, took his Audience of Leave that Night, and, the next Morning, begun his Journey towards Holland.

He arrives at Hannover;

The ninth, his Grace arrived at Naerden, where he was met by one of the Secretaries of the City of Amsterdam, who had been sent by the Magistrates, with two Yachts, to invite and attend him thither. The next Morning, his Grace, after he had viewed the Fortifications and Magazines of Naerden, proceeded,

At Amsterdam;

1704.

by Water, to Amsterdam. He arrived there about Noon, and was received at the Limits of that City, by the Burgomaster Witsen, and the Pensionary, who complimented his Grace, in the Name of the whole Magistracy, congratulating his Return from his Glorious Campaign, and his Victories at Schellenberg and Hochstadt. The twelfth, in the Morning, his Grace, having receiv'd all possible Marks of Honour at Amsterdam, set out for the Hague, being saluted with a triple Discharge of all the Cannon, as he had been, at his Arrival, and the like Acclamations of Joy from the People.

And at the Hague.

The Siege of Traerbach.

In the mean time, the Prince of Hesse-Cassel was carrying on the Siege of Traerbach, where the Allies found as great Resistance, as they had met with at Landau, in Proportion to the Bigness of the Place, and the Number of the Garrison. The Castle of Traerbach, a very strong Fortress, on the Mosel, was invested, by Orders of the Duke of Marlborough, the Beginning of November, N. S. and the Batteries began to play, the eighteenth of that Month. The Badness of the Weather, and the Loss of Baron de Trogne, the chief Engineer of the States, who was shot by the Prince of Hesse's Side, giving the necessary Orders, were great Discouragements to his Highness, to pursue the Siege of Traerbach; nevertheless, that Prince caused the Attacks to be carried on with Vigour, and, at length, obliged the Garrison to surrender, the twentieth of December, N. S. tho' on honourable Conditions. Besides the Governour, who died of his Wounds, the French lost 350 Men, out of 600 Men, which was the Number of the Garrison, before the Siege. As for the Allies, they had about 1,000 Men kill'd or wounded.

Traerbach surrendered.

A Design on Old Brisac miscarries.

During the Sieges of Landau and Traerbach, Prince Eugene form'd a Project, about the Beginning of November, to seize Old Brisac. This Design was exceedingly well laid; but the Project miscarried, when it was upon the very Point of being executed, by the Impatience of a Lieutenant-Colonel. This Attempt, if it had not been frustrated, was to have been followed immediately by another, on New Brisac, the Preparations for which were likewise made: But the former miscarrying, the latter fell off Course.

Affairs of Flanders.

The Campaign in Flanders produced this Year very little. General d'Auverquerque bombarded Namur, in order to destroy the Enemy's Magazines there; and Baron Spar, on the Side of Proper Flanders, bombarded Bruges, and took the Fort Isabella near Sluys. Which was all that happen'd worthy our Note.

Affairs of Italy.

In Italy, the Duke of Savoy had a melancholy Campaign, losing Place after Place; but he supported his Affairs, with great Conduct; and shewed a Firmness, in his Misfortunes, beyond what could have been imagined. Verceil and Yvrea gave the Duke

Duke of Vendosme the Trouble of tedious Sieges; they stood their Ground, as long as possible; but the Duke of Savoy's Army was not strong enough to raise these Sieges; so both Places at length fell. The French demolished the Fortifications of both these Places; and, after had they succeeded so far, sat down before Verue, at the End of October; which they did not take till after a Siege of five Months.

As for the Affairs of Spain and Portugal, as they have almost always a Connexion with Naval Affairs, and they are treated largely of, in *Lediard's Naval History of England*, I shall pass them by here, and return to the Duke of Marlborough.

We left his Grace, the twelfth of December, just arrived at the Hague; he was immediately complimented by the Deputies of the States General, at his Palace, where they gave him the Thanks of that Illustrious Assembly for his Conduct, as well in the Cabinet as in the Camp, and had, likewise, a long Conference with him. All the Foreign Ministers, and other Persons of Distinction, likewise, waited on the Duke, and congratulated his safe Return, after the Labours and Fatigues of his glorious Campaign; and many private Persons made Illuminations, and other Rejoicings on that Occasion. His Grace, having stay'd a few Days at the Hague, to concert Measures with the Deputies of the States, for the Operations of the next Campaign; embark'd, in the Maese, the twenty-second of December, N. S. at Night, on Board one of her Majesty's Yachts, under Convoy of several Ships of War; bringing over with him, the Marshal de Tallard, with six and twenty other French Prisoners, and the Standards and Colours taken at Blenheim, as Trophies of his Grace's Victory. The fourteenth of December, O. S. the Yachts, and Men of War, entered the River of Thames, and the Duke went privately, the same Afternoon, to St. James's House, where he was received with all the Marks of Grace and Favour, which could be shewn to the most deserving Subject, by her Majesty, and his Royal Highness, Prince George of Denmark.

The Duke of Marlborough concerts at the Hague the Operations of the ensuing Campaign.

Returns to England with his chief Prisoners, and the Trophies of his Victory.

Is graciously received by the Queen, and Prince.

The next Day, the Duke being come to the House of Peers, the Lord Keeper, Sir Nathan Wright, address'd his Grace, by Orders of that most honourable House, with the following Compliment.

My Lord Duke of Marlborough,

THE happy Success that hath attended her Majesty's Armies under your Grace's Command, in Germany, the last Campaign, is so truly Great, so truly Glorious, in all its Circumstances, that few Instances, in the History of former Ages, can equal, much less excel the Lustre of it. Your Grace has not overthrown young unskilful Generals, raw and undisciplined Troops; but your Grace has conquer'd

The Lord Keeper's Compliment to the Duke.

the

1704.

“ the French and Bavarian Armies; Armies that were fully instructed in all the Arts of War; select Veteran Troops, flushed with former Victories, and commanded by Generals of great Experience and Bravery.

“ The glorious Victories your Grace has obtained at Schellenberg and Hochstadt, are very Great, very Illustrious, in themselves; but they are greater still in their Consequences, to her Majesty and her Allies.

“ The Emperour is thereby reliev'd; the Empire itself freed from a very dangerous Enemy, in the very Bowels of it; the exorbitant Power of France is check'd, and, I hope, a happy Step made towards reducing of that Monarch, within his due Bounds, and securing the Liberties of Europe.

“ The Honour of these glorious Victories, great as they are (under the immediate Blessing of Almighty God) is chiefly, if not alone, owing to your Grace's Conduct and Valour.

“ This is the unanimous Voice of England, and all her Majesty's Allies.

My Lord,

“ This most Honourable House is highly sensible of the great and signal Services your Grace has done her Majesty, this Campaign, and of the Immortal Honour you have done the English Nation; and have commanded me to give you their Thanks for the same.

“ And I do accordingly give your Grace the Thanks of this House, for the great Honour your Grace has done the Nation, and for the great and signal Services you have done her Majesty, and this Kingdom, the last Campaign.

The Duke of Marlborough's Reply was:

My Lords,

“ **I** Am extremely sensible of the great Honour your Lordships are pleased to do me. I must beg, on this Occasion, to do Right to all the Officers and Soldiers I had the Honour of having under my Command; next to the Blessing of God, the good Success of this Campaign is owing to their extraordinary Courage.

“ I am very sure, it will be a great Satisfaction, as well as Encouragement to the whole Army, to find their Services so favourably accepted.

The Duke
receives the
Thanks of
the House
of Commons.

“ The same Day, a Committee of the House of Commons having waited upon his Grace, to give him the Thanks of the House, as well for the eminent Services he had performed to her Majesty, and the Kingdom, in the glorious
“ Victories

“ Victories which had been obtained under his Command, as for
 “ his prudent Negotiations with several Princes and States; and
 “ to congratulate his Arrival: *It is a great Satisfaction to me,* The Duke’s
 “ said the Duke to them, *to find that my faithful Endeavours, in* Answer to
 “ *discharging my Duty to the Queen, and to the Publick, are so* them.
 “ *favourably accepted. I beg Leave to take this Opportunity of do-*
 “ *ing Justice to a great Body of Officers and Soldiers, who accom-*
 “ *panied me in this Expedition, and all behaved themselves with*
 “ *the greatest Bravery imaginable: And, I am sure, this Honour*
 “ *done us by the House of Commons, in taking so much Notice of it,*
 “ *will give a general Satisfaction and Encouragement to the whole*
 “ *Army.*

On the sixteenth of December, the Marshal de Tallard, with The French
 the rest of the Prisoners, were landed at Blackwall; where they Prisoners
 were magnificently entertained at Dinner by Mr. Johnson, and are sent to
 then, in the Afternoon, they set out, in a great many Coaches, Nottingham
 for Barnet, in their Way to Nottingham and Litchfield, where and Litch-
 her Majesty thought fit they should reside, to wit, at Notting- field,
 ham, the Marshal de Tallard, Marquis de Monperroux, General
 of Horse; Comte de Blanfac, Lieutenant-General; Marquis
 de Hautefeuille, General of Dragoons; Marquis de Valfeme,
 Marquis de Seppeville, Marquis de Silly, Chevalier de Croissy,
 Marquis de Valliere, Majors-General; Mons. de St. Second,
 Brigadier; Marquis de Vasse, Colonel of Dragoons. At Litch-
 field, the Marquis de Marivaux, Lieutenant-General; Mons. de
 la Messiliere, Mons. Soly, Mons. d’Amigni, Brigadiers; Mons.
 de St. Maurice, Comte de Lionne, Marquis de Lasse, Baron
 d’Elst, Mons. de Balincourt, Mons. de Saulexbeaus, Mons. de
 Montenay, Mons. de Gallart, Mons. de Cresly, Colonels of
 Foot; Mons. de Ligondais, Baron de Heyder, Colonels of
 Horse; Mons. de Prie, Mons. d’Aurival, Colonels of Dragoons.
 They were accompany’d by General Churchill, and attended
 by a Detachment of the Duke of Northumberland’s Royal Re-
 giment of Horse, who were also ordered to guard them, at large,
 at Nottingham and Litchfield.

Monsieur de Tallard was observed to have been very gay on
 his Journey to Nottingham, and seemed very well satisfied with
 his Treatment; but at his Arrival there, and entering the
 Town by the Passage cut thro’ the Rock, which in Fact, has a
 shocking Aspect, he seem’d quite disconcerted, and imagin’d he
 was going to be confin’d in a close and dismal Dungeon: But he
 was soon convinc’d of his Mistake, and found himself indulged
 with all the Freedom and Liberty that he could reasonably ex-
 pect or desire. I happened to be at Nottingham at the same
 Time, and have frequently been hunting with him at the Dis-
 Vol. I. X stance

1704.

stance of 8 or 10 Miles from the Town. He kept an elegant Table, and frequently entertained the neighbouring Gentry, in a very polite Manner.

C H A P. IX.

Transactions in 1705. till the attacking the French Lines:

1705.

The Standards and Colours taken at Blenheim, put up in Westminster Hall.

THE Beginning of this Year, the Cities of London and Westminster were Eye-witnesses of a triumphant Memorial of the Battle and Victory of Hochstadt. Her Majesty having been pleased to order, that the Standards and Colours, taken in that famous Battle, which were lately brought from beyond Sea, and lodged in the Tower, should be put up in Westminster-Hall, a Detachment of her Majesty's Horse-Guards, and Horse-Grenadiers, and a Battalion drawn out of both Regiments of the Foot-Guards, marched, the third of January, early in the Morning, to the Tower, to receive them, at which Time the great Guns were fired. From thence, they proceeded, in the following Manner: First the Troop of Horse-Grenadiers, then the Detachment of the three Troops of her Majesty's Horse-Guards, four and thirty of the Gentlemen in the Center carrying each a Standard taken from the Enemy; the Battalions of Foot-Guards closed the March; the Pike-men, to the Number of 128, who had left their Pikes at the Tower, carrying each one of the Enemy's Colours advanced. In this Manner, they marched thro' the City, the Strand, and the Pall-Mall, and pass'd before her Majesty's Palace at St. James's; then thro' St. James's Mews, into the Park, where her Majesty was pleased to see them pass by from the Lord Fitzharding's Lodgings, forty Guns, in the Park, being twice fired, at the same time: Thence they proceeded through the Horse-Guards, King-street, and the New Palace-Yard, to Westminster-Hall, where the said Standards and Colours were put up, to remain there as Trophies of that signal Victory.

The D. of Marlboro' entertain'd by the City.

The sixth of the same Month, the Duke of Marlborough having been invited by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, to dine with them, in the City, his Grace went thither about Noon, accompanied by the Lord Treasurer, the Prince of Hesse, and the Duke of Sommerfet, in one of her Majesty's Coaches, and was followed by a great Train of other Coaches, in which were the foreign Ministers, with several Persons of

Quality

Quality and the Generals, and other Officers of the Army, who were all splendidly entertained at Goldsmiths-Hall.

1705.

The eleventh of the same Month, being the Day appointed by the Commons, for taking into Consideration the great Services that had been performed by the Duke of Marlborough, the last Summer, and to consider of some Means to perpetuate the Memory of them; they came to this unanimous Resolution, "That an humble Address be presented to her Majesty, expressing the Sense this House has of the glorious Victories obtained by the Forces of her Majesty, and her Allies, under the Command of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough; and humbly desiring her Majesty, That she would be graciously pleased, to consider of some proper Means to perpetuate the Memory of the great Services performed by the said Duke.

Votes of the Commons in Favour of the Duke of Marlboro'.

Which Address being presented to her Majesty, by the whole House, her Majesty was pleased to give this gracious Answer:

Gentlemen,

I Am very well pleased with your Address; and I will take it into Consideration, as you desire, and send you my Thoughts upon it, in a little Time.

The seventeenth, Mr. Chancellour of the Exchequer acquainted the House, that he had a Message signed by her Majesty; and he delivered it to Mr. Speaker, who read the same to the House, and was as follows:

ANNE R.

HER Majesty, having taken into her Consideration the Address of this House, relating to the great Services performed by the Duke of Marlborough, does incline to grant the Interest of the Crown, in the Honour and Manor of Woodstock, and Hundred of Wootton, to him and his Heirs; and desires the Assistance of this House, upon this extraordinary Occasion.

Her Majesty's Message to the House of Commons on that Account.

The Lieutenantcy and Rangerships of the Parks, with the Rents and Profits of the Manor and Hundreds, being granted for two Lives, her Majesty thinks it proper that Incumbrance should be cleared.

Upon which, the House resolved, that a Bill be brought in, to enable her Majesty to grant the Honour and Manor of Woodstock, and Hundred of Wootton, to the Duke of Marlborough and his Heirs.

Resolutions thereupon.

And it was farther resolved, That an humble Address be presented to her Majesty, That she would be graciously pleased to advance the Money for clearing the present Incumbrance upon

1705.

the Lieutenantcy and Rangerſhip of the Parks, Rents and Profits of the Honour and Manor of Woodſtock, and Hundred of Wootton, in order to the preſent Settlement thereof, upon the Duke of Marlborough and his Heirs.

An Act of
Parliament
paſſ'd in his
Grace's Fa-
vour.

The ſaid Bill being paſſed both Houſes, and having received the Sanction of the Royal Aſſent on the fourteenth of March, I ſhall ſubjoin the Preamble of that Act, as it ſhews the Senſe the Parliament had of the great Services performed by the Duke.

The Preamble to the Act for the better enabling her Maſteſty, to grant the Honour and Manor of Woodſtock, with the Hundred of Wootton, to the Duke of Marlborough.

Moſt gracious Sovereign.

Preamble to
that Act.

“ **W**HEREAS the eminent and unparallel'd Services,
“ perform'd to your Maſteſty, and the Crown of Eng-
“ land, by the moſt noble John, Duke of Marlborough, are
“ well known, not only to your Maſteſty, and all your Subjects,
“ but to all Europe, who will always remember, That the Alli-
“ ances which your Maſteſty's Royal Brother King William the
“ Third, of glorious Memory, had, in a little time before his
“ Death, contracted, by the Miniſtry of the ſaid Duke of Marl-
“ borough, as his Maſteſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary and
“ Plenipotentiary to the States General of the United Pro-
“ vinces, for preſerving the Liberties of Europe, againſt the
“ Ambition of France, were, immediately after your Maſteſty's
“ happy Acceſſion to the Throne, by the ſaid Duke, there em-
“ ploy'd by your Maſteſty, in the ſame Character, confirm'd and
“ improv'd, and others were contracted, whereby the Con-
“ federacy, which had been diſſolved, at the End of the laſt
“ War, was re-united, in a firmer and ſtricter League : And
“ that, in the firſt Year of your Maſteſty's Reign, the ſaid Duke
“ of Marlborough did ſo well execute the Commiſſion and Or-
“ ders, which he received from your Maſteſty, as Captain-Ge-
“ neral and Commander in Chief of your Maſteſty's Forces,
“ that he not only ſecured and extended the Frontiers of Hol-
“ land, by taking the Towns and Fortreſſes of Venlo, Rure-
“ mond, Stevenswaert and Liege ; but ſoon obliged the Enemy
“ (who had been at the Gates of Nimeguen) to ſeek Shelter
“ behind their Lines ; and the next Campaign, by taking Bon,
“ Huy and Limburg, added all the Country, between the Rhine
“ and the Maeſe, to the Conqueſts of the preceding Year. And
“ that in the memorable Year 1704, when your Maſteſty was
“ generously pleaſed to take the Reſolution of reſcuing the
“ Empire from that immediate Ruin, to which, by the De-
“ ſection of the Elector of Bavaria, it was expoſed, the Mea-
“ ſures, which, by your Maſteſty's Wiſdom and Goodneſs, had
“ been

1705.

“ been devised and concerted, were pursued by the said Duke,
 “ with the utmost Diligence, Secrecy and Conduct, in leading
 “ the Forces of your Majesty, and your Allies, by a long and
 “ difficult March, to the Banks of the Danube, where the said
 “ Duke, immediately upon his Arrival, did attack and force
 “ the Bavarians (assisted by the French) in their strong Intrench-
 “ ments at Schellenberg, passed the Danube, distressed the
 “ Country of Bavaria, and a second time fought the Enemies,
 “ who had been reinforced by a Royal Army of the French
 “ King’s best Troops, commanded by a Marshal of France ;
 “ and, on the second Day of August, 1704, after a bloody
 “ Battle, at or near Blenheim (altho’ the Enemies had the Ad-
 “ vantage of Number and Situation) did gain as absolute and
 “ glorious a Victory, as is recorded in any Age ; by which,
 “ Bavaria being entirely reduced, Ratisbon, Augsburg, Ulm,
 “ Memmingen, and other Imperial Towns being recover’d, the
 “ Liberty of the Diet, and the Peace of the Empire was re-
 “ stored, and Landau, Treves, and Traerbach being taken, the
 “ War is carried into the Dominions of France. And for as
 “ much as the happy Atchievements of the said Duke, having
 “ apparently tended, not only to the Honour and Safety of your
 “ Majesty, and your Subjects, and of their Posterity, but also
 “ towards the future Tranquillity of Europe ; your Majesty’s
 “ most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of England
 “ in Parliament assembled, thought themselves obliged, in an
 “ humble Address to your Majesty, not only to express their
 “ great Sense of the said glorious Victories, but also humbly to
 “ desire your Majesty, that you would be graciously pleased to
 “ consider of some proper Means, to perpetuate the Memory of
 “ such signal Services : And your Majesty having been thereupon
 “ pleased to signify your Intentions, to grant the Interest of
 “ the Crown, in the Honour and Manor of Woodstock, and
 “ the Hundred of Wootton, to the said Duke and his Heirs ;
 “ your Majesty’s said dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons
 “ of England, in Parliament assembled, duly considering the
 “ good and prudent Provisions made by your Majesty, by an
 “ Act of Parliament, in the first Year of your Reign, for pre-
 “ serving the Inheritance of several Revenues of the Crown,
 “ and believing, that the Settlement of the said Honour,
 “ Manor, and Hundred, on the said Duke, and his Heirs, can
 “ make no Precedent for Cases, where there is, or shall be less
 “ Merit, do most humbly, chearfully and unanimously, be-
 “ seech your Majesty, that it may be enacted, &c.

By this Act, the Honour and Manor of Woodstock, with the
 Hundred of Wootton, were vested in his Grace, and his Heirs ;
*Rendering to the Queen, her Heirs, and Successors, on the second
 Day of August, in every Year, for ever, at the Castle of Windsor.*

1705.

one Standard, or Colours, with three Flower de Luces painted thereon, for all Manner of Rent, Services, &c.

On this Occasion, appear'd some excellent Lines, from an anonymous Hand, address'd, in a Letter, to Signor Antonio Verrio, at Hampton-Court; of which the Reader will find a Copy in the APPENDIX. The beneficent Queen, that she might be wanting in nothing on her Part, to comply with the earnest Desires of the House of Commons, and indeed of the Nation in general, *to perpetuate the Memory of the glorious Actions* perform'd by this *truly great Man*, likewise ordered the Comptroller of her Works to build in Woodstock-Park, a most stately Palace or Castle, to be call'd Blenheim-House: And, about this time, her Majesty likewise appointed his Grace Colonel of her first Regiment of Foot-Guards.

The House of Commons soon after bore another publick Testimony of the Sense the Nation had of the Duke's eminent Services; for, on the 8th of February, they took into Consideration the Treaty lately concluded by his Grace, and unanimously resolv'd; " That an humble Address be presented to the Queen, " returning the Thanks of the House to her Majesty, for concluding the late Treaty with the King of Prussia, which was " so reasonable a Support to the Duke of Savoy, and so great " an Advantage to the Common Cause; and also to assure her " Majesty, that her faithful Commons would effectually enable " her to make good the said Treaty with the King of Prussia, " who upon so many Occasions, had signalized his Zeal for the " Protestant Religion, and the Liberty of Europe.

The next Day, Mr. Secretary Hedges acquainted the House, " That her Majesty returned them many Thanks, for the Assurances they gave her, in their Address, and was very well " pleas'd to find, they had so just a Sense of the King of " Prussia's Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and the Liberty of " Europe.

About this time, likewise, several Promotions were made in the Army, in which the Queen again shew'd the Satisfaction she had in the Services of those who had signalized themselves under the Duke: The Lord Cutts was made Commander of her Majesty Forces in Ireland, under the Duke of Ormond; the Brigadiers Frederick Hamilton, Esq; the Lord Windsor, the Lord Raby, and—— Tidcombe, Esq; were made Major-Generals; and the Honourable Colonel Mordaunt, Colonel Blood, and Colonel Stanhope were made Brigadiers.

Scheme and
Preparations
for the
Campaign.

I come now to the Opening of the Campaign. The Duke of Marlborough, having, the preceding Summer, delivered the Empire, by the ever-famous Victory of Blenheim, had a long time considered how to improve that Success, this Campaign; and having communicated his several Projects to the Cabinet Council,

1705.

Council, none seemed so judiciously laid, as the making an Impression upon the Frontiers of France: The Design, therefore, was, that the Mosel should be the Scene of Action, and Care had been taken to lay up Magazines of all Sorts, in Triers, for that Purpose. To carry on this Design, two Things were absolutely necessary; first, the Concurrence of the cautious Dutch, who seemed unwilling to let their Troops go so far from their Frontiers, lest they should lose, in one Campaign, the Barrier they had been forming in two or three; and, secondly, the quickening the Slowness of the Germans, without whose joint Assistance, the Duke could not act there, with Probability of Success. The States, however, consented, that he should carry the greatest Part of their Army to the Mosel, and resolved to lye on the Defensive upon their own Frontiers; for they reckoned, that how strong soever the Elector of Bavaria's Army was, at that time; yet when France should be press'd, with so great a Force, as they reckoned would be on the Mosel, he would be ordered to send such Detachments thither, that his Army would be quickly diminished, and so would not have the superiour Strength long.

This being the Duke's Scheme, in order to put it in Execution, his Grace set out, the six and twentieth of March, from St. James's, towards Harwich; where he embark'd, the thirtieth, on board one of her Majesty's Yachts, and set sail for Holland, together with several other Yachts and Transport-Ships, under Convoy of a Squadron of Men of War, commanded by the Marquis of Caermarthen, Vice-Admiral of the Red. They were put back, the next Day, by contrary Winds; but, as they were favourable the first of April, in the Morning, his Grace then put to Sea again, and landed safely in Holland, the next Day in the Afternoon.

The Duke of Marlborough goes to Holland.

" This Marquis of Caermarthen was a Son of the Duke of Leeds, and himself afterwards the late Duke of Leeds, noted for his Extravagances and rakish manner of Living, which was no small Let in the Way of his Preferment. He was reckon'd an excellent Sailor, and thought to have great Skill in Ship-Building, of which he gave a Proof by building a Ship call'd the Royal Transport, famed for being very expeditious. He was, tho' of low Stature, strong and active, of great Fire, and had a Stock of Courage sufficient to undertake any thing; nor did he want Wit and Parts, if they had been rightly applied.

Character of the Marquis of Caermarthen.

Upon the Duke's Arrival at the Hague, his Grace had several Conferences with the Pensionary, and other Members of the Assembly of the States General, in which he laid before them the great Advantages, that would accrue to the whole Confederacy, from the vigorous Prosecution of his Design; which

The Duke concert's Measures with the Dutch.

1705.

would deprive France of the Means, either of enlarging her Conquests, in Piedmont, or of protecting Spain; by putting her upon the Necessity of defending herself at home.

Grounds of
the Duke's
Design.

The Duke had, however, another Motive, which concurr'd to put him upon these Measures: The Marshal de Villars lately made a Duke, was said to be the right Hand, and almost sole Dependance of Lewis XIV. His Grace, therefore, prudently judged, that to triumph over, and ruin the Reputation of this renowned General, by a single Defeat, would be a Service to the Common Cause preferable to all others. The Consequence of such a Defeat would have been the Submission of the three Bishopricks, after which nothing could have prevented his making himself Master of Thionville, and even of Luxemburg itself.

The Dutch (as I have said above) were soon made sensible of the Plausibleness of the Duke's Project; but the greatest Difficulty remained behind. In order to remove it, his Grace resolved to have a Conference with Prince Lewis of Baden, and sent Brigadier-General Cadogan to his Highness, to manage an Interview with him.

The Duke
of Marlbro's
Motions,

The Duke of Marlborough having concerted, with the Deputies of the States, and the Dutch Generals, the necessary Measures for opening the Campaign, set out from the Hague, the fourth of May, N. S. And, the eighth, in the Afternoon, his Grace arrived at Maestricht, where Mons. d'Auverquerque was come some Days before. He continued there, till all the Troops, which were to compose the Army, on that Side, and the English Forces, that were to march towards the Mosel, were come up.

The fifth, died Emperor Leopold, at Vienna, which being notified to the Queen, by Count Gallas, the Imperial Envoy Extraordinary, at a private Audience, a Debate arose thereupon in Council, whether the Queen and the Court should go into Mourning for him, which (tho', at first, the Majority of the Board gave their Opinions for a Negative) was at last resolved upon. The Occasion of this Debate was, because the Emperours of Germany were not used to go into Mourning for other Monarchs of Europe, whom they look'd upon as an inferior Class of Princes: But Count Gallas having, in his Master's Name, promised, that, for the future, the Emperor would mourn for the Kings and Queens of England, her Majesty took the Resolution.

Count Gallas, at the same Time, notified the Accession of the late Emperor's eldest Son Joseph, (who had before been elected King of the Romans, for that Purpose) to the Imperial Throne, and he, likewise, assur'd her Majesty, that the new Emperor would not only observe all the Treaties concluded with

with his Predecessor, but would omit nothing that might render those Alliances more firm.

1705.

On the twelfth, Brigadier Cadogan, whom the Duke of Marlborough had dispatch'd from the Hague, to confer with Prince Lewis of Baden, arrived at Maestricht, with Advice, that he had concerted an Interview, between the Prince and his Grace, at Creutznach, the twentieth of the same Month. The fourteenth, the Duke review'd the English Troops encamp'd near Vifet. The fifteenth, these Troops pass'd the Maese, and continued their March towards the Mosel, under the Command of General Churchill; and his Grace set out from Maestricht, towards Coblentz: The Duke's Design being, that the Campaign, on that Side, should be opened with the Siege of Saar-Louis, or some other of the Enemy's Frontier-Towns.

His Grace arrived at Coblentz, the seventeenth; and on the eighteenth, Baron Forstner, Counsellor to Prince Lewis of Baden, came to Coblentz, from Rastadt, being sent express to the Duke of Marlborough, to acquaint him, that his Highness was very much indisposed, and could not meet his Grace at Creutznach, as he design'd; he likewise seem'd, by this Message, to decline concurring with the Duke, in the Designs he had laid, excusing himself, not only on his Want of Health, but because the Force he had about him was not considerable, nor was that, which he expected, like to come to him so soon as might be wish'd for.

Prince Lewis of Baden excuses his meeting and concurring with the Duke.

The Duke of Marlborough, who had set his Heart on opening the Campaign in those Parts, and had great Hopes of Success, would not let this prevent him; so he resolv'd to carry the Matter as far he could; and as the Prince's ill State of Health seem'd only to be a Pretence, his Grace resolv'd to go and confer with him at Rastadt.

The Duke began his Journey from Coblentz, the nineteenth, and came, that Night, to Schlangenbade, where he found the Landgrave of Hesse, with his whole Court, by whom he was very honourably received. His Grace set out from thence, early the next Morning; arrived at Heidelberg, in the Afternoon, and, the next Day, at Rastadt. He was received by Prince Lewis, with all outward Demonstrations of Friendship and Esteem: But it was observ'd by several in the Duke's Retinue, that the Prince was not so much indisposed, as not to have been able to meet his Grace at Creutznach. The two Generals had a private Conference together, in which it was resolv'd, "To leave a sufficient Number of Germans, for the Security of the Lines of Lauterburg and Stolhoffen, under the Command of General Thungen, and that Prince Lewis of

The Duke goes to confer with Prince Lewis.

Result of their Conference.

"Baden

1705.

“Baden should march with a great Detachment towards the Saar, to act in Concert with the Duke.”

Motions of
the Confe-
derate Army
thereupon.

The twenty-second, his Grace went to view the Lines of Biehl and Stolhoffen, and came to Manheim the next Day, in his Way to Triers, where he arrived the six and twentieth. The Duke having assembled all the Troops in the Neighbourhood of that Place, the English and Dutch Forces, which were encamp'd near Igel, on the other Side the Mosel, pass'd that River, the third of June, over several Bridges; and, from thence, march'd to those prepar'd for them over the Saar, which River they, likewise, pass'd, at Consaarbruck. The Hessians, Danes and Lunenburghers pass'd the Saar, at the same time; and so all the Troops join'd.

The Duke
encamps at
Elft, near
the Enemy.

After a long March of near eight Hours, they came, with their Right, within a quarter of a League of Sirk. It being too late to encamp, the Troops lay on their Arms all Night. The next Morning, they encamp'd at Elft, the Right being at Perle, near Sirk, on the Mosel, and the Left at Hollandorp, within Sight of the Enemy's Army. Upon the Appearance of the Allies, the Day before, the Enemy immediately prepar'd for a Retreat, which they now put in Execution, with great Precipitation. and march'd from Sirk towards Coningsmacheren, possessing themselves of a very advantageous Camp, which they made yet stronger, by casting up Intrenchments, and felling down Trees: So that there was no Possibility of attacking them, in that Post, with the least Probability of Success.

Who re-
treat, and
entrench
themselves.

The Duke's
real Design.

This, indeed, was no Disappointment to the Duke; for he did not design to attack them, and his advancing so far, was only to cover the intended Siege of Saar-Louis. The Taking of that Place was of so great Importance, that the Success of the whole Campaign, on that Side, depended upon it; and Time being very precious, the Duke dispatch'd frequent Expresses, to quicken the March, not only of the Imperialists, but of the Wirtemberghers, Prussians and Palatines, and to exhort the Princes, who had promised to furnish Artillery, Horses and Waggons, to send them with all possible Expedition.

Prince Lewis
fails to join
the Duke.

His Exhortations, tho' back'd by those of the States General, were however to little Purpose. It is true, some Imperial Troops were detach'd from Lauterburg, for the Mosel; but they kept so truly to their own usual Pace, and march'd so slowly, that instead of being on the Saar, the ninth or tenth of June, N. S. as they should have been, they were not arrived, the twentieth, nor were there either Horses or Artillery provided. Prince Lewis of Baden, who had promised to come in Person, came indeed as far as Creutznach, and then falling sick, took an Opportunity to go to the Wells of Schwalbach, and the Bath at Schlungenbade, leaving those Forces under the Com-
mand

Prince Lewis
feigns Sick-
ness.

mand of the Count de Frieze. So here was the former Excuse of Want of Health and Force repeated; not without shrewd Suspicions of Treachery; for it appeared plainly, that the French knew what he intended to do, and their Management shew'd they depended on it; because they ordered no Detachments to augment Monf. de Villars's Army. Be this as it will, it is certain the Duke was ill us'd, and that this ill Usage was the Occasion of his Design proving abortive.

The Duke of Wirtemberg made a little more Haste with 4000 Men, in the Pay of the States; and the Prussians arrived before the grand Army was obliged to decamp.

In the mean time, the Forces of the States General, being very much weaken'd by the Detachments sent to the Mosel, it was thought fit, that their Army, under Monf. d'Auverquerque, consisting only of thirty Battalions, and seventy two Squadrons, should stand on the Defensive. For that End, they encamp'd near Maestricht, on the Hill of St. Peter, where they entrench'd themselves, not doubting but that the Elector of Bavaria, and the Duke of Villeroy, who commanded the French and Spanish Army in the Netherlands, would send a strong Detachment towards the Mosel. They were, however, deceiv'd in their Expectations; and this encreas'd the Suspicions of Prince Lewis's Conduct: For the Enemy being inform'd how Things pass'd, on the Mosel, resolv'd to take the Advantage of their Superiority on the Maese. They came out of their Lines, the twenty-first of May, and marched to Val Nôtre Dame, near Huy, which Place they invested, the eight and twentieth.

The thirtieth, the Marshal de Villeroy, and the Count d'Artagnan, having, several times, summoned the Town, which is of no Defense, it was thought fit to prevent the Ruin of the Inhabitants, and to come to such an Agreement about it, as was made when the Duke of Marlborough came before it. And the Garrison retired into the Castle.

The next Day, the Enemy storm'd Fort St. Joseph three times; but were repuls'd, with a very great Loss. The third of June, after a vigorous Attack and Resistance, they made themselves Masters of Fort Picard, and the Red Fort, and then batter'd the Castle and Fort St. Joseph. The necessary Preparations for a general Assault being made; and the Breaches being so wide, that it was thought impossible to defend the Place any longer, the Governour beat a Parly, the tenth; but could obtain no other Conditions, than that the Garrison should march out of the Breach, with their Arms, and should afterwards lay them down, and surrender themselves Prisoners of War; which was put in Execution the next Day. The thirteenth, that Part of the Garrison, which was in the Forts St. Joseph, and La

1705.
Suspicions of Treachery.

Motions of the Army under Monf. d'Auverquerque.

Huy invest-
ed by the
Enemy;

And the
Castle ta-
ken.

Saar,

1705.

The Citadel
of Liege in-
vested by the
Enemy.

Representa-
tion of the
Deputies of
the States
hereupon.

The D. of
Marlboro'
decamps
from Elft.

A Council of
War.
The Result
of it.

The Duke
returns to-
wards the
Netherlands.

Ill Conduct
of the Ger-
mans.

Saar, march'd out, in like Manner, and they were all carried to Namur. Two Days after, the French Army march'd from Huy to Horrion, and, the next Day, drew nearer to Liege, and invested the Citadel of that Place.

The News of the taking of Huy having reach'd the Duke of Marlborough's Army, the Deputies of the States represented to his Grace; "That it was impossible to subsist any longer in his Camp; that the Germans having, by their Delays, frustrated the Design of Besieging Saar-Louis, and defeated all the other Projects on the Mosel, it was to no Purpose to continue any longer in those Parts, when their Forces might be employed, in the Netherlands, in stopping the Progress of their Enemies." The Duke was as sensible of that melancholy Truth, as the Deputies themselves could be; but being willing to stay till the last Extremity, "That the Imperialists might have no manner of Excuse for disappointing him," he did not decamp from Elft, his Head-Quarters, till the seventeenth of June, N. S. The French saw the Confederate Army retire with greater Tranquillity, than they had express'd when they first advanc'd that Way; and the Duke of Marlborough, when he arrived at Triers, held a great Council of War. It was there resolv'd; "That the Forces under his Command should march back to the Maese, except 7,000 Palatines, in the Pay of England and Holland, who were unfortunately left for the Security of Triers, and other Posts, on that Side, under the Command of Lieutenant-General Aubach. They were to be joined by Part of the Troops of Westphalia; and the 12 000 Prussians, with the 4,000 Men of Wirtemberg, were ordered to march to Lauterburg, to re-inforce Prince Lewis of Baden." According to this Resolution, his Grace, after having spent some Weeks in this fruitless Attempt, march'd for the Netherlands, by the shortest Way, very much mortified, at this ill Usage of the Germans; and the Imperial Troops, the Prussians and Wirtembergers, moved towards the Upper Rhine.

The Marshal de Villars, having now no Enemy before him, made a Detachment to re-inforce the Elector of Bavaria; another, for the Army under the Marshal de Marfin, in Alsace, and advanced, with the rest, towards the Saar. Upon the first Notice of his Approach, the Palatine General sent precipitate Orders to the Governour of Saarbruck, to quit that Castle, and blow up the Fortifications, as soon as the Enemy should appear, which was punctually performed. This Oversight was but a Preliminary to the unpardonable Blunder, committed by Mons. d'Aubach; who, to complete the ill Conduct of the Germans, on the five and twentieth of June, even before any Enemy appeared in Sight, destroyed all the Magazines, the English and Dutch

Dutch had, at a vast Expence, erected at Triers; blew up the Fortifications; burnt the Boats designed to make Bridges, and, in a scandalous Manner, quitted that important Post. The French, who did not expect so easy a Conquest, took Possession of it, four Days after, and the Marshal de Villars march'd to join the Marshal de Marfin, and, in Conjunction with him, beat the Imperialists from the Lines of Crone-Weissenburg.

1705.

Consequences of it.

General Thungen had enough to maintain himself, in the Lines of Lauterburg; the same fatal Influence, which disappointed the Duke of Marlborough's Projects on the Mosel, having kept the German Troops dispersed, as if it were on Design, to give the French an Opportunity, to beat General Thungen over the Rhine, and retake Landau.

The Prince of Baden's Conduct, throughout this whole Affair, lay very open to Censure; and he was almost generally believed to be corrupted by the French; while others, who were for putting the best Construction they could upon it, were obliged to attribute his acting as he did, to his Haughtiness, and an Envy of the Duke of Marlborough's Success.

Reflections on Prince Lewis's Conduct.

The Infantry, under the Duke of Marlborough, together with the Train of Artillery, march'd from Triers, the nineteenth of June, under the Command of General Churchill; the twentieth, his Grace followed with the Horse, and encamp'd at Hôpital; the twenty-first, he came to Bibrich; the next Day, to Prun, where he halted, the twenty-third, and the four and twentieth to Dreyborn. Upon Advice from Mons. d'Auverquerque, that the French had invested the Citadel of Liege, his Grace sent Orders, the twenty-first, to General Churchill, to detach 100 Men, with all the Grenadiers, out of each Battalion, under the Command of the Earl of Orkney, Lieutenant-General, to meet the Horse at Duren, the six and twentieth; and having received a second Information, from the Dutch Velt-Marshal, that the Enemy had been retarded two or three Days before Liege, for want of their Artillery, his Grace sent fresh Orders, to the Earl of Orkney, to hasten his March. His Grace made this extraordinary Expedition, that he might join Mons. d'Auverquerque, time enough to save the Citadel of Liege, or give Battle to the Marshal de Villeroy, before he could draw off his Cannon: And it is certain, that he thereby entirely chang'd the whole Face of Affairs in the Netherlands, to the Advantage of the Allies.

Incredible Expedition of the D. of Marlboro'.

Which changes the Face of Affairs;

The Enemy, upon Advice of the Duke's Approach, sent back their Artillery to Namur, and the seven and twentieth, in the Morning, quitted the City of Liege, and retired to Tongeren. The Duke of Marlborough, on his Side continued his March with his Horse, the five and twentieth, from Dreyborn to Duren, where the Earl of Orkney was already arrived. The Earl

And obliges the Enemy to raise the Siege of the Citadel of Liege.

of

1705.

Character of
the Earl of
Orkney.

of Orkney was a fourth Son of the late Duke of Hamilton, but bred under his Uncle, Lord Dumbarton, who died in France; and after the Revolution had his Regiment. He was remarkable for his Bravery, and got possess'd of a great Estate by his Marriage with Mrs. Villiers. The same Day, upon Advice from Mons. d'Auverquerque, that the Enemy's Forces were preparing to retire from before Liege, and had, to that End, put their Cannon on Board several Boats, to be sent up the Maese, his Grace thought fit to make a Halt with the Horse, on the six and twentieth; but the Detachment of Foot continued their March, and, the same Day, General Churchill joined the Duke his Brother, with the rest of the Foot.

The D. of
Marlboro'
arrives at
Maastricht.

The seven and twentieth, his Grace, having left Orders for all the Troops to advance by easier Marches, came away from Duren, and arrived, about Noon, at Maastricht; where he was received with a triple Discharge of the Artillery, and great Expressions of Joy. His Grace had regulated Matters with Mons. d'Auverquerque, and the other Generals, to march, the first of July, N. S. to the Enemy; but, that very Day, the French march'd from Tongeren. They had mark'd out a Camp. at Waremes, where Preparations were actually making for the Entertainment of their Generals; but, upon Advice, that the Confederate Army would pass the Maese, that Morning, they continued their March, and encamp'd at Montenaken, within a League and a half of their Lines; upon which, the English and Dutch Generals thought fit to let their Troops rest, one Day more, after so hard a March.

The French
retreat with-
in their
Lines.

The same Day, the Duke of Marlborough's Army pass'd the Maese, over two Bridges, near Viselle, and advanced to Hanef; and the Forces commanded by Mons. d'Auverquerque march'd, at the same time, to Theis, upon the Jaar. The Enemy having Notice of this March, decamped, that very Evening, with great Precipitation, and retired into their Lines, having sent away most of their Baggage, the Day before. The third, the Confederate Armies made a Halt; but march'd, the next Day; that, under the Duke of Marlborough to Lens les Beguines, where they had their Left, and their Right at Tresin; and the other, under Mons. d'Auverquerque, had its Right at St. Servalin and Latine, and Breff upon its Left.

The Castle
of Huy in-
vested by the
Confeder-
ates.

The Confederate Generals resolv'd, hereupon, to retake the Castle of Huy, before they proceeded farther. To this End, they made a Detachment under General Scholten, which invested that Place, the sixth. The next Day, the Duke of Marlborough, with his Troops, and those of the States, put themselves in a Situation, to cover, and help to carry on the Siege. Two Days after, the Cannon, and Mortars, began to play upon Fort Picard, with so good Success, that General Scholten made the
necessary

1705.



necessary Dispositions, for attacking it. The Enemy was beat, with great Bravery, out of the Cover'd Way, and the Confederate Troops were resolutely climbing up the Fort; which the Enemy perceiving, they fled into the Castle, with the Loss of their Commander, and seven more, who were taken Prisoners; and the Red Fort, they had abandon'd two Hours before.

The tenth, a Battery of twelve Guns, and several Mortars, were brought to play against the Castle. The eleventh, a Battery was erected in Fort Joseph, which, with the other, had so good Success, that the Enemy, seeing a Breach was already made, beat a Parly, desiring to be conducted to Namur; but this being refus'd, they surrendered upon the same Conditions, as were And re-
taken.
allowed to the Dutch Garrison, when the French took that Place, just a Month before, and were made Prisoners of War. The twelfth, the Garrison march'd out, to the Number of 450 Men, besides the Sick and Wounded, and was carried to Maestricht. As for the Loss the Besiegers sustained, it was very inconsiderable.

C H A P. X.

Successful Attack of the French Lines, with other Transactions, to the Conclusion of the Year 1705.

THE Disappointment on the Mosel sitting very heavy on the Duke of Marlborough's Mind, his Grace resolved to recover that Misfortune, by undertaking something worthy of himself, on the Maese; and as no Enterprize appeared more difficult in itself, and more advantageous in its Consequences, than the Attack of the Enemy's Lines, his Grace sent General Hompesch to propose it to the States General. That General soon returned with the Answer of their High Mightinesses, which was, "That having an entire Confidence in the Conduct and Prudence of his Grace, they left it entirely to him, to do whatever he should think for the Good of the common Cause." The Duke, hereupon, held a Council of War, wherein the Generals of his Army, and those of Mons. d'Auverquerque's were present. The Debate was the forcing of the Enemy's Lines; but nothing being resolved upon, the first time, a second Council was called. Some Generals, in the Service of the States, oppos'd the Duke's Project; but Mons. d'Auverquerque, the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, Count de Noyelles, and some others, declared, it was their Opinion, that neither the Enterprize was dangerous, nor the Success of it improbable, if the judicious Measures

The Duke of Marlborough proposes to force the French Lines.

Some Dutch General oppose it.

1705.

The Duke's
Opinion pre-
vails.A Strata-
gem put in
Practice ;Which suc-
ceeds.The Dispo-
sition in or-
der to attack
the Lines.

Measures propos'd by the Duke of Marlborough were put in Execution : Whereupon the Resolution was taken. The Enemy were post'd along the Lines, with near 100 Battalions, and 146 Squadrons ; the Confederate Army, on the other hand, consisted of ninety-two Battalions, and 160 Squadrons ; so that they were pretty equal in Force.

The Enemy having, therefore, the Advantage of being strongly entrench'd, with a like Number of Troops, it was resolv'd to make a Feint to divide them. And, accordingly, the Army, under Mons. d'Auverquerque, decamp'd from Vignamont, the seventeenth of July, N. S. at three in the Morning, and march'd towards Bourdine, on the other Side of the Mehaigne, and the Duke of Marlborough made a Motion, at the same time, as if he intended to support Mons. d'Auverquerque, in the Attack of the Lines, about Messelen, where they were not so strong as in other Parts. This Stratagem succeeded to Wish ; for those Motions, particularly the passing of the Mehaigne, having given great Jealousy to the French, they bestow'd their Attention on the Side of the Gerbise, towards Namur ; whereupon the Duke of Marlborough made the following Disposition, in order to march, with the whole Army, in the Night between the seventeenth and eighteenth.

“ Lieutenant General Scholten, having rejoin'd the Army with ten Battalions, and ten Squadrons only, thirteen Squadrons more, out of the Right of the Duke of Marlborough's second Line, were added to them ; and five of those Squadrons were given to Colonel Chanclos, who being perfectly acquainted with the Lines, and the Nature of the Ground, was order'd to march at the Head of all. Eleven Battalions, and all the Horse of the Right Wing of his Grace's Army, to the Number of twenty-four Squadrons, were also detach'd, in order to march at the Head of the first Line ; and those two Detachments were to be commanded by Count Noyelles, General of the Infantry, having under him the Lieutenant Generals, Lumley, Hompesch, Scholten, and Count d'Oost Frise : The Major-Generals Wood, Rofs, Erbach, Welderen, Prince of Hesse-Homburg, and Weeck ; and the Brigadiers Hey, Palms, Baldwin, Sacken, Grevendorf, Posern, Meredith, and Hamilton. On the seventeenth, about four in the Afternoon, his Grace gave Orders for the whole Army to get ready to march ; that all the Baggage should assemble, at six, near Tourine, behind the Camp, under the Guard of a Colonel with 400 Foot and 100 Horse ; that at nine in the Evening, Count Noyelles should advance, with the two Bodies before mentioned, filing off by their Right, that which assembled before their first Line to the Left, and that of Lieutenant-General Scholten

“ to

1705.

“ to the Right, marching thro’ the Route, the Guides would
 “ shew them, directly towards Wangen and Elixheim, which
 “ two Posts they were to attack, if the Posture the Enemy were
 “ in, would permit : That his Grace’s Army should march,
 “ likewise, at Ten o’Clock, following the same Route, which
 “ the two Detachments took ; that the Artillery should move,
 “ at the same time, on the Right of the Army ; that Mons.
 “ d’Auverquerque’s Artillery should follow the same Way ;
 “ that an Hour before the Army march’d, all the Horse of the
 “ Left Wing of his Grace’s Army should move along the two
 “ Lines, and repair to the Right of the Infantry ; that, at the
 “ same time, the Body of Horse commanded by the Earl of
 “ Albemarle, should advance forwards, from their Camp ;
 “ that Monsieur d’Auverquerque’s Army should repass the Me-
 “ haigne, over the 12 Bridges, made there for that Purpose,
 “ and should join, with the Right of his Foot, the Left of his
 “ Grace’s Army ; that when Mons. d’Auverquerque should begin
 “ to move, he should detach a strong Party of Dragoons, towards
 “ Gerbisé, to give the Alarm in the Enemy’s Line, on that
 “ Side ; and that the Detachment commanded by the Lord Albe-
 “ marle should bring up the Rear of all. This Disposition be-
 “ ing made, and the Gun which is usually fired for the Tattoo,
 “ being now the Signal for taking down the Tents, the two
 “ Armies began their March, between ten and eleven in the
 “ Evening, filing off, by their Right, in two Columns, leaving
 “ Cortis, Montenaken, Houstein and St. Gertruydenland, to
 “ their Right ; and the Villages Trogne, Cras, Avergna, Baud-
 “ win, Reitshoven, Over-Winden and Neer-Winden, to their
 “ Left, and marching directly towards their Line, where the
 “ two first Detachments were to attempt to force their Passage.
 “ at Elixheim, the Castle of Wangh, and the Villages of Wangh,
 “ Neerhespen and Oostmalen.

The Guides, which conducted the Detachments were some-
 what at a Loss, on occasion of the extreme Darkness of the
 Night ; and this so retarded their March, that it was half an
 Hour past four, in the Morning, and broad Day, when they
 arrived before the Posts I have mentioned above, which ac-
 cording to the Information, they had before received, they
 found but thinly guarded.

Proceedings
thereupon.

Count de Noyelles caused the Castle of Wangh, which de-
 fended a Stone Bridge that was there, on the Geete, to be at-
 tack’d ; but the Enemy immediately abandon’d that Post, and
 gave an Opportunity to the Grenadiers, who were order’d on
 that Service, to march forwards, and attack the Barrier of the
 Line ; which the Guard there did not defend much better ; and
 so the Troops enter’d the Line, on that Side, with little or no Op-
 position ; tho’ the Enemy had 12 Squadrons of Dragoons encamp’d

The Lines
forc’d.

1705.

behind Oostmalen (within a Cannon-Shot of them) who immediately mounted their Horses, but durst not advance to defend their Barriers. At the same time, three Battalions possess'd themselves of the Bridge and Village of Helisheim, a quarter of a League from Wagh, on the Left, which was done with as little Opposition: Nor did Lieutenant-General Scholten meet with greater Resistance, at the Villages of Ober-Hespen and Neder-Hespen: So that being Masters of those Bridges and Barriers, and having made several other Bridges, the Horse went over the same, and immediately form'd themselves on the Eminence, extending their Right towards the Village of Hachendoren; and some Battalions drew up along the Line, and behind the Horse.

While the Pioneers were busy in making Passages thro' the Lines, ten of the Enemy's Squadrons, and four Battalions, were perceived between the Villages of Gouchancourt and Esmaile; but they gave Time for the Confederate Forces to extend themselves, endeavouring only to advance to the Village of Elixheim. The Count de Noyelles caus'd all the Troops he had with him to go over, as fast as possible: And the Duke of Marlborough arriving, with the whole Army, his Horse went over the Line, with the same Expedition, as the rest had done; thus they all advanc'd towards the Enemy, who, by this time, were re-inforced to the Number of 50 Squadrons, and 20 Battalions, and advanc'd with great Resolution, behind the hollow Way going up from Elixheim to Tirlémont.

This oblig'd the Confederate Horse to stop a few Minutes, till some Battalions advancing lined the hollow Way, and firing upon the Enemy's Horse, oblig'd them to retire beyond the Reach of their Muskets, and to form themselves before their Infantry. This gave an Opportunity to the Confederate Horse to pass the hollow Way. In the mean time, the Enemy caus'd eight Pieces of Cannon with treble Barrels to advance, with which they began to fire briskly upon them: But the Duke of Marlborough being come in Person, at the Head of his Horse, and seeing that the Enemy were continually receiving fresh Re-inforcements, and that their Infantry was going to join them, his Grace was resolv'd to charge them with the Horse only. This was done with that Vigour and Courage, that the Enemy's Cavalry, being soon broken, and put to the rout, they endeavour'd to rally themselves behind their Infantry, whilst the victorious Horse of the Allies possess'd themselves of their Cannon and Ammunition-Waggons.

The Enemy being re-inforced with some Squadrons, and having interlined some Infantry with them, moved again towards the Allies: But the latter, being likewise re-inforced, and sustain'd by their Infantry, advanced to meet them. The Right of the Confederate Horse coming too near the Hedges of the Village

Village of Esmale. which were lined with some of the Enemy's Foot, were somewhat disorder'd by their Fire, and obliged to shrink back: But having soon after, extended themselves more towards the Right, to make Way for some Battalions that march'd against the Enemy's Foot, they both charg'd, with that Bravery and Briskness, that the Enemy's Horse was soon defeated, and cut in Pieces; and their Infantry being abandon'd in the Plain, had much ado to get away, in great Disorder, between the Villages of Heilshelm and Gottheven, where they met with the rest of their Army, and formed themselves as well as they could. In the mean time, the Duke of Marlborough caus'd all the rest of his Troops to enter the Lines, and extended the Right of his Army, towards the great Geete, before Tirmont, in which Town the Enemy had left the Battalion of Monluc, which, upon the first Summons, surrendered Prisoners at Discretion.

In this Action, the Marquis d'Alegre, and the Count de Horn, Lieutenant-Generals, a Major-General, two Brigadier-Generals, and a great Number of other Officers of all Ranks, besides a great Abundance of private Men, were taken Prisoners. All the Troops of the Allies behaved themselves with great Bravery and Resolution; but, amongst the Horse, the Regiment of Brigadier Cadogan distinguished themselves, having had the Honour to charge first; which they did with such Success, that they defeated four Squadrons of Bavarian Guards, drove them thro' two Battalions of their own Foot, and took four Standards; and all this only with the Loss of Lieutenant Austin, and some few Men. Nor was the Loss of the other Troops greater in Proportion. The Duke of Marlborough, having very much expos'd himself in the Action, was in great Danger of his Life: For as he was leading on several Squadrons, a French or Bavarian Officer quitted his Post, and advanced Sword in Hand, to attack his Grace; but as he was raising himself upon his Stirrups, to reach him, he flung himself off of his Horse, and was presently kill'd. Mons. d'Averquerque, in his Account of this Action, says, the Bavarian Horse, which consisted of 24 Squadrons, offering to oppose the Confederates, was almost entirely ruined, as was, likewise, the two Regiments of Alsace and la Marque.

STANDARDS and COLOURS taken.

Nine Standards, of Blue Sattin, richly embroider'd with the Bavarian Arms, six belonging to the Elector's own Troops, and three to those of Cologn, having the following Motto's and Devices.

1705.



1. A Laurel: *Aut Coronari, aut Rumpi.*
2. An Olive-Tree on a Rock: *Per ardua Laurus.*
3. A Pillar reaching the Clouds: *Tantum Umbra movetur.*
4. A Bear rampant: *Ex Vulnere crudelior.*
5. A Dove with an Olive-Branch: *Uni servo fidem.*
6. A Chaos: *Obstantia firmant.*
7. A Helmet with a Feather on a Pedestal: *Ex duris Gloria.*
8. A Olive-Tree shading Serpents: *Nocet Umbra Nocenti.*
9. This Standard was stript; but was of the Elector's Guards.

Four Colours, three belonging to Monluc's Regiment, and one taken in the Field.

One Pair of Kettle-Drums, belonging to the Spanish Troops.

There were many more Standards and Colours taken.

There were, likewise, taken ten Pieces of Cannon, with three Barrels each, to discharge three Balls at once; besides eight others, three of which were twenty-four Pounders.

A Medal
struck on
this Occa-
sion,

Upon this Occasion a Medal was struck, in the following Manner:

On the Face is represented a Bust of her Majesty, with her Title, as usual; and, on the Reverse, the Duke of Marlborough, on Horseback, entering the Enemy's Lines, to advance to Tirlemont, which appears in View, with this Inscription over it:

FORTES FORTUNA JUVAT.

Fortune favours the Valiant.

And in the Exergue;

FOSSIS, VALLISQUE HOSTIUM SUPERATIS IN
BRABANTIA ET FLANDRIA, 1705.

The Enemy's Ditches and Lines, in Brabant and Flanders, forced, in 1705.

Retreat of
the Elector
of Bavaria
and the
Marshal de
Villeroy.

The Body of Troops under the Command of Mons. d'Allegre, being thus defeated, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Marshal de Villeroy, consulted for the Safety of the rest of their Army; and, decamping, in the Sight of the Confederates, pass'd the great Geete, and the Deule, with all imaginable Diligence, and possess'd themselves of the strong Camp at Parck, with their Left, at Roofelaer, and their Right, against the Height of Louvain, at Wineselen. From thence, the Elector wrote the following Laconick Letter, to his Favourite, the Baron de Malknecht,

Dear



1705.

“ the Action. The Troops did also exprefs such Bravery, as
 “ was even beyond our Hopes. The Enemy being repulfed, I
 “ caufed the Forces to advance towards this Place, where I
 “ obliged the Battalion of Monluc to furrender Prifoners. I
 “ thought this good News deferved to be fent to your High
 “ Mightineffes, by a Perfon of Note, and I have chofen Lieu-
 “ tenant-General Hompefch, who had a great Share therein,
 “ to inform you of the other Particulars, referring to my next,
 “ to give your High Mightineffes an exact Account of the
 “ Prifoners, Cannon, and Standards, taken from the Enemy.
 “ I intend to advance to-morrow towards Louvain. I am,
 “ with an inviolable Refpect, your High Mightineffes moft
 “ humble and obedient Servant.

From the Camp at Tirlémont, July
 18, 1705.

Sign'd,

The Prince and Duke of

MARLBOROUGH.

Monsieur
 d'Auver-
 querque
 writes like-
 wife to the
 States.

Monsieur d'Auverquerque wrote likewise a Letter, at the
 fame time, to Monf. Fagel, to be communicated to the States,
 which containing little or nothing more, than the Circumftances,
 I have already mentioned, I fhall only add his Poftfcript, which
 does particular Honour to the Duke of Marlborough, and is a
 Monument of his excellent Conduct.

The Poft-
 fcript to his
 Letter.

P. S. “ I muft do this Juftice to the Duke of Marlborough,
 “ to give him all the Honour of this Enterprize, which he has
 “ carried on and fupported, with a great deal of Conduct and
 “ Valour. We march again to-morrow. We have made Pri-
 “ foners of War a Regiment in Tirlémont.

The States, having received thefe Accounts, returned a Let-
 ter of Thanks to his Grace, in which, among other Things,
 they fay:

Extract of
 the States
 Letter to
 the Duke of
 Marlboro.

“ Our Generals allow, that this Victory, under God, is en-
 “ tirely due to your Excellency's Care, Prudence, and Valour;
 “ having furmounted and conquer'd thofe Difficulties and Obftacles,
 “ which, for above two Years, have appeared unfurmountable
 “ and invincible.

The Duke
 of Marlbo-
 rough fends
 a Meflenger
 to the Em-
 perour.

His Grace, refolving to fend an Account of this Succefs to
 the Emperour, by a particular Perfon, chofe, for that End,
 Colonel Richardt, one of his Adjutants, who had the Direction
 of making the Bridges, and had behaved himfelf very well in
 this Action. He arrived at Vienna, with that welcome News,
 the fix and twentieth of July, while the Court was celebrating
 the

the Anniversary of the Birth-day of the Emperour, who then enter'd the eight and twentieth Year of his Age. His Imperial Majesty took that Opportunity to declare in Publick, the great Esteem he had for the Duke of Marlborough, and among other Things said, *That the Duke's Services to the Common Cause in General, and in Particular to his Family, were such, that they should never be forgotten, by him or his Posterity.*

The Court of Vienna, however, tho' they could not but allow this Enterprize to have been a glorious one, yet were either apprehensive or jealous of the Consequences of it; for Count Wratislau, in a Letter, of the 25th of July, to a Person of Note, at the Court of Hannover, expresses the Opinion the Imperial Ministers had of it, in the following Words: *Nous avons hier eu des Avis, que my Lord Duc doit avoir forcé les Lignes; Si cela est, il ne songera plus de revenir à la Moselle. J'avoue que ce coup sera fort glorieux, pour sa personne; mais je ne sais, s'il sera fort utile à la Cause commune, prevoyant que les Hollandois, attirés par l'amorce de quelques contributions, poursuivront leur pointe, et seront, à la fin, obligés de diminuer leur Armée, par les Garnisons qu'ils mettront dans les grosses Villes, & tomberont, par consequence, dans les inconveniens de la Guerre passée.* That is, "We received Advices yesterday, according to which "the Duke of Marlborough must have forced the Lines. If "that be true, he will think no more of returning to the Mosel. "I allow, this Stroke will be very advantageous to the Duke; "but I don't know whether it will be any great Benefit to the "Common Cause; for I foresee, that the Dutch, invited by "the Bait of some Contributions, will pursue their Point, and, "in the End, be forced to weaken their Army, to put Gar- "risons into their larger Towns, and, of Consequence, will "fall into the Inconveniencies of the preceding War.

The Em-
perour's De-
claration
concerning
him:

Private O-
pinion of
the Court
of Vienna.

The Account of this Advantage was brought to England, by Colonel Durel, who arrived at Windsor (where the Queen and Prince then were) the fourteenth of July, O. S. A Week after, her Majesty's Proclamation was publish'd, appointing the twenty-third of August, for a Day of publick and general Thanksgiving, throughout England and Wales: And, when the Day came, it was usher'd in as usual, and her Majesty celebrated it by repairing to St. Paul's, with the same State and Solemnity, as she had done the Year before, after the Battle of Hochstadt.

A Thank-
giving cele-
brated in
England.

We left the Duke of Marlborough encamp'd at Vlierbeck, where he was informed, that several Posts on the Deule, between Louvain, and the Village of Neer-Ysche were slenderly guarded; he, therefore, resolved, with the Advice of the Generals, to endeavour to force them, in order to the Passing of that River. To this End, Lieutenant-General Heukelum, with five Battalions and nine Squadrons, of the Army of the States;

Farther
Proceedings
of the Con-
federate
Army.

1705.

Success of
Baron Spar.

Duke to make two or three Marches, without calling a Council of War, to execute some Design formed by his Grace. To favour that Expedition, Baron Spar, who commanded a small Body of Dutch Troops in Flanders, march'd the third of August, N. S. from Riemen, with all his Grenadiers, and a sufficient Number of Fusiliers, to support them, being followed by the rest of the Forces under his Command; and, in that March, defeated a Party of the Enemy. He came, in the Night, to Raboth, on the Canal that leads from Bruges to Ghent, where his Men made a Bridge, and having pass'd over the Canal, they attack'd the Enemy's Lines, which were defended by several Forts, at a small Distance from each other. Notwithstanding this, they forced their Lines at Lovendegen, and in less than three quarters of an Hour, were Masters of four of those Forts; in which Action they took Prisoners three Captains, three Lieutenants, three Ensigns, and near 300 private Men, with no other Loss, on their Side, than that of a Colonel, a Lieutenant, and five private Soldiers wounded, and two private Men killed. Baron Spar, then march'd towards Bruges; but receiving Advice, that the Enemy was marching towards him, with a superiour Force, which they had got together, from several Garrisons, in the French and Spanish Flanders, he retired, the seventh, to Meldegem, carrying away with him several Hostages, for the Security of the Payment of Contributions, and having destroyed several Forts, and Corps de Garde, along the French Lines, on that Side.

Farther Mo-
tions of the
Duke's Ar-
my.

The fifteenth, the Duke of Marlborough, having left two Battalions at Tirlemont, and as many at Diest, for the Security of those Places, march'd, with his Army, from Meldert, and encamp'd at Corbais; the Dutch Forces, under the Command of Mons. d'Auverquerque, advancing, at the same time, to St. Martin's.

A Post ta-
ken by Gen-
d'Auver-
querque.

The next Day, the two Armies continued their March to Genap, and there united into one Body. The seventeenth, they advanced to Fischermont, the Right being at Hulpen, and the Left, at Braine la Leu; General Churchill being detach'd, at the Head of the Line, with twenty Battalions, and as many Squadrons. In that Day's March, Mons. d'Auverquerque caused one of the Posts of the Enemy, called Waterloo, defended by Brigadier Jaques Pasteur, with two Regiments of Dragoons, and as many Battalions of Foot, to be attack'd by a Detachment, commanded by Lieutenant-General Dompere, who beat the Enemy from that Post, and pursued them about a League, in the Wood of Soignies.

Confirma-
tion of the
Enemy.

This sudden March of the Confederates kept the Enemy in great Apprehensions, and gave them an equal Fear, for some Places in Brabant and Flanders. However, upon the Duke of Marlborough's

1705.

Marlborough's advancing from Genap to Hulpen, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Marshal de Villeroy, only stretch'd out their Right to Over-Yſche, near the Wood of Soignies, and kept ſtill their Left, at Neer-Yſche, with the little River Yſche before them, by which Means they covered both Bruſſels and Louvain.

The eighteenth, by Break of Day, the Confederate Army filed off, with the Right Wing, in two Columns, and paſs'd the long narrow Road of the Lane, near Hulpen, where they were not a little ſurpriz'd to find no Enemy to defend that difficult Paſs. About Noon, the whole Army was drawn up in Sight of the Enemy, whom the Duke of Marlborough and Mont. d'Auverquerque having view'd, they were both of Opinion to attack them immediately, before they had Time to recover the Conſternation which was apparent enough in their Army. But the Artillery not being come up (as it has been ſaid) thro' General Schlangenburg's Fault; and that General, who had a Pique againſt the Duke (becauſe the Attempt upon the Lines was taken without his Privy or Conſent) having perſuaded ſome other Dutch Commanders to join with him in oppoſing his Grace; they made their unanimous Report to the Deputies of the States, that the Enterprize was neither adviſable nor practicable, upon which the Deputies poſitively reſuſed to comply with it.

The Confederate Army marches up to them.

See Letters A. and B. below.

An envious Faction oppoſes the Duke's Deſign.

The Duke ſubmitted, tho' with a great deal of Reluctance, as appears by the expoſtulatory Letter * he wrote the next Day to the States General, juſtly complaining of a Want of that Confidence which they had repoſed in him, the Year before, in Germany, and of which they had experienced ſo advantageous an Effect. This Letter being made publick at the Hague, occaſioned great Murmurings among the People, who juſtly thought the Duke was too hardly dealt with, and that the Common Cauſe ſuffered by it.

He ſubmits with Reluctance.

* See below, Letter A.

On the other hand, the Dutch Deputies and Generals uſed all the Endeavours they could, to juſtify their Conduct, and to throw off the Odium, which they ſoon perceived was going to be caſt upon them. They wrote ſeveral Letters to their High Mightineſſes to that End, of which I ſhall give the Reader a Copy of one, for a Specimen, and they cauſed them to be induliſtriouſly diſperſed, to pre-engage the Minds of the People in their Favour; but they had no great Effect; for, it was the general Opinion of almoſt every one, *That more Deference ſhould have been paid to the Duke of Marlborough's Advice*; eſpecially as it was corroborated by the Opinion of the chief General of their own Troops; as we may ſee by the Letter of the Deputies of the States General.

The Dutch Deputies and Generals endeavour to juſtify themſelves.

See Letter B. below.

Various Opinions thereupon.

See Letter B. below.

A late

1705.

A late Author offers an Argument in Justification of the Dutch (which I have not found elsewhere.) "The Duke (says he) with his Army, came without farther Opposition (that is, *after the forcing of the Lines*) very near Louvain, the Deule running between his Camp and the Town: A Deluge of Rain fell that Night, and swelled the Deule so, that it was not possible to pass it. This gave the French Time to recover themselves out of their first Consternation, which the Advantages the Confederates had gain'd put them in. After a few Days, when the passing the Deule was practicable, the Duke of Marlborough gave Orders for it; but the French were posted with so much Advantage, on the other Side, that the Dutch Generals persuaded the Deputies of the States, that they must run a great Risque, if they would venture to force the Passage." I must confess, I can't well reconcile this Account, in Favour of the Dutch, with the Facts I have before related upon very good Authority. He tells us *of a Delay, of a few Days, which gave the Enemy Time to recover themselves out of their first Consternation.* It was the eighteenth, that the Confederate Army came in Sight of the Enemy, and put them into this Consternation; it was the same Day that the Duke made the Proposal, and that the Dutch Deputies and Generals refused to consent to it; and upon this Disappointment, the Duke caused the Army to march off again, the next Day, consequently here was no Delay. Besides, it was the Ysche, and not the Deule, which lay between the two Armies. His Relation must, therefore, refer to the Action of the thirtieth of July, of which I have given an Account above; but that was an Attempt actually made (tho' unsuccessful) and so far from being opposed, that it was advised, by the Dutch Deputies and Generals. So that taken either Way, this Relation is a gross Mistake, introduced in an improper Place, to justify the Conduct of the Deputies. Our Author, after this, proceeds to give a succinct Account of the real Design, which the Deputies and Dutch Generals opposed; but, as if it was a second Occasion, in which they gave the Duke this Mortification. "The Duke of Marlborough (says he) was not a little mortified with this; but he bore it calmly, and moved another Way. After some few Motions, another Occasion was offered, which the Duke intended to lay hold on: Orders were given to force the Passage; but a Motion thro' a Wood, which was thought necessary to support that, was not believed practicable; so the Deputies of the States were again possess'd with the Danger of the Attempt; and they thought their Affairs were in so good a Condition, that so desperate an Undertaking as this seem'd to be, was not to be ventured on."

A Mistake
of a late
Author
rectified.

"This

1705.

“ This (continues our Author) was very uneasy to the Duke; but he was forced to submit to it, tho’ very unwillingly : All agreed, that the Enterprize was bold and doubtful; some thought it must have succeeded, tho’ with a Loss at first; and that if it had succeeded, it might have proved a decisive Action; others, indeed, looked on it as too desperate. A great Breach was like to have arisen upon this, both in the Army, and among the States, at the Hague, and in the Towns of Holland, especially in Amsterdam; where the Burghers came in a Body to the Stadt-huys, complaining of the Deputies, and that the Duke of Marlborough had not fuller Powers. I can give no Judgment in so nice a Point, in which military Men were of very different Opinions, some justifying the Duke of Marlborough, and others as much censuring him. *He shewed great Temper, on this Occasion, and tho’ it gave him a very sensible Trouble, yet (to his eternal Honour) he set himself to calm all the Heat, that was raised upon it.*

It must be said, in the Duke’s Favour, for Justification he needs none; that he had an Army superiour to the Enemy; and a great Part of it, besides, flush’d with the Victory at Blenheim, and the whole with the late Advantage, at the forcing the French Lines; and tho’, as a late Author observes, there was a Difference of Opinion, even among the Officers of the Army; yet far the greater Number, and in particular the Officers of the Horse, were for the Attack. The Deputies did, indeed, pursuant to their Instructions, suffer the Duke of Marlborough to make two or three Marches, without calling a Council of War; but, in their Instructions it is added, *for the Execution of some Design formed by his Grace*; which they did not comply with; for when the Design, which was the Occasion of these Marches, and without which they might as well have continued where they were, came to be put in Execution, they obstructed it.

Agreeable to this, is an Observation of the same Nobleman I just mentioned, in the Vindication of his Speech: “ Did not the Dutch Deputies (says he) march near three Days in Company with the Duke of Marlborough, and, in all that Time, did they ever make any Exception against the Design? Yet when it came to be put in Execution, when a fair Opportunity offer’d, and Victory, in a Manner courted us, there not being half the Difficulty nor Danger there was at Blenheim, could any Arguments persuade them to consent to venture a Battle?

I shall now proceed to give the Reader Copies of the Letters referred to above.

1705.

A Letter
from the D.
of Marlboro'
to the States
General.

The Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the States General.

High and Mighty Lords,

“ ACCORDING to what I had the Honour to write
“ to your High Mightinesses, the 13th Instant, the Army
“ march'd, Saturday last, and encamp'd, that Day, at Cor-
“ bais and St. Martin's, and the next Day at Genap. On Mon-
“ day, we came to Fishermont, and, yesterday, we were in
“ Motion, before Break of Day, and having pass'd several
“ Defiles, we came into a pretty large Plain, having found
“ the Enemy, as we expected them, between Ober-Ysche
“ and Neer-Ysche, with the little River Ysche before them ;
“ at Noon, or a little after, our whole Army was drawn up
“ in Order of Battle, and having view'd, with Mons. d'Au-
“ verquerque, the four Posts which I design'd to attack, I
“ flatter'd myself already, considering the Goodness and Su-
“ periority of our Troops, that I might soon have congratu-
“ lated your High Mightinesses upon a glorious Victory : But,
“ at last, when the Attack was to begin, it was not thought
“ fit to engage the Enemy. I am confident, that Messieurs
“ the Deputies of your High Mightinesses, will acquaint you
“ with the Reasons that were alledg'd to them Pro and Con ;
“ and that they will, at the same time, do Mons. d'Auver-
“ querque Justice, by informing you, that he was of the
“ same Opinion with me, *That the Opportunity was too fair to*
“ *be let slip*: However, I submitted, *tho' with much Re-*
“ *luctancy*.

“ I shall speak this Day to Messieurs the Deputies, and to
“ Mons. d'Auverquerque, that they may give Orders for the
“ Attack of Leuve, and for carrying on, at the same time,
“ the leveling of the Lines.

At the Camp at
Lower Wavre,
Aug. 19, 1705.

I am with all manner of Respect,

Your High Mightinesses, &c.

P. S. “ My Heart is so full, that I cannot forbear represent-
“ ing to your High Mightinesses on this Occasion, That I find
“ my Authority here, to be much less, than when I had the
“ Honour to command your Troops, last Year, in Germany.

1705.

B.

A Letter from the Deputies of the States General, to their High Mightinesses.

High and Mighty Lords,

“ **WE** made several Marches since the 15th Instant, according to the Duke of Marlborough’s Project, communicated to us. Yesterday we broke up from Braine la Leu, as we had the Honour, to notify to your High Mightinesses, on Monday last, that our Design was to march farther along the Deule, with an Intent to pass the Lane and Ysche, and afterwards endeavour to make ourselves Masters of Louvain, or gain some greater Advantages, for the Arms of the States, and High Allies, by fighting the Enemy, if a fair Occasion offer’d. Having pass’d the Lane, where we wonder’d to find no Enemy to dispute so difficult a Passage, we met with more Obstacles at the Ysche. For, besides the Report of three Generals who had view’d it, and said there was no Ground for the Horse, either to pass, or be drawn up in, we found the Passes there so difficult, and the whole Enemy’s Army so well posted, to defend them, that we thought it was not to be attempted, without having first heard the Sentiments of Mons. d’Auverquerque, and the other Generals and Lieutenant Generals. We found them all, except Mons. d’Auverquerque, to be unanimously of Opinion, that the attacking the Enemy, in the said Posts, would be attended with the greatest Difficulty and Hazard for the common Cause, alledging, That, considering the Enemy could not be attacked but with great Disadvantage on our Side, we should, in case of a Defeat, be reduced to the greatest Streights imaginable; partly, because being so far advanced in the Enemy’s Country, we should neither have had Places, nor Hospitals, whither to send our wounded Men, and partly, because in such a Case, the Enemy might easily have cut off our Convoys of Bread. Besides which, the said Generals were of Opinion, that the Affairs of the High Allies, and our Republick, justly weigh’d, were not yet reduced to such a Condition, as to attempt, as they called it, so desperate a Work. “ We own, that my Lord Duke of Marlborough was of Opinion, as well as Mons. d’Auverquerque, that the Attack was practicable, and might be attended with Success; but we could not resolve to consent to a Thing of so great Importance, contrary to the Opinion of all the Generals of that Army, to which your High Mightinesses have done us the Honour to depute us.

A Letter
from the
Field Depu-
ties to the
States Ge-
neral.

“ And

1705.

A Letter
from the D.
of Marlboro'
to the States
General.

A.

The Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the States General.

High and Mighty Lords,

“ ACCORDING to what I had the Honour to write
“ to your High Mightinesses, the 13th Instant, the Army
“ march'd, Saturday last, and encamp'd, that Day, at Cor-
“ bais and St. Martin's, and the next Day at Genap. On Mon-
“ day, we came to Fishermont, and, yesterday, we were in
“ Motion, before Break of Day, and having pass'd several
“ Defiles, we came into a pretty large Plain, having found
“ the Enemy, as we expected them, between Ober-Ysche
“ and Neer-Ysche, with the little River Ysche before them ;
“ at Noon, or a little after, our whole Army was drawn up
“ in Order of Battle, and having view'd, with Mons. d'Au-
“ verquerque, the four Posts which I design'd to attack, I
“ flatter'd myself already, considering the Goodness and Su-
“ periority of our Troops, that I might soon have congratu-
“ lated your High Mightinesses upon a glorious Victory : But,
“ at last, when the Attack was to begin, it was not thought
“ fit to engage the Enemy. I am confident, that Messieurs
“ the Deputies of your High Mightinesses, will acquaint you
“ with the Reasons that were alledg'd to them Pro and Con ;
“ and that they will, at the same time, do Mons. d'Auver-
“ querque Justice, by informing you, that he was of the
“ same Opinion with me, *That the Opportunity was too fair to*
“ *be let slip*: However, I submitted, *tho' with much Re-*
“ *luctancy*.

“ I shall speak this Day to Messieurs the Deputies, and to
“ Mons. d'Auverquerque, that they may give Orders for the
“ Attack of Leuve, and for carrying on, at the same time,
“ the leveling of the Lines.

At the Camp at
Lower Wavre,
Aug. 19, 1705.

I am with all manner of Respect,

Your High Mightinesses, &c.

P. S. “ My Heart is so full, that I cannot forbear represent-
“ ing to your High Mightinesses on this Occasion, That I find
“ my Authority here, to be much less, than when I had the
“ Honour to command your Troops, last Year, in Germany.

B. A

1705.

B.

A Letter from the Deputies of the States General, to their High Mightinesses.

High and Mighty Lords,

“ **W**E made several Marches since the 15th Instant, ac-
 “ cording to the Duke of Marlborough's Project, com-
 “ municated to us. Yesterday we broke up from Braine la Leu,
 “ as we had the Honour, to notify to your High Mightinesses,
 “ on Monday last, that our Design was to march farther along
 “ the Deule, with an Intent to pass the Lane and Ysche, and
 “ afterwards endeavour to make ourselves Masters of Louvain,
 “ or gain some greater Advantages, for the Arms of the States,
 “ and High Allies, by fighting the Enemy, if a fair Occasion
 “ offer'd. Having pass'd the Lane, where we wonder'd to find
 “ no Enemy to dispute so difficult a Passage, we met with more
 “ Obstacles at the Ysche. For, besides the Report of three
 “ Generals who had view'd it, and said there was no Ground
 “ for the Horse, either to pass, or be drawn up in, we found
 “ the Passes there so difficult, and the whole Enemy's Army
 “ so well posted, to defend them, that we thought it was not
 “ to be attempted, without having first heard the Sentiments of
 “ Mons. d'Auverquerque, and the other Generals and Lieu-
 “ tenant Generals. We found them all, except Mons. d'Au-
 “ verquerque, to be unanimously of Opinion, that the attacking
 “ the Enemy, in the said Posts, would be attended with the
 “ greatest Difficulty and Hazard for the common Cause, al-
 “ ledging, That, considering the Enemy could not be attack-
 “ ed but with great Disadvantage on our Side, we should, in
 “ case of a Defeat, be reduced to the greatest Streights ima-
 “ ginable; partly, because being so far advanced in the Ene-
 “ my's Country, we should neither have had Places, nor Hospi-
 “ tals, whither to send our wounded Men, and partly, because
 “ in such a Case, the Enemy might easily have cut off our
 “ Convoys of Bread. Besides which, the said Generals were
 “ of Opinion, that the Affairs of the High Allies, and our Re-
 “ publick, justly weigh'd, were not yet reduced to such a Con-
 “ dition, as to attempt, as they called it, so desperate a Work.
 “ We own, that my Lord Duke of Marlborough was of
 “ Opinion, as well as Mons. d'Auverquerque, that the Attack
 “ was practicable, and might be attended with Success; but
 “ we could not resolve to consent to a Thing of so great Im-
 “ portance, contrary to the Opinion of all the Generals of that
 “ Army, to which your High Mightinesses have done us the
 “ Honour to depute us.

A Letter
 from the
 Field Depu-
 ties to the
 States Ge-
 neral.

“ And

1705.

“ And we hoping, that we have fully satisfied the Intentions
 “ of your High Mightinesses, contained in your Resolution of
 “ the 5th Instant, to permit the Duke of Marlborough, with-
 “ out the holding a Council of War, to make two or three
 “ Marches, for the Execution of some Design formed by his
 “ Grace, we therefore, for the future, shall regulate our Con-
 “ duct, according to our Instructions, and your High Mighti-
 “ nesses Resolution of the 26th of June last, except your High
 “ Mightinesses should be pleased to send us farther Orders. And
 “ we cannot conceal from your High Mightinesses, that all the
 “ Generals of our Army think it very strange, that they should
 “ not have the least Notice of the said Marches.
 “ This day we came to encamp here, and design suddenly
 “ to march again, in order to besiege Sout-Leewe, so soon as
 “ the necessary Preparations shall be made ready. Wherewith,

Waveren, Aug.

High and Mighty Lords, &c.

19, 1705.

Signed,

ROU WENOORT,
 Van HEMSKERK,
 N. V. SCHAGEN.

Farther
 Motions of
 the Confe-
 derate Army.

The Duke of Marlborough's Project being thus defeated, the Confederate Army march'd, the nineteenth of August, N. S. from Lane to Lower Waveren, where having rested one Day, the Duke of Marlborough's Forces returned to Corbais, and Mons. d'Auverquerque's Army came, at the same time, to Mont St. Hubert. The six and twentieth, both Armies march'd, and then encamp'd together, with the Right near La Romee, and the Left at Perwitz.

Sout-Leewe
 taken.

The seven and twentieth of August, a Detachment was made, under the Command of Lieutenant-General Dedem, to besiege Sout-Leewe, a little Town, in the Middle of a Morass, and the chief Defense of the Enemy's Lines. The Place was invested, the nine and twentieth of August, and, a Week after, the Garrison, to the Number of about 400 Men, commanded by Brigadier-General Dumont, surrender'd Prisoners of War, before the Batteries had begun to fire; the Dutch General having declared, that, if they held out any longer, he would give them no Quarter.

The En-
 emy's Lines
 levell'd.

The Duke of Marlborough having caused the Lines to be levell'd, from Wasseigne to Sout-Leewe, and Tirlemont to be dismantled, his Grace pass'd the Demer, and encamp'd, the nineteenth of September, at Arschot. Upon his Approach, the Enemy quitted their old Lines, between that River and the Nethe, and retired into the new ones, between Boeschet, on the Nethe, and Werchteren, on the Demer, where they could not
 be

be attack'd. The twenty-first, his Grace went to Turnhout, to meet Monf. Buys, Pensionary of Amsterdam, who was sent to confer with his Grace, on the Part of the States General. This was the Effect of the Duke's expostulatory Letter to them, concerning the Usage he had met with from their Deputies, of which the Reader has seen a Copy above.

1705.

Monf. Buys sent from the States General to the Duke of Marlboro'. Satisfaction offered the Duke for the Disgust he had taken.

What pass'd in this Interview, was not clearly known; but there were Reasons to believe, *That Monf. Buys assured his Grace of the Readiness of their High Mightinesses, to give him all reasonable Satisfaction, for the Disgust he had taken at some Proceedings at Ober Ysche, and to make him, for the future, more easy in his Command, by removing those who shew'd the greatest Inclination to contradict him.* This Conjecture will appear the more probable, if we consider, the English Court, and, indeed, the Nation in general, did, at this Time, so warmly espouse the Duke of Marlborough's Resentment, that a Pamphlet, entitled, *The Dutch Politicians*, in which severe Reflections were made on the Hollanders, in general, and, in particular, on the Deputies of the States, for not suffering his Grace to fight the Enemy, was publickly sold, and escaped uncensured; and what is more, the Earl of Pembroke, Lord President of the Council, was named to go Envoy Extraordinary to Holland, in order, as it was supposed, to expostulate the Matter with the States; but their High Mightinesses prevented his Lordship's Journey, by giving Satisfaction to the Duke of Marlborough, and removing General Schlangenburg.

The English Nation espouses the Duke's Resentment.

Satisfaction given him.

His Grace remained some Days at Arschot, to forward the Fortifications of Dieft, Hasselt, Tongeren, and some other small Places, where Garrisons were to be left during the Winter. The eight and twentieth of September, N. S. the Army march'd to Heventhals, where, about a Fortnight after, the Duke of Marlborough left it, under the Command of Monf. d'Auverquerque, and went for the Hague. His Grace staid there three Days, during which Time, he had several Conferences with the Pensionary, and then return'd to Heventhals, from whence the Confederates decamp'd, the twentieth of October, N. S. and march'd to Oastmael. They continued their March, the next Day, to Brecht, halted there, the twenty-second, and removed, the twenty-third, to Calmpthout. The necessary Preparations of Artillery and Ammunition, for attacking of Sandvliet, being made at Bergen op Zoom, the Count de Noyelles invested that Place, the four and twentieth; and, the next Day, the Duke of Marlborough went thither, from Calmpthout, to view the several Posts, and to give his Directions for a Siege.

The Duke goes to the Hague;

Returns to the Army; Which decamps.

Sandvliet invested.

His Imperial Majesty having sent two very pressing Letters to the Duke of Marlborough, to invite him to Vienna, in order to concert the Operations of the next Campaign, and several

The D. of Marlboro' sets out for Vienna,

1705.

Is entertain-
ed by the
Electoꝛ Palatine;
And compli-
mented by
the Electoꝛ
of Triers.

Arrives at
Frankfort.

And has a
Conference
with Prince
Lewis of
Baden.

An Observa-
tion on the
Duke of
Marlboro's
prudent
Conduct.

Sandvliet
taken.

The D. of
Marlboro'
arrives at
Vienna.

other Concerns of the greatest Importance, his Grace, having the Queen's Leave, accepted of the Invitation, and, to that End, set out from the Army, the six and twentieth of October, N. S. and came, the eight and twentieth, at Night, to Disseldorp, where he was complimented, in the Name of the Electoꝛ Palatine, by Colonel du Soquet, who was appointed, together with other Officers of his Electoral Highness's Court, to attend his Grace, in his Journey, thro' the Electoꝛ's Territories. The nine and twentieth, the Electoꝛ met his Grace, on the Road, about two Leagues from his Residence, at Bernsberg, and entertained him very magnificently, under several Tents, which had been pitched there for that Purpose. After Dinner, his Grace continued his Journey, and, the thirtieth, at Night, was attended, at Ditkirchen, by Baron Elst, great Dean of the Chapter of Triers; and Baron Van Hagen, great Chamberlain to that Electoꝛ, who had sent them to compliment his Grace, upon his passing thro' his Country.

The thirty-first, in the Evening, his Grace came to Frankfort, and was saluted, at his Entrance into that City, with a treble Discharge of the Artillery; and, when he alighted out of his Coach, was complimented by the Magistrates. His Grace rested there, the first of November, and, the same Evening, Prince Lewis of Baden came thither to wait on him. He had a Conference with the Duke, that Night; and another, the next Morning, in the Presence of Mons. Geldermalsen, Plenipotentiary of the States General.

As Prince Lewis of Baden had, or, at least, was thought to have been, in a great Measure, the Cause of the Duke's Project on the Mosel, at the Beginning of the Campaign, being disappointed, in the Manner the Reader has seen above, it was believed his Grace would, upon this Occasion, have shewn some Marks of his Resentment; but tho', at this Interview, they were narrowly observed, nothing appear'd, but all imaginable Demonstrations of Friendship, and good Correspondence. So prudent, and so cautious of giving Offence, was this great Man, that he rather chose to suffer in his own Reputation and Glory, than to prejudice that of any other Person, tho' never so much deserved.

The Town of Sandvliet made no long Resistance, for, on the nine and twentieth of October, N. S. Count de Noyelles gave Advice of its having surrendred, in a Letter to Mons. Fagel.

The Duke arrived at Ratibon, the sixth of November, N. S. and, the same Evening, embark'd on the Danube, in order to proceed, by Water, to Vienna, where he arrived, the twelfth. He was received, at Landing, by the Earl of Sunderland, and Mr. Stepney, who conducted him to the House of the Prince of Longueval. The Imperial Court intended to have defray'd his Expences,

Expences, and the Palace of the Prince of Dietrichstein was fitted up for his Reception; but his Grace was pleased to decline both.

1705.

The Duke had Audience of their Imperial Majesties, and the Archduchesses, the Day after his Arrival; and the two following Days, he received and returned several Visits. The sixteenth, his Grace had a Conference with the Prince of Salms, and other publick Ministers, at which the Emperour was present. In this Conference, he was treated with great Freedom and Confidence, and he had all the Assurance given him that could be express'd in Words. He plainly saw, that the Emperour was highly dissatisfied with Prince Lewis of Baden; but he had such Credit in the Empire, especially with the Circles of Suabia and Franconia, that there was a Necessity of bearing with what could not be remedied. The same Evening, he was a long while in Conversation with their Imperial Majesties; when the Emperour was graciously pleased to declare, that *his Grace's Services to the common Cause, in general, and to his Family, in particular, were such as should never be forgotten by him, nor his Posterity.* His Grace was afterwards seized with a Fit of the Gout, which confined him three Days to his Chamber; during which Time, he was visited by all Persons of the greatest Distinction at that Court. The nineteenth, the Earl of Sunderland had his Audience of Leave of the Emperour and Empress, and the next Day of the Empress Dowager, and the Archduchesses; and was presented, by his Imperial Majesty, with his Picture set with Diamonds. The twenty-second, the Duke of Marlborough went to the famous Chamber of Rarities, where the Emperour was pleased to meet him, and presented him, in a very obliging Manner, with a Ring of great Value. The same Evening, his Grace had his Audience of Leave, of the whole Imperial Family, and, the twenty-third, departed from Vienna, being accompanied by the Earl of Sunderland, for the Court of Berlin, having first concerted proper Measures with the Imperial Ministers, for carrying on the War with more Vigour than ever, renewed our Treaties made with the Emperour Leopold, and provided for the Security of the Duke of Savoy.

Has Audience of their Imperial Majesties; And Conferences with the Ministers.

The Earl of Sunderland has his Audience of Leave.

The D. of Marlboro' departs for the Court of Berlin.

In Consideration of the signal Services done by his Grace to the House of Austria, and to the Empire, his Imperial Majesty was pleased to make him a Grant of the Lordship of Mindelheim, in Suabia, not far from Augsburg, lately possessed by Duke Maximilian, Uncle to the Elector of Bavaria, which Fief was now erected into a Principality of the holy Roman Empire, and was, in such manner conferred upon the Duke, *That his Grace, and the Heirs-Male of his Body, lawfully begotten, and their Heirs-Male, and Possessors of that Principality, should be summoned to all the Diets of the Empire, and Circle of Suabia, there*

Is made Prince of Mindelheim.

1705.

to appear in Person, or by their Plenipotentiary, as other Princes of the Empire do: And should also enjoy all other Advantages, Immunities, Rights, Prerogatives, and Pre-eminences, as Princes of the Empire have. From whence his Grace was, from that time, distinguish'd, throughout the Empire, by the Stile and Title of Prince of Mindelheim. While the Duke was at Vienna, the two Envoys and Plenipotentiaries of the States General came, by express Orders from their Masters, from Tyrnau, to wait on his Grace, and to receive his Advice and Directions, about the Negotiation with the Hungarians.

His Journey
from Vienna
to Berlin.

When the Duke of Marlborough departed from Vienna, his Imperial Majesty had order'd Horses to be ready at every Stage, at his own Expence, and several Officers of the Court rode before, to provide every thing in a Readiness, that nothing might retard their Journey; so that the Duke and the Earl travell'd with extraordinary Speed, notwithstanding the Season of the Year.

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough ar-
rives at
Berlin.

The Duke, arriving at Berlin, the 30th, went the same Night to Court, and had a Conference with the King of Prussia. The next Day, he presented the Earl of Sunderland to his Majesty, the Prince Royal, and the two Markgraves, the King's Brothers, who all receiv'd his Lordship with great Marks of Esteem. They saw the King at Dinner, with the whole Royal Family, and, after a short Stay there, his Grace, with the Lord Sunderland, went to dine with the Lord Raby, her Majesty's Ambassadour at that Court. The same Evening, his Grace supped with the King, the Prince Royal, and the Markgraves, and din'd with them, the next Day, at the great Chamberlain's.

Character
of Lord
Raby.

" Lord Raby, (the late Lord Strafford,) was of the Name of Wentworth, and Family of Strafford. He was Page to King James's Queen, and was made, after the Revolution, Groom of the Bed Chamber to King William. He succeeded in the Title of Raby-Castle, and the Peerage, on Lord Strafford's Death. King William first sent him to the King of Prussia, with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary; and upon the Accession of Queen Ann, he sent him again to that Court, upon the King's having shewn his Inclinations for him. His good Parts, join'd to a fine Understanding, and an Application to Business, recommended him so far to the Queen's Favour, that he was join'd with Dr. John Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, (afterwards of London) as her Majesty's Plenipotentiary, at the Congress of Utrecht.

The Duke's
Negotia-
tions.

The Day following, his Grace had a long Conference with the King; and he had learned so perfectly to accommodate himself to that capricious Prince's Temper, that he renewed all Treaties,

1705.

Treaties, and particularly the Treaty concluded, the last Year, with that Court, for 8000 Men, to be employ'd in Italy, for one Year longer; his Majesty promising to recruit them, and to send three Battalions, in the Room of the Horse which were recall'd. His Grace having settled these Affairs, and adjusted some other Difficulties, set out from Berlin the third of December, N. S. in the Evening, being very well satisfied with the Success of his Negotiations, and the Honour which had been shewn him at that Court, where he was complimented by the Imperial Resident, with the Title of Prince of Mindelheim, by Order of his Master; and he, likewise, delivered his Grace a Letter from the Emperour. The King of Prussia presented his Grace with a Sword enrich'd with Diamonds, and the Earl of Sunderland with a Diamond Ring of considerable Value.

Presents made his Grace, and the Earl of Sunderland. They arrive at Hannover;

The sixth of December, N. S. they arrived at Hannover, where his Grace lodg'd at the House of General Bulau, which had been prepared for his Reception, and the Lord Sunderland was entertained, at another House, belonging to one of the chief Officers of the Court. They waited, the same Evening, on his Electoral Highness, the Electorefs Dowager, &c. and were received with the Marks of Distinction due to their Quality and extraordinary Merit. The Duke gave that Court full Assurances of the Queen's adhering firmly to their Interests, in maintaining the Succession to the Crown, in their Family, with which the Elector seem'd fully satisfy'd. The ninth, (his Grace having been presented by the Elector with a fine Calash and six Horses, and the Earl of Sunderland with a Set of Horses) they set out early from Hannover, and arrived, the fourteenth, at the Hague.

And the Hague.

The Duke having settled several important Matters with the States General, particularly the taking 10,000 Men more into the Pay of England and Holland, to re-inforce Prince Eugene's Army in Italy, his Grace went on board her Majesty's Frigate, the Peregrine Gally, the seven and twentieth of December, in the Pit, below the Brill, and sailing from thence, the next Morning early, in Company of several Yachts, under Convoy of her Majesty's Ships, arrived at St. James's the thirtieth, at Night, about eleven o'Clock.

The Duke's Negotiations there.

The Duke Arrives in England.

To conclude the Foreign Transactions of this Year, as I did the former, I shall just hint, in a very few Words, at what happened, during some Part of it, in other Places: And first, be- the German Army; it was, as usual, not brought together, for fore the Month of August. It was then, indeed, a fine one, and yet did not do very much. The French gave way, and retired before them: Hagenau, and some other Places, were abandon'd by the French, and the Imperialists took Possession of them. A

Affairs in Germany.

1705.

Affairs in
Italy.

Blockade was laid to Fort Louis: But nothing was done by that Army, equal to their Numbers and Strength, or to the Reputation the Prince of Baden had formerly acquir'd.

In Italy, Prince Eugene had again a melancholy Campaign. His Army was weak, ill-provided, and worse paid: The French were far superior in Number and Forces, and he was long shut up within the the Country of Bergamo; at length, he broke thro' to Cusano, where there happened a very sharp Action, between him, and the Duke de Vendôme: Both Sides pretended to the Victory; but Prince Eugene seemed to have the clearest Title to it; because Vendôme repass'd the River, and left the Imperialists Masters of the Field of Battle.

END of BOOK IV.



BOOK



BOOK V.

TRANSACTIONS during the Years 1706,
1707, 1708, and 1709.

CHAP. XI.

The Battle of Ramellies, and the Success which immediately ensued.



THE Duke of Marlborough being returned to England, as I have already said, at the Conclusion of my Account of the last Year's Foreign Transactions, and the Parliament being then fitting, it will be necessary for me to go back some Weeks, to give a brief Account of some of the Proceedings of that August Assembly, before the Conclusion of the Year,

1706.

as far as they have any Regard to our illustrious Hero, or his Actions abroad, before that Time.

This Parliament met on the 25th of October, and the House of Commons having chosen John Smith, Esq; for their Speaker, her Majesty made a most gracious Speech to both Houses, of which I think it necessary to transcribe some Paragraphs, and believe I shall not need to make any Apology for it, to shew my Reasons for so doing, as the Reader will, from the very Contents thereof, easily perceive with what Intent it is done.

Some Proceedings in Parliament.

1706.

Part of the
Queen's
Speech,
to both
Houses.

" Nothing (says her Majesty) can be more evident, than that,
" if the French King continues Master of the Spanish Mo-
" narchy, the Balance of Power in Europe is utterly destroy'd,
" and he will be able, in a short Time, to engross the Trade,
" and the Wealth of the World.

" No good Englishman could, at any Time, be content to sit
" still, and acquiesce in such a Prospect: And, at this Time,
" we have great Grounds to hope, that, by the Blessing of God
" upon our Arms, and those of our Allies, a good Founda-
" tion is laid for restoring the Monarchy of Spain to the House
" of Austria, the Consequences of which will not only be
" *safe and advantageous, but Glorious for England.*

" I may add, we have learnt by our own Experience, that
" Peace with France will last no longer than the first Opportunity
" of their dividing the Allies, and of attacking some of them
" with Advantage.

" All our Allies must needs be so sensible this is the true State
" of the Case, that I make no doubt but Measures will soon be
" concerted, as that, if we be not wanting to ourselves, we
" shall see the next Campaign begin offensively, on all Sides
" against our Enemies, in a most vigorous Manner.

" The Firmness and Conduct which the Duke of Savoy has
" shewn, amidst extream Difficulties, is beyond Example.

" I have not been wanting to do all that was possible for me,
" in order to his being supported.

" I ought to take Notice to you, that the King of Prussia's
" Troops have been very useful to this End; your Approbation
" of that Treaty last Session, and the Encouragement you gave
" upon it, leave me no Doubt of being able to renew it for ano-
" ther Year.

These were, at that Time, the Sentiments of our glorious
Queen; and that both Houses of Parliament, and consequently
the whole Nation, concurr'd with her Majesty, in having the
same Sense and Opinion of Things, is evident from their re-
spective Addresses, of which I shall, for the same Reasons, tran-
scribe some Passages;

" **W**E your most Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects,
" the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament as-
" sembled, beg Leave to make our humble and sincere Ac-
" knowledgments to your Majesty, for your most gracious
" Speech to both Houses, *which has opened the Eyes, and rais'd*
" *the Hearts of all your loyal Subjects.*

" Your Majesty is pleas'd to give us Warning of the Danger
" of being so far deluded, as to depend again on the Faith of
" Treaties, with an Enemy, who has never yet any other Re-

" gard

Part of the
Lord's Ad-
dress.

1706.

"gard to them, than as they served the Purposes of his Interest
"and Ambition: and to inform us, that no Peace can be lasting,
"safe and honourable, till the Spanish Monarchy be fixed
"in the House of Austria, and France reduced to such a Dé-
"gree, that, the Balance of Power, in Europe, be again ré-
"stored.

"We humbly concur with your Majesty in these your wise
"and noble Sentiments, and we faithfully promise, that no
"Danger shall deter us, nor any Artifices divert us, from doing
"all that is in our Power to assist your Majesty in carrying on
"the War, till you shall be enabled to promote such a Peace
"for Europe.

"Your Majesty is graciously pleas'd to encourage us with
"the Hopes of a glorious Campaign, the next Year, and we
"humbly present our Thanks to your Majesty, for having wise-
"ly and providentially endeavour'd to concert such Measures,
"as, by the Goodness of God, may be a reasonable Foundation
"for those Hopes: And we assure your Majesty, nothing on
"our Part shall be wanting to make them effectual.

"We rest confident, that all your Majesty's Allies, excited
"by your Constancy and Courage, and fired by the Example of
"a Prince whom you have been pleas'd to mention, in so ho-
"nourable a Manner, will make their utmost Effects to carry on
"the Cause of Liberty, and bring this just and necessary War
"to a speedy and happy Conclusion.

Most gracious Sovereign,

"YOUR Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the
"Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, are
"met together, with Minds fully dispos'd to assist your Majesty
"in compassing the *great and glorious Designs* mentioned in your
"most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, for which
"we beg leave to return our most hearty Thanks, and, at the
"same Time, to *congratulate the glorious Success of your Majesty's*
"*Arms, and those of your Allies.*

Part of the
Commons
Address.

"We are fully convinced, the Balance of Power in Europe
"can never be restored, till the Monarchy of Spain is in the
"Possession of the House of Austria, and that no Peace with
"France can be secure and lasting, while the French King shall
"be in a Condition to break it; and therefore your faithful
"Commons are fully resolv'd, effectually to enable your Majesty
"to carry on the War with Vigour, to support your Allies, and
"make good such Treaties as your Majesty shall judge neces-
"sary to reduce the exorbitant Power of France.

Some time afterwards, the Lord Haversham mov'd in the
House of Peers, that the State of the Nation should be taken into
Consideration,

Motion of
the Lord
Haversham.

"This

1706.

His Character.

" This Lord, before he was created a Peer, was Sir John Thompson, who made a good Figure in King William's Reign, in the House of Commons. Upon his being call'd up to the House of Lords, he was made a Commissioner of the Admiralty: He was a very ready and bold Speaker (by some call'd eloquent) but he frequently lost himself in Heat and Passion: He was of the Low-Church-Principles, and generally turbulent.

On the 15th of November, the Day appointed to take his Motion into Consideration, he made a long and memorable Speech, in the Debate, some Part whereof, having Regard to the Duke of Marlborough, may very properly be introduced here.

My Lords,

Part of
Lord Haver-
ham's
Speech.

" It may perhaps be expected, since I mov'd to you the State of the Nation, that I should say somewhat to you, on this Occasion. And, tho' I never labour'd under more Difficulties than I do at present, yet being conscious to myself of a Heart as full of Loyalty and Duty to her Majesty, and Zeal for her Service, as is possible for any Subject to have; and knowing that the best Way of preserving Liberty of Speech in Parliament, is to make use of it, I will mention three or four General Heads to your Lordships, and speak to them with a great deal of Freedom and Plainness. The first Thing I shall speak to, is the present Confederate War, in which we are engaged: And because the best Way of judging what we may reasonably expect for the future, is to consider the Actions that are past, give me leave a little to take Notice, to your Lordships, of the Operations of the last Campaign. I shall not say much of our forcing the French Lines, and our beating the French Troops afterwards (tho' that was a very great and brave Action) but because there was such a Mixture of Victory and Misfortune, and that this is such a chequer'd Piece, I purposely forbear taking farther Notice of it.

" But there were two other Actions, which, I think, take in your whole Campaign, the March of our Army to the Moselle, and the Business of Oberisch; in both which, give me leave to say (not to give it a harder Term) I think we were not us'd as we might have reasonably expected. Our General, with a great deal of Conduct, cover'd Prince Lewis of Baden's Army; nor can it be doubted, he might easily have join'd us, if he had been pleas'd, without the least Danger from the French; which, if he had done, by the best Account I could ever get (and, I think, I have a very true one) we had been at least 25000 stronger than the French there; but being disappointed of being joined by Prince Lewis, and of the As-

" sistance

“ assistance we expected from him, that great Design proved abortive.

“ The next was the Business of Overisch, where, by the Conduct of my Lord Duke of Marlborough, we had a fair Opportunity of putting an End to the War at once, the Dutch held our Hands, and would not let us give the deciding Blow.

“ Thus ended your Campaign, tho’ it began with more promising Hopes of Success, than this next I believe will; you had then an Enemy to deal with, whose Councils were distracted, whose Troops were broke, and the Courage of his Army sunk.

“ From all this, give me Leave to conclude, that it is neither Men nor Money, Courage nor Conduct, that are the only Things necessary to carry on a Confederate War.

“ Those who command your Army are Men of that Bravery, and every common Soldier hath so much Courage, that no equal Number of Men, in the World, I think, can stand before them. But let our Supplies be never so full and speedy; let our Management be never so great and frugal; yet if it be our Misfortune to have Allies, that are as slow and backward, as we are zealous and forward; that hold our Hands, and suffer us not to take any Opportunity that offers, that are coming into the Field, when we are going into Winter-Quarters, I cannot see what it is we are reasonably to expect.

His Lordship, after this, went on to make some Observations on the Decrease and Balance of Trade, the Views of the Dutch, their Methods to over-reach us; the Freedom of Speech in Parliament, and making an Application of it to a Paragraph of her Majesty’s Speech to her last Parliament, last Year; and lastly, of the Advantages that might accrue to the Nation, if the presumptive Heir to the Crown, according to the Act of Settlement in the Protestant Line, should be here amongst us; and concludes all with this Motion:

“ That an humble Address be presented to her Majesty, by this House, that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to invite the Presumptive Heir to the Crown of England, according to the Acts of Parliament made for settling the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, into this Kingdom, to reside here.

When the Question was put, whether the House of Hannover should be sent for over into England or not? The previous Question being put, it pass’d in the Negative; notwithstanding which their Lordships were extremely zealous for the Security of the Hannover Succession, by an Act of Naturalization: And on the 21st, the Judges, according to Order, brought in
a Bill

1706.

a Bill to nominate the following Commissioners, to act upon the Decease of her Majesty, for the better Security of the Hannover Succession, viz. the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord High Admiral, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord President of the Council, the Lord Steward of the Household, and the Lord Chief Justice of England for the Time then being.

Thanks
given to the
Duke of
Marlboro'
by the House
of Com-
mons.

But to return. The House of Commons resolved, on the seventh of January, "That the Thanks of their House be given to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, for his great Services performed to her Majesty, and the Nation, in the last Campaign, and for his prudent Negotiations with her Majesty's Allies;" and appointed a Committee for that Purpose, who having attended the Duke accordingly, his Grace's Answer was:

His Answer.

"I am so sensible of the great Honour which is done me by this Message, that I cannot have the least Concern at the Reflections of any private Malice, while I have the Satisfaction of finding my faithful Endeavours to serve the Queen, and the Kingdom, so favourably accepted by the House of Commons."

Aspersions
thrown upon
the Duke.

What these Reflections of private Malice were, the Reader has already partly seen, in what I have mentioned and observed of the Lord Haversham's Speech; but were chiefly, as it was believed, some Aspersions cast upon his Grace's Conduct, last Campaign, in several Pamphlets, especially in a Libel, entitled, *A Letter to the Author of the Memorial of the State of England*. Mr. Stephens, Rector of Sutton in Surry, being found to be the Author of that scandalous Pamphlet, was sent for up, and examin'd, before a Secretary of State: He, at first, seem'd obstinate in maintaining what he had advanc'd; but, upon better Thoughts, being sensible of his Error, he publish'd the following Recantation, by way of Letter to the Duke of Marlborough.

Especially by
Mr. Ste-
phens.

His Recan-
tation.

May it please your Grace,
"TO read the Petition of one who is truly sensible of,
"and sorry for the unjust Reflections, which were cast
"upon your Conduct, in a late Pamphlet, entitled, *A Letter*
"to the Author of the State Memorial; of which I cannot,
"without great Shame and Sorrow, confess myself the Wri-
"ter.

"'Twas my Misfortune, too inadvertently to hearken to
"what was said, last Summer, by those who took Pleasure in
"telling News, and giving ill Turns to all Events. My foolish
"Credulity made me believe, and my Rashness prompted me

"to

“ to publish, what I took, without due Enquiry ; and which,
“ I am too late convinced, was unjust and groundless.

1706.

“ But tho’ with Shame and Confusion, I must offer any
“ Considerations to induce your Compassion, after I have been
“ the unhappy Cause of doing you so much Wrong ; yet I beg
“ your Grace to believe, that I have always been, according
“ to my poor Ability, zealous for the late Revolution, for her
“ Majesty’s undoubted Title to the Crown, and till this late un-
“ fortunate Occasion, entirely devoted to your Grace’s Interest,
“ and an Admirer of your great and glorious Actions ; by which
“ Means, as heretofore I incurr’d the Hatred of all those who
“ obstruct the publick Affairs, envy all our Successes, and
“ your Grace the happy Instrument of them ; so by this last
“ Action, I have forfeited the good Opinion and Patronage of
“ all those who wish well to their Country ; many of whom
“ own’d me with more Respect, than was due to my Condition,
“ but have now cast me off, with Indignation ; so that I have
“ nothing to hope for, but that your great Generosity will look
“ down upon a poor and numerous Family, all depending upon
“ your Compassion ; who, tho’ they have no Part in the Guilt,
“ must share largely in the Punishment.

“ Your Grace may be assured, that I do heartily wish all
“ imaginable Success to your Endeavours, and that you may
“ raise yourself to the highest Degree of worldly Honour :
“ That as the antient Commanders acquired to themselves Ti-
“ tles from the Countries which they subdued by their Power,
“ your Grace may gain Honours, by the Justice of those Arms
“ you command for the Relief of oppressed Nations, to the
“ perpetual Renown of our most gracious Queen, the lasting
“ Honour of your grateful Country, and the transmitting of
“ your own Name and Memory to all Posterity.

“ And that you may live to enjoy the Fruits of your La-
“ bours, I wish as sincerely, as I wish well to my own Soul.

“ My humble Petition is, that you will pardon the Rash-
“ ness and Folly of your unworthy, but ever thankful Pe-
“ titioner,

Sutton, March 21, 1705-6.

WILLIAM STEPHENS.

But this Malice, which the Duke of Marlborough takes No-
tice of, was not confined to Pamphlets alone ; an Attempt was
formed against him, as it was believed, even in the House of
Lords, tho’ he was, upon all Occasions spoken of with great
Respect. Complaints were made of the Errors committed the
last Year, in the Conduct of the War. The Anti-ministerial
Party laid, indeed, the Blame of the Miscarriage of the De-
sign on the Mosel, on the Prince of Baden, and the Errors com-

An Attempt
said to be
formed a-
gainst the
Duke, in
the House
of Lords.

mitted

1706.

mitted in Brabant, on the States and their Deputies ; but, they pretended, they could not be Judges of these Things, nor be able to give the Queen such Advice, as might be fitting for them to offer her, unless they were made acquainted with the whole Series of those Affairs : Their Proposal, therefore, was, that, by an Address, they might pray the Queen to communicate, to them, all she knew concerning those Transactions, during the last Campaign : “ For they reckoned, that if all “ Particulars should be laid before them, they would find some- “ thing in the Duke of Marlborough’s Conduct, on which a “ Censure might be fix’d. To this, it was answered, that if “ any Complaint was brought, against any of the Queen’s “ Subjects, it would be reasonable for them to enquire into it, “ by all proper Ways : But the House of Lords could not “ pretend to examine, or to censure the Conduct of the Queen’s “ Allies : They were not subject to them, nor could they be “ heard, to justify themselves : And it was something extra- “ ordinary, if they should pass a Censure, or make a Com- “ plaint of them. It was one of the Trusts that was lodg’d “ with the Government, to manage all Treaties and Alliances ; “ so that our Commerce with our Allies was wholly in the “ Crown. Allies might sometimes fail, being not able to per- “ form what they undertook : They are subject both to Errors “ and to Accidents, and are sometimes ill served. The en- “ tring into that Matter was not at all proper for the House, “ unless it was intended to run into rash and indiscreet Cen- “ sures, on Design to provoke the Allies, and, by that means, “ to weaken, if not break the Alliance. The Queen would “ no doubt endeavour to redress whatsoever was amiss, and “ that must be trusted to her Conduct.”

Comes to
nothing.

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough con-
siders an At-
tempt on
Toulon.

Thus this Attempt failed, and tended rather to the Duke’s Honour than Disgrace. About the same time, his Grace had the Honour of the Queen’s Commands, to treat with the Duke of Savoy, concerning an Attempt upon Toulon, which, tho’ it miscarried, when put in Execution, was thought one of the most effectual Means of finishing the War. Having treated about it with the Duke’s Ministers, he made Overtures to the Dutch of going to his Royal Highness’s Assistance ; but the States General knowing his Grace’s excellent Conduct, and fearing they might be exposed by his Absence, prevail’d with him to make the Campaign in Flanders.

An Instance
of the
Duke’s Vi-
gilance for
the publick
Good.

How vigilant the Duke was, in the mean time, for the Good of the Publick, and particularly to keep up a good Intelligence between the Courts of England and Hannover, the Reader may see by the following Piece.

Translation

*Translation of a Letter from Mr. Cardonnel to Monf. * * * * at
Hannover.*

“ **A** Ccording to what I had the Honour of advising you by
“ the last Post, I have communicated your Letter, of the
“ 12th Instant, to my Lord Duke, and, in Answer, am to tell
“ you, from him, that with regard to the sending away the
“ Acts of Regency and Naturalization, his Electoral Highness
“ may be assur’d, that the Queen will, in that, consult his In-
“ terest equally with her own, without having any Regard to
“ the Detraction of a certain Set of People, or whatever they
“ may have to say in Opposition to it. Her Majesty even
“ hopes, that if, contrary to Expectation, there should be any,
“ of this Kind, at your Court, they will either be removed,
“ or, at least, silenc’d. His Highness has, likewise, explain’d
“ himself in such manner, to Mr. Craigs, for whom, you know,
“ he has always had a Friendship. that he is sure his Son will
“ be more prudent, during the few Days he has to remain at
“ Hannover.

A Letter
from Mr.
Cardonnel,
to Monf.
**** at
Hannover.

“ As for Mr. Hore, I am sure, and have even Orders to tell
“ you, that his Highness has so much Regard for him, and is
“ so sensible of his Merit, as to be very far from ever doing
“ any thing, that may derogate from his Credit or Authority,
“ at the Court where he now is; I, likewise, believe, that he,
“ himself, is not in the least apprehensive of it. In short, you
“ may depend upon it, our Court will be very far from taking
“ the least Step, that can be disagreeable to their Electoral
“ Highnesses; and that my Lord Duke will always esteem it
“ an Honour, and take a Pleasure, in cultivating that good
“ Intelligence and Friendship, which is so necessary to both
“ Courts.

I am, &c.

Whitehall, March 19, 1706.

A. CARDONNEL.

The Duke went on Board the Peregrine-Gally, the tenth of
April, accompanied by the Lord Halifax, who was sent by her
Majesty, with a Compliment to the Elector of Hannover, and
the Princess Sophia, and with the Garter for the Electoral
Prince, (his present Majesty.) As likewise, by his Grace’s Son-
in-Law the Marquis of Mounthermer; Mr. Buys, Pensioner of
Amsterdam, Mr. Plez, Privy Counsellor to the King of Den-
mark, and several other Persons of Distinction. The next Morn-
ing, his Grace pass’d by the Nore, with several other Yachts,

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough em-
barks for
Holland.

under

1706.

Arrives at
the Hague.

under Convoy of the Rumney, and Rye; joined the Squadron of her Majesty's Ships, commanded by Sir Edward Whitaker, at the Gunfleet. And, the fourteenth, about nine in the Morning, the Squadron left his Grace, with the Centurion Man of War, and the several Yachts and Sloops, going into the Maese. In the Afternoon, his Grace landed at Rotterdam, and, the same Evening, arrived at the Hague; where, the next Day, he received the Compliments of the publick Ministers, and other Persons of Quality and Note, on his happy Arrival: And, the Day following, his Grace had a Conference with the Deputies of the States General, upon the necessary Measures to be taken for opening the Campaign.

At the same time the Duke of Marlborough was employ'd in negotiating another important Treaty, with the States, for the Security of the Protestant Succession, as the Reader will see by the following Piece.

*Extract of a Letter from the Lord Halifax, to Mons. ****, at Hannover, dated May 17, 1706. at the Hague.*

Extract of a
Letter from
the Lord
Halifax, to
Mons. ***
at Hanno-
ver.

“ I BEG the Favour of you, that you would present
“ my most humble Duty to their Electoral Highnesses,
“ and the Electoral Prince, with the utmost Respect, and
“ assure them, that as I have been always devoted to their
“ Interest, in England, I am now come abroad only in
“ Hopes, I may be some way useful to them. I bring them
“ the greatest Proofs that the Queen and the Nation can
“ give them of their Affection and Zeal, to preserve and
“ maintain the Succession in that Illustrious Family; and I
“ hope that the Negotiations, which my Lord Marlborough is
“ now carrying on in this Place, will add a greater Strength
“ to our Laws, &c.

The Proofs, &c. his Lordship mentions were the Acts of Parliament for the Naturalization of the House of Hannover, and for the better Security of the Succession, as also to present the Garter to the Electoral Prince, his present most gracious Majesty.

That the Lord Halifax pursued the Treaty mention'd above, after his Return from Hannover, where he was received with many uncommon Marks of Honour, the following Extract of another Letter shews:

Extract

1706.

*Extract of a Letter from the Lord Halifax, to Monf. * * *, at Hannover, dated Hague, Aug. 12. 1706.*

“ **W**HEN I was at the Camp, I spoke to the Duke of Marlborough, about the Title, and he is very ready to join in that, or any Thing that may be agreeable to the Prince; when I come into England, I shall not fail to represent it to the Queen. I intended to have gone to England, by Ostend; but the Pensioner wrote to have me come this Way, to satisfy some Scruples that were raised against our Treaty. All the Towns of this Province have agreed to it, but Leyden: I have been this Morning with Monf. van Leeven, their Deputy, and I hope he is so well satisfied, that he will not make any Opposition longer; if he does, it will not obstruct above a Day or two.

Extract of a Letter from the same.

The Duke of Marlborough continued at the Hague, till the ninth of May, N. S. during which Time he had repeated Conferences, with the Deputies of the States, and their Generals, on the same Subjects. That Day, his Grace left the Hague, and, being accompanied by Velt-Marshalt d’Auverquerque arrived at Maestricht, the twelfth. Monf. d’Auverquerque, departed the same Night, and the Duke followed him, to the Army of the States, which was drawn together near Tongeren; and both repaired, the seventeenth, to Liege, to view the Citadel, and the new Works about that Place. In the mean time, the English Forces having received Orders to take the Field, General Churchill set out from Breda, with the Troops which were there, and the Artillery, the eighth, and march’d to Wallwick, and, the same Day, the rest of them march’d out of their respective Garrisons, in order to join at the Bosch, which they did, the ninth. The eleventh, they marched to Carnock, and from thence continued, with long Marches, till they arrived at Bilsen, the nineteenth of the same Month. The twentieth, the Army of the States march’d from Tongeren to Borchlaem, and, the same Day, the English joined them, between that Place and Grosz-Waren.

The Duke of Marlborough confers with the Deputies of the States.

Goes to Maestricht; And Liege.

The Confederate Army assembles.

The Confederate Army then consisted of seventy-four Battalions of Foot, and 123 Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, having, with them, 100 Cannon, twenty Hawbitzers, and forty two Pontons.

Their Force.

The Court of France, in the mean time, had Information, that the Confederate Army, in the Netherlands, was not yet compleat; that the Danes refused to stir from their Quarters, till their Arrears were paid; and that the Prussians, for other Reasons, were yet so far behind, that they could not join the

Designs and Motions of the French.

1706. Duke of Marlborough in several Weeks. It was confidently said, that the French King had Pensioners in the Courts of Denmark and Prussia, who had promised him to use their utmost Endeavours, to retard the March of their respective Master's Forces (which were in the Pay of England and Holland) to the General Rendezvous ; upon the Confidence of which they proceeded, as we shall presently find they did. Others say, that the Court of France being sensible, a defensive War would, at length, terminate in her irrecoverable Ruin, resolved to make an extraordinary Effort, and to act every where offensively. In order hereto, a great Council of War (say they) was held at Versailles, where most of the Generals assisted, and form'd several Projects to raise the Glory of their Grand Monarch's Arms, and recall Fortune, which had seem'd to abandon them, in the preceding Campaigns. Be this as it will, the Army of the two Crowns, under the Command of the Elector of Bavaria, and the Marshal de Villeroy, consisting of 70,000 Men, being entirely assembled, they flattered themselves, that they might keep up the sinking Credit of their Arms, by a considerable Action in the Netherlands. In this fond Imagination, such positive Orders were sent to the Marshal de Villeroy, to fight the Allies, that the Duke of Bavaria, who was then at Brussels, had just time enough to take Post-Horses, to join the Army, which passed the Deule, the nineteenth of May, and posted themselves at Tirlemont, with the Gheet before them.

The Confederates are desirous of Engaging.

The Confederates, on their Side, were no less eager for an Engagement ; but could hardly flatter themselves with the Hopes of having so early and so fair an Opportunity for it. The Duke of Marlborough being apprehensive, that the French would play the same Game over again, and keep behind the Deule, as they had done the Year before, had several times express'd his Concern and Uneasiness about it, to those who were intimate with him ; and, by a wise Forecast, was already laying Schemes, to put the Enemy besides their cautious Measures, when Providence threw into his Hands an unexpected Occasion of signaling again his Courage and Conduct.

Motions of their Army, in order thereunto.

Upon the Enemy's passing the Deule, the Duke of Marlborough sent Orders to the Danish Horse, who were coming from their Garrisons, to hasten their March ; and that there might not be the least Pretence of Delay, he engaged his Promise, with the Field-Deputies of the States, that their Arrears should be duly paid them. The Duke of Wirtemberg, who commanded those Troops, and was well-affected to the common Cause, seeing every Thing was complied with, that the King of Denmark insisted on, thought he needed not to stay, till he sent to that Court, nor wait for express Orders. He, therefore, commanded

commanded his Troops to march, and they made such Expedition, that the twenty-second of May, N. S. being the Day before the Battle, they came up within a League of the Rear of the Confederate Army.

About the same time, the French having been join'd by the Horse of the Marshal de Marfin's Army, and confiding in their Superiority of Number, came out of their Lines, and encamp'd between Tirlemont, and Judoigne.

The French come out of their Lines.

The next Day, being Whitsunday, about four o'Clock, in the Morning, the Confederate Army march'd, in eight Columns, towards Ramellies, a Village near which the Gheet takes its Source; that they might avoid the Inconveniency of passing that River. They soon had Information, that the Enemy's Army, having decamp'd from Tirlemont, was, likewise, on their March to meet them, their Baggage and heavy Cannon being left at Judoigne. The Duke of Bavaria, and the Marshal de Villeroy, not in the least suspecting, that the Danes had already join'd the Confederate Army, were fully bent upon engaging them, either that Day, or the following; being apprehensive the Duke of Marlborough had formed the Design of investing Namur.

The two Armies meet.

The Enemy's Army then consisted of 76 Battalions of Foot, and 132 Squadrons of Horse, having 62 Cannon, 12 Mortars, and 36 Pontons. Their immediate Design was to possess themselves of Ramellies, and the strong Camp thereabouts, to prevent the Confederates doing the same; and, in this they so far succeeded, that, being nearer, they got thither first; but had the Mortification to be soon beat out of it again, as the Reader will see below.

Force of the Enemy's Army.

The Fears of the Enemy were, however, groundless, concerning Namur; for the Duke of Marlborough had no such Design. His Resolution was the same with theirs, and had not they offered him Battle that Day, he would certainly have attack'd them the next. The two Armies met near the Village of Ramellies, from whence the Battle took its Name. When the Confederate Army was advanced near this Place, they found the Enemy getting into the Camp of Mount St. André, and placing their Right to the Mehaigne, where they had posted a Brigade of Foot, and filled the Space between that and Ramellies, which is about half a League, an open and level Ground, with near 100 Squadrons, among which were the Troops of the French King's Household. They had likewise above 20 Battalions of Foot, with a Battery of about 12 Pieces of Cannon, at Ramellies. This Place, which is rendered famous to all Posterity, by this auspicious Day, is but a Village, surrounded by a Ditch, in the District of Louvain, on the Borders of the Province of Namur. It is situated at the Source of the Gheet, about a Mile and a half North from the Side of the Mehaigne,

Situation of the Enemy's Army.

A Description of Ramellies.

1706.

that Interval being the narrow Aperture, where this glorious Battle was fought. The Gheet runs from Ramellies to Autreglife, thro' a marshy Ground, and beyond Autreglife, the River grows wide, and the Ground is unpassable. Ramellies is six Miles almost South from Judoigne, twelve South from Tirlemont, fourteen West-North-West from Huy, and eleven North from Namur.

The Famous Battle of RAMELLIES.

Preparations
on both
Sides, for
the Engage-
ment.

About one in the Morning, the Duke sent the Quartermaster-General, with the Camp Colours, and a few Squadrons, towards Ramellies, to make a Feint, as if they designed to form a Camp there, the better to penetrate into the Enemy's Designs; and, about three, his Grace, and the Marshal d'Auverquerque decamp'd, with the whole Army, and advanced, in eight Columns, in a great Fog.

A little after eight o'Clock in the Morning, the advanced Guard of the Confederates, which consisted of 600 Horse, and had been sent with all the Quarter-Masters of the Army, to view the Ground, arrived at the Height of Merdop, (or Merdan) from whence they perceived, that the Enemy were in Motion, and march'd in the Plain of Mont St. André, extending themselves as far as the Tomb of Hottomont, towards the Mehaigne. Hereupon they halted, and sent Intelligence to the Duke of Marlborough, and Mons. d'Auverquerque, who being advanced about ten, to view the Enemy, they could not, at first, judge, whether those Squadrons they saw were only to cover their March, into their Lines, or whether they were the Van of the Enemy, that came to offer Battle. His Grace, therefore, gave Orders to the Horse to hasten their March, resolving, if those he saw had been only covering Squadrons, to attack them with his Cavalry only. But the Fog being soon after dispersed, and the Army being then in full View of the Enemy, the Duke found their whole Army approach, with an apparent Resolution to fight, upon which he made all the necessary Dispositions to receive them.

The Enemy, seeing the Confederates so near them, possess'd themselves of a very strong Camp; placing their Right near the Tomb of Hottomont, against the Mehaigne; and their Left at Anderkirk, or Autreglife; and posted a good deal of their Infantry in the Villages of Autreglife, Ossuz, and Ramellies, which last was near their Center; besides which, they put five Battalions, near the Hedges of the Village of Franquénies, which was on their Right. The Confederate Army, was, at the same time, drawn up in order of Battle, the Right Wing being posted near Foltz, on the Rivulet Yause, with a little

Morafs



- A The Army of the Enemy's
- B The Artillery to Support the
- C The Cavalry or Franchises
- D { The Coart the Dragoons
detachment of the united
regiments
- E A Brigadier at Ram. Offuz ve
Enemy's
- F 12 Battalions for their Retreat
at Ram. Retreat in Confusion

Morafs in Front ; and the Left near the Village of Franquénies on the Mehaigne ; where, befides the Number of the Horfe, belonging to that Wing, the Duke of Marlborough ordered the Daniſh Squadrons, being 21 in Number, to be poſted ; rightly judging, by the Situation of the Ground, that the Streſs of the Action would be on that Side. All things being thus diſpoſed, it was reſolved to attack the Village of Ramellies, which was the Enemy's principal Poſt ; in which, as I have ſaid above, they had poſted twenty Battalions, who had entrenched themſelves, with a Battery of about twelve Pieces of treble Cannon : And from thence to Autregliſe they had formed a Line of Foot, along the Gheet, and a Line of Horſe behind them. In order to this Attack, 20 Pieces of Cannon, of 24 Pounders, and ſome Hawbitzers, were brought up ; and 12 Battalions, who were to be ſupported by the whole Line, were order'd to make the firſt Onſet, under the Command of Lieutenant General Schultze.

About half an Hour paſt one, the Artillery of the Conſederates began to play ; it was immediately answered by the Enemy's Cannon, and both continued firing, with conſiderable Execution : Whiſt the Duke of Marlborough was at the Head of the Lines, to give the neceſſary Orders every where, Velt-Marſhal Auverquerque repaired to the Left, where, perceiving that the Enemy's Foot, poſted in the Hedges of Franquénies, gall'd the Horſe of that Wing, he commanded 4 Battalions, with two Pieces of Cannon, under Colonel Wertmuller, to diſlodge them from thence : Which they performed, with great Vigour and Reſolution. Hereupon the Enemy detach'd two Battalions, and 14 Squadrons of Dragoons, on Foot, to regain that important Poſt ; but Monſ. d'Auverquerque commanded at the ſame time, the whole Wing of the Dutch Horſe to attack the Enemy, which not only prevented their Deſign, but put thoſe Dragoons into ſuch Diſorder, that they were not able either to reach the Village, or to recover their Horſes, which they had left a good Way behind the Tomb of Hottomont ; and ſo were, moſt of them, cut in Pieces, and taken Priſoners. The Dutch Cavalry charged with a great deal of Bravery, Sword in Hand, and ſoon after the Engagement was ſuſtain'd by the Daniſh Squadrons ; but having to deal with the French King's Houſhold, viz. the Mouſquetaires, Gendarmes, Garde de Corps, Horſe Grenadiers, and other choice Troops, which were in the Enemy's Right, the Conſlict was obſtinate, and the Succeſs doubtful, for above an Hour. The Daniſh Horſe, which fought on the Left of all, behaved themſelves with ſuch Gallantry, that they forced the Enemy to give Ground, and broke ſeveral of their Squadrons ; but, at the ſame time, the French had almoſt an equal Advantage againſt the Dutch Horſe of the Right of the Left Wing, whom they put into great Confuſion. To remedy this, the

The Battle
begins.

1706.



Duke of Marlborough, who was advanced that Way, sent for twenty Squadrons of Horse from the Right Wing, where they could not engage the Enemy's Left, by reason of a Morass which separated them : And with these he re-inforced his Left, adding to them his Body of Reserve.

Prudent
Conduct of
the Duke of
Marlboro.

French Writers, who have given a Description of this Battle, allow of this as a very prudent Part of the Duke of Marlborough's Conduct ; but to cover the Disgrace of their favourite Troops, pretend his Grace sent for fifty, and not twenty, Squadrons from his Right, and made four Lines of them, besides a Column compos'd of his Body of Reserve. " Thus (says F. Daniel) the whole Weight of the Battle fell upon the Right Wing of the French Army, where the Troops of his Majesty's Household were placed. This Body (continues he) which had hitherto been invincible (he forgets Blenheim) enter'd the Enemy's Troops, and overthrew the three first Lines ; but finding a fourth, and the Column above-mentioned, besides, which was moving to fall upon them in the Flank, they were obliged to give Way ;" and just in the same Strain the Marquis de Quincy argues : But to proceed.

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough twice
in great
Danger.

The Duke of Marlborough, while these Troops were advancing from the Right, rallied some of the broken Squadrons, and gave his Orders for others to charge : In this Place his Grace was in the Extremity of Danger ; for being singled out by several of the most resolute of the Enemy, and having the Misfortune, as he was leaping a Ditch, to fall from his Horse, he had either been killed or taken Prisoner, if some of the Confederate Foot, that were near at Hand, had not come very seasonably to his Assistance.* After this, his Grace had still a narrower Escape, a Cannon Ball taking off the Head of Colonel Briendfield, his Grace's Gentleman of the Horse, as he was holding the Stirrup for the Duke to remount.

The Ad-
vantage be-
gins to de-
clare in Fa-
vour of the
Confede-
rates.

The twenty Squadrons his Grace had sent for from the Right, to re-inforce the Left, had but little Share in the Defeat of the Enemy's Right : For by that time they were come up, the Dutch and Danes, having charged them both in Front and Flank, had almost compleated that signal Piece of Service, cutting in Pieces the best Part of the French King's Household ; insomuch that they could never be fully re-established during the remainder of the War. In the mean time, the Village of Ramellies was vigorously attack'd by General Schultz, with the 12 Battalions under him. The Enemy, having the Advantage of the Ground,

* Thus the Relation printed by Authority in England has it : But it has been said by some Officers who were in the Engagement, that the Duke was born down by some of the disorder'd Dutch Horse. It is not impossible but both might be true.

1706.

defended themselves with great Resolution and Obstinacy, till seeing the whole Line of the Confederate Infantry in Motion to support General Schultze, and the Dutch and Danish Horse advancing to surround them, they bethought themselves of making their Retreat; but found it was too late: For they were intercepted by the victorious Horse, and, most of them, either killed, or taken Prisoners.

The rest of the Enemy's Infantry endeavour'd, likewise, to make their Escape, which they did in better Order, being favour'd by the Horse of their Left Wing, who being covered by a Rivulet and Morass, had not yet been attack'd, and form'd themselves in three Lines, between Ossuz and Autreglise. But the English Horse having found Means to pass the Rivulet, charged the Enemy with such unparallel'd Briskness and Courage, that they entirely abandon'd their Foot; and our Dragoons, pushing into the Village of Autreglise, made a terrible Slaughter of them. The rest of the Enemy, who were, at the same time, attack'd by the English and Dutch Foot, with equal Bravery, gave Way on all Sides. Their Horse rallied again, in the Plains, to cover the disorderly Retreat of their Foot; but they were so closely pursued, by the Confederate Cavalry, that they were forced to divide themselves into three small Bodies, that they might flee the better, three different Ways. Those that took to the Left, were pursued by the Dutch and Danes, who made great Slaughter amongst them, and took abundance of Prisoners: And those that fled to the Right, were chas'd by the Regiments of Lumley, Hay, and Ross; which two last fell in with the Foot Regiment du Roy, of whom having kill'd many, the rest threw down their Arms and begg'd Quarter, which was generously granted. Upon this, they delivered their Arms and Colours to the Lord John Hay's Dragoons: But when these Dragoons faced about, in order to pursue the Enemy, they treacherously attempted to take up their Arms again; in which, however, they were prevented, and suffered severely for their Perfidy.

The Enemy
flee on all
Sides.

The headmost Regiments of the English Horse, that pursued the Enemy's Center, were that of Lieutenant General Wood, commanded by himself, and Wyndham's (afterwards Palm's) Carabineers, headed by Major Petry. When they came upon a rising Ground, they espied seven Squadrons of the Spanish and Bavarian Guards, among which was the Elector himself, and the Marshal de Villeroy, who hoped, with these few choice Troops, to make good their Retreat, and save their Cannon, which was marching in a Line before them. General Wood galloped with his own Regiment upon the Enemy's Left, and charg'd them so vigorously, that he broke them all to Pieces, killing many of them, and taking not a few Prisoners, among whom were two Lieutenant-Colonels, one Major, four Captains, and several

1706.

See Letter
D. below.

The Confe-
derates gain
a compleat
Victory.

See Letter
C. below.

Subaltern Officers. He also took the Standard of the Elector's Guards, two of his own Trumpets and kill'd his Kettle-Drummer: The Elector himself and the Marshal de Villeroy very narrowly escaping. Major Petry, at the Head of Wyndham's Carabineers, fell upon the Enemy with equal Briskness and Resolution; put many of them to the Sword, and took several Prisoners, particularly the Major of the Spanish Guards, *Monf. de la Guertiere*, and *Monf. de Bruan*, Cornet of the same; besides four Officers, and 46 private Men, of the Royal Bombardiers, with their Colours. The English Horse and Dragoons follow'd the Chace thro' and by Judoigne, till two of the Clock in the Morning, as far as Meldert, being five Leagues from the Place where the Action happened, and two from Louvain. During this Retreat, a Misfortune happened, to the Enemy, which contributed not a little to compleat the Victory. Several Waggon's of their Van-guard, breaking down, stopp'd the Way, so that their Baggage and Artillery, which follow'd, could not pass; nor could their Troops defile in good Order: Perceiving that the Confederate Horse, having got Intelligence of this Accident, pursued them close, they threw down their Arms, that they might escape with the greater Ease, and retreated, without any Order, and in the greatest Confusion. Here it was that the most Prisoners were taken; for in the Action little or no Quarter was given, the Confederate Horse having been highly provoked by the idle Gasconades of the French Musqueteers and Gens d'Armes, of which they were very full when they came to the Attack; but paid dearly for it in the Sequel. In short, never was Victory more compleat; the Confederates made themselves Masters of all the Enemy's Cannon, excepting two or three, to the Number of about 50 Pieces; most of their Baggage; about 120 Colours or Standards, and several Pair of Kettle-Drums. The Enemy's Loss of Men, according to the most general Computation, amounted to 8,000 slain, and among them, Prince Maximilian and Prince Monbason; and about 6,000 private Soldiers, and near 600 Officers taken Prisoners; which, with their Deserters and Wounded, made their Loss not less than 20,000 Men. Some Accounts make the Number of Deserters so great, to aver, that hardly half of their Troops ever returned to their Colours. The Persons of Note among the Prisoners, were *Messieurs Palavicini* and *Meziere*, Major Generals; the *Marquis de Bar*, Brigadier-General of Horse; the *Marquis de Nonan*, Brigadier-General of Foot; the *Marquis de la Baume*, Son of the Marshal de Tallard; *Monsieur de Montmorency*, Nephew to the late Duke of Luxemburg, a Nephew of the Lord Clare, and several others.

Having given the most circumstantial Account I have been able to collect of this remarkable Action, from the several Relations publish'd

1706.

French Accounts of this Action.

publish'd here and in Holland, and from other authentick Papers; I shall now add a Word or two of what the French have said to lessen their Misfortune. Their Terror and Amazement was, beyond all Question, very great; however, they put the best Face upon it they could, and, at first, endeavour'd to conceal their Loss, by giving only a very slight and general Account of the Battle. One of their Prints says no more than that, "On the 23d, the King's Army advanc'd from Gossencourt to the Mehaigne, and was attack'd by the Confederate Army. That the Confederates were possess'd of several Posts, out of which they were driven by our Foot, who, for about an Hour and a half, fought the Enemy's Foot, with Advantage, at the Villages of Ramellies and Jandre-nouille: so that, for a long time, there was Ground to hope the Victory would have been theirs; but that while most of the Troops were engaged in the Center, one of the Enemy's Battalions attack'd and forced the Village of Tavier. That their Horse attack'd the French Horse, on the Right; who not sustaining their Effort with like Vigour, gave the Confederates such Advantage, as oblig'd their Army to retire, after a pretty equal Loss, on both Sides: That the Retreat was made, at first, in good Order; but the difficult Ways occasioning a Confusion, some Troops betook themselves to Flight, which was the Cause of farther Loss, and oblig'd their Army to abandon Part of their Cannon, and several Waggons."

In other Relations, the Reader is amus'd with pompous Accounts of the superiour Valour of their Troops; tho' in the very same Periods, they are oblig'd to allow they were beaten. I shall mention only one or two Instances of these Gasconades from the *Mercurie Galant* of that Month: "The Duke of Marlborough (says this Author) having seen with what Valour the French had fought, could not forbear saying, *That with 30,000 such Men, he could go to the End of the World.*" What must we not then suppose he could do with those Troops, who beat and triumph'd over these more than Men, if we will believe them? In another Place, speaking of the Troops of the King's Household, he makes our brave General own; "That they were more than Men; and that he knew them, as well as what they were capable of doing, so well, that he judg'd it proper, to order six to one to oppose them." The Paris Gazetteer, however, tho' not the most modest of News Writers, is oblig'd to own, that the Troops of the Household, did not behave themselves very well: "The Cavalry on the Right (says he) where the Troops of the King's Household were posted, did not withstand the Enemy's Attack with the same Vigour as the rest did."

But

1706:

But to leave these Triflers, let us hear what an Author of something more Credit, and Reputation, tho' not the most impartial neither, on that Side, says. I mean the Marquis de Quincy, who begins the fifth Volume of his History, and his Relation of this Campaign, in the following Words.

" I am now to give an Account of the most disadvantageous Campaign, for France, that has ever happen'd during this King's Reign, which brought on such a Chain of terrible Consequences, as chang'd the very Face of Affairs in this Kingdom. And yet never was there more Reason to believe, that the Prince who directed it, (viz. the French King) would have brought his Enemies to Reason, and would have obliged them to acquiesce in a Peace, such as his Majesty was willing to give to Europe, which began to stand in need of it.

" At the Conclusion of the preceding Campaign, Orders were immediately given to recruit the Troops, and raise fresh ones; and uncommon Diligence was used, during the whole Course of the Winter, as well in this, as in filling the Magazines, in those Places where the several Armies were to assemble; that they might be early in a Condition to execute those Projects, which the King himself had form'd, with infinite Pains, and for which he had put his Armies in such a State, that they might triumph in every Place, where-soever he had any Enemies—— I may very well say, that the Court never form'd such well-laid Designs, as those which were intended to be put in Execution this Campaign; and that never Measures were better taken, nor pursued with greater Secrecy, to carry so many great Points at one and the same time." (Here my Author gives an Account of these vast Projects, and then proceeds.) " These were the Designs which were to have been executed during the Course of this Year, which, if they had succeeded, it was reasonable to hope, would have produced the Advantages France expected from them: But we shall soon see, by the Relations I am going to give, that the Events were so far from answering the Expectations so justly conceived, that never Campaign was so disadvantageous to the two Crowns.—— Of all the fatal Accidents of this Campaign, (continues my Author) the Loss of the Battle of Ramellies, which, if I may be allowed to say it, was hazarded without any Necessity, was that which was most sensibly felt; because the Consequence of it was the Loss of a great Number of Places in the Low Countries." Here our Author goes on to give an Account of this Battle, in which he confirms almost every Circumstance I have mention'd in my Relation; excepting that he affirms the Confederate Army to have been far superior to that of the French; and asserts, that there were not above 6,000 kill'd on both

both Sides, of which he reckons but a third Part on his Side, and two thirds on that of the Allies, a Supposition so monstrously ridiculous, that it refutes itself. He likewise runs into the same absurd Rhodomontades, which I have mention'd above, with regard to the more than human Courage of the Troops of the King's Household, against whom he, with the rest of his Countrymen, affirms, the Duke of Marlborough, knowing what sort of People he had to do with, oppos'd six to one. But as, if there had been any Truth in this Assertion, the Duke must, for this Purpose, have weakened some other Part of his Army, why did they not take that Advantage, and fall upon the weaken'd Part? He has no other Way to come off, but by pretending, that a too great Dependence on these Troops brought this Misfortune on the whole Army.

This compleat and memorable Victory, next to the Blessing of Heaven, (which during the whole Course of this War, seem'd visibly to assert the Justice of the Confederate Cause) was principally owing to the great Courage, Prudence, Vigilance and Experience of the chief Commander, the Prince and Duke of Marlborough, who was personally present in the hottest of the Action, and gave his Orders, with wonderful Sedateness and Presence of Mind. And his very Enemies were oblig'd to acknowledge, that his Conduct and Bravery, in this great Day, shone in the most conspicuous Manner. The second Honours of this glorious Day were undoubtedly due to Mons. d'Auverquerque, Velt-Marshal of the Dutch Troops, who acted with all the Valour, Conduct, and Vigour that became a great and experienced General. The other Generals likewise distinguished themselves, and, among the rest, none more than his Grace, the Duke of Argyle, who expos'd his Person to the greatest Danger, and received several slight Wounds; nor were the inferior Officers less worthy of Commendation, every one behaving, in their respective Stations, as became Men who were resolv'd to conquer or die.

Just Praises
of the Ge-
nerals and
other Offi-
cers.

All the Troops that engaged, fought, likewise, with the greatest Bravery and Resolution, and like Men who were resolutely bent to maintain the Reputation they had acquired at Schellenberg and Blenheim. Each had their Part of this glorious Victory, tho' in different Manners. It must be acknowledged, to the eternal Glory of the Dutch, both Horse and Foot, that they bore almost the whole Brunt of the Fight, having had to deal with the French King's Household, and other choice Troops, which compos'd the Enemy's Right Wing. The Danish Horse were a great Weight to incline the Victory, on the Side of the Confederates; and the English had the Honour to compleat it, by having the greatest Share in the Pursuit; as some of their Regiments of Foot had in the Engage-
ment.

And of the
Troops.

1706.

ment. Among the rest, Colonel Charles Churchill, who commanded General Churchill's Regiment, signalized himself, by driving, with his Battalion, supported by the Lord Mordaunt's Regiment, three French Regiments into the Morass, where most of them were either destroyed, or taken Prisoners.

See Letter
E. below.

The Honour of this Day was the greater to the Confederates, as the Elector of Bavaria had been heard to say, the Enemy's Army was the best he ever beheld; and as they lost not only their Camp, Baggage and Artillery, but all that they had left in Judoigne. To which we may add; That this Victory decided the Destiny of the Low-Countries, as the Battle of Hochstadt did that of Bavaria.

Medals
struck on
this Occa-
sion.

On account of this Battle was struck a large Medaillon in Holland: On the Face is represented two Nymphs shaking Hands, representing Great Britain and Holland. Behind Great Britain is a Column, bearing the Busto of the Duke of Marlborough, with his Name on the Pedestal, and an Unicorn lying at the Foot of it. Behind Holland is another Column supporting a Busto of the Veldt-Marshal d'Auverquerque, with his Name on the Pedestal, and the Batavian Lion at the Foot of it. And, round the Medal the Inscription:

HOC PRÆFECTO PATRIAM SERVO. HOC DUCE REGEM
FIRMO. INTAMINATIS FULGEANT HONORIBUS.

*Under his Command, I defend my Country. Under his Conduct, I
support the King. (sc. Charles III.) May the Lustre of their Glory
never fade.*

In the Exergue:

CONCORDIA ANGLIÆ ET BATAVIÆ, BRABANTIA ET
FLANDRIA LEGITIMO DOMINO RESTITUTÆ.

*By the Union of Great Britain and Holland, Flanders and Bra-
bant are restor'd to their rightful Sovereign.*

On the Reverse, is a Plan of the Battle of Ramellies, with that Village in View. On the Front lie great Numbers of the Enemy's Dead, and Quantities of their Arms left a Spoil to the Allies; with the following Inscription round it:

DE MALE QUÆSITIS NON GAUDET TERTIUS HÆRES.
MAY D. 23.

*Ill-gotten Goods never descend to the third Heir.
May 23.*









In the Exergue, is the following Inscription.

GALLIS, BAVARIS, ET HISPANIS, APUD RAMELIUM,
UNO PRÆLIO VEL CAPTIS, VEL DELETIS, VEL FU-
GATIS. 1706.

*The French, the Bavarians, and the Spaniards, were either ta-
ken, defeated, or put to the Flight, in the single Battle of Ra-
mellies, 1706.*

There likewise appear'd, at the same time, a Medal of a
smaller Size, on the Face of which is represented a Bust of
her Majesty, with her Title. And, on the Reverse, two flying
Fames, sounding their Trumpets, and holding a Plan of the
Battle of Ramellies, with a Map of the Provinces of Flanders
and Brabant, the Gaining of which was the Consequence of this
Battle. With the following Inscription over them :

GALLIS AD RAMELIES VICTIS.
12 MAII, 1706.

*The French vanquish'd at Ramellies.
May 12, 1706.*

In the Exergue was the following Inscription :

FLANDRIA ET BRABANTIA RECEPTIS.

Flanders and Brabant recovered.

There were likewise several other mix'd Medals struck at the
same time, on which Mention is made of this compleat Vic-
tory.

The Elector of Bavaria, and the Marshal de Villeroy, with
the greatest Part of the broken Remains of their Army, con-
tinued their precipitate Flight, till they were got to Louvain;
where having held a sort of a tumultuous Council of War, by
Torch-light, in the Market-place, they resolv'd to abandon
that Place, and to retire towards Brussels. This was immedi-
ately put in Practice ; but the Elector of Bavaria thought him-
self so little secure there, that he spent the whole Night in
causing his Papers, Jewels, Plate, and valuable Furniture, to
be pack'd up and sent away for Ghent, whither he himself
follow'd with all imaginable Precipitation. On the other
hand, the victorious Confederates, having pursued the Fugi-
tives, till two, in the Morning, rested a little near Meldert-
and,

The French
abandon
Louvain.

Precipitate
Flight of the
Elector of
Bavaria.

1706.

See Letter
B. and F.
below.
The Confe-
derates take
Possession of
Louvain.

A short De-
scription of
it.

An Over-
sight of the
French
Generals.

A Remark
thereupon.

The Loss of
the Confe-
derates.

See Letter
A. below.

and, at Break of Day, the Duke of Marlborough order'd the Army to encamp at Bevechien, for the Refreshment of the Troops. In the mean time, his Grace dispos'd all things for their March, early the next Morning, in order to force the Passage of the Deule; but he receiv'd Advice, in the Night, that the Enemy had quitted their Camp, and abandon'd Louvain; upon which, Bridges being laid over that River, a Detachment of 500 Men was sent to take Possession of Louvain; and the whole Army pass'd the River, the next Day, about Noon, and took the Camp of Bethlem.

Louvain, which was the first Fruits of this Victory, is a very large and pleasant City of the Low Countries, situate on the River Deule. eleven Miles South-East of Mechlin, fifteen North-East of Brussels, seven and twenty North of Namur, and eight and thirty North-East of Mons.

A late Author, speaking of this Battle, says, the Duke of Marlborough had told him, "The French Army look'd the best of any he had ever seen; but that their Officers did not do their Parts, nor shew the Courage, that had appeared among them, on other Occasions." To this we may add, and account it as a very great Error, on their Parts, that they plac'd so entire a Dependance on the Troops of the King's Household, as was, in a great Measure, their Ruin. For had they been as vigilant to support them, with a Re-inforcement of Horse from their Left, which was, in the mean time idle, as the Duke of Marlborough was in supporting his Cavalry who attack'd them, by a Supply of fresh Troops from his Right, the Victory would probably have been more doubtful, or at least would have been bought, by the Allies, at a dearer Rate. Thus the high Idea the French Officers had conceiv'd of the Valour and Conduct of these Troops, turn'd to their own Disadvantage. This high Opinion, however, appear'd to be too rashly and immaturity formed, and would better have been left to Time: For it is next to an Impossibility to restore a Nation, that has had the Misfortune to be so often defeated, so soon to their pristine Valour. Princes, who are not present, at the Defeat of their Troops, are apt to imagine, that Fortune may be more favourable to them, another time; but they are very often deceived. Their Fate is generally the same with that of those unfortunate Gamesters, who, notwithstanding their ill Turn of Fortune, hazard on, thinking to recover their Loss, till they have nothing more to lose.

The Loss of the Confederates, in so bloody and obstinate a Conflict, could not but be great; yet did not much exceed 1,000 kill'd, and about double that Number wounded, most of them in the Dutch Service. Among the slain, were reckon'd Prince Lewis of Hesse-Cassel, Colonel of Foot; Col. Van Driebergen; Col.

Col. Leerse ; Col. Gammel ; Col. Van Schoonheyde ; Col. Brouck ; Col. Bortwigh ; Col. Hirfel ; Col. Murray, junior ; Col. Bisberg ; Col. Fabrice ; Lieut. Col. Baker ; Major Boncoeur ; Major Roer ; Major Noorman ; Count Van Warfuze, a Major ; Messieurs Bentingh, Piper, Smirfer, Tullekins, and Strater, Captains of Horse ; Messieurs Schimmelpennigh, Beckman, d'Ozallier and Clerc, Captains of Foot ; Monsieur Winterkamp, a Cornet ; Monsieur Roer, and Croonbreecker, Ensigns ; and Adjutant Piper. Among the Wounded, were reckoned, Col. La Rocque Servier ; Major Count Vander-nat ; Major St. Pol, who died of his Wounds ; Major Swerin, who was also taken Prisoner ; Major Larny, mortally wounded ; Major Cunningham ; Monsieur Van Berghem, Captain of Horse ; and Monsieur Sutherland, Captain of Foot. Col. Schravemore was taken Prisoner, but came back upon his Parole. Monsieur d'Auverquerque, who pursued the flying Enemy, till one the next Morning, was like to have been stabb'd by a base Bavarian Captain, to whom he had generously given Quarter, and suffered him to keep his Sword ; but the Villain was prevented by one Violette, a Frenchman, Groom to that General, who shot the Bavarian dead upon the Spot.

Having thus given a succinct Account of this glorious Action, I shall now add the several Pieces and Letters, refer'd to there, and then give an Account of the Consequences of it, which proved greater, than even the most sanguine Hopes could suggest.

A.

A List (printed at the Hague) of the Kill'd and Wounded of the Army of the Allies, in the Battle of Ramellies, the 23d of May, 1706.

H O R S E.

TWO Colonels kill'd, 3 wounded ; 3 Lieutenant-Colonels wounded ; 4 Majors killed, 3 wounded ; 10 Captains kill'd, 24 wounded ; 6 Lieutenants kill'd, 27 wounded ; 4 Cornets kill'd, 28 wounded ; 8 Subalterns kill'd, 18 wounded ; 343 Troopers or Dragoons kill'd, 695 wounded ; 990 Horses kill'd, 351 wounded.

F O O T.

Three Colonels kill'd, 3 wounded ; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel kill'd, 3 wounded ; 2 Majors kill'd, 3 wounded ; 9 Captains kill'd, 38 wounded ; 7 Lieutenants kill'd, 49 wounded ; 8 Ensigns kill'd, 40 wounded ; 18 Subalterns kill'd, 70 wounded ; 641 Soldiers kill'd, 1590 wounded.

1706.

Officers of Horse and Foot ; 82 kill'd, 282 wounded.
Troopers, Dragoons, and Foot Soldiers, 984 kill'd, 2285 wounded.

Total, 1066 kill'd ; 2567 wounded.

B.

High and Mighty Lords,

The Duke of “
Marlboro’s “
Letter to the “
States. “

Monsieur, the Velt-Marshal d’Auverquerque, having sent Monsieur de Wassenauer, to inform your High Mightinesses of the Victory, which God was graciously pleased to give us over the Enemy on Sunday last, I deferred my Congratulations, till to Day, that I might be able, at the same time, to acquaint your High Mightinesses, with the Success of our Design to pass the Deule, which we had determin’d to attempt this Morning. But the Enemy have thought fit to spare us that Trouble, having left us an open Field, by their Retreat towards Brussels ; so that, with double Joy, I have the Honour to write this Letter to your High Mightinesses, from Louvain, *where, for the Good of the common Cause, I had long wish’d to be.* ’Tis certain, that all the Generals, Officers, and Soldiers, have done all that was possible for Men to perform, on that glorious Day ; and their Conduct and Bravery cannot be sufficiently praised. I make no manner of Doubt, but that Messieurs, the Deputies, and Monsieur d’Auverquerque, have done Justice to your own Troops, and that your High Mightinesses will seek Occasions to acknowledge and reward the Deserts of so many brave Men. I have made Choice of Colonel Chanclos, to carry this agreeable News to your High Mightinesses, both by reason of his Merit in the last Campaign, and of his Service in this. He will acquaint your High Mightinesses with the Particulars of all that has pass’d, and the present Posture of the Enemy, whom we are resolved to pursue. It shall always be my greatest Delight to shew to your High Mightinesses my inviolable Adherence to your Interest, and that I am, with great Respect,

“ Your High Mightinesses, &c.”

Louvain, May 25,
1706.

The Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

A Remark
upon part of
this Letter.

The Reader will remember, that in my Account of the Transactions of the Year 1703, among other Pieces, I inserted the Reasons alledg’d by the Duke of Marlborough, and several other Generals, in a Council of War held the 24th of August, of that Year, why they were for forcing the French Lines ; and the Reasons given by the Dutch Deputies and Generals, for not attempting them. The Duke’s Words were :

“ If

1706.

“ If we attempt their Lines, should they pretend to defend them, we may, with the Assistance of the ALMIGHTY, hope to gain a complete Victory, *the Consequences of which may be of more Importance than can be foreseen*; and should they think best to retire, there is Ground to hope, *we might push forward very successfully, and draw mighty Advantages from it.*”

In Answer to this, the Words of the Dutch Deputies and Generals are :

“ Supposing the Lines forc’d, it is to be consider’d what Advantage will come of it, and whether we shall then be able to penetrate into the Country, and to march to Tirlemont and Louvain. What gives Ground to apprehend we shall not, is, that the Enemy, a little within their Lines, have Posts to retire to, that are more defensible than their Lines; for Instance, *that of Ramellies; where their Right being extended to the Mebaigne, near Taviers, and their Left towards Ramellies and Autreglise, they will have a narrow Aperture of but 1200 Paces to defend.*”

Now upon that very Spot were the Enemy fought and beaten, at this time. The great Share the Dutch had, in gaining this Victory, makes some Amends for the wrong Judgment they form’d in 1703, and the Consequences of it (which the Reader will see below) are a shining Proof of the Duke’s excellent Judgment and Foresight: Upon which *his Grace had much Reason to value himself, and remind the States General, (as he does in the above Letter) that he was, at length arrived, where he had long wish’d to be, for the Good of the common Cause.*

C.

Monsieur d’Auverquerque wrote also the following Letter to the States.

High and Mighty Lords,

“ **I**T has pleas’d GOD ALMIGHTY to grant to the Arms of A Letter
“ the States, and those of the High Allies, on the twenty- from Mons.
“ third of this Month, being Whitfunday, a complete Victory d’Auver-
“ over our Enemies, for which Blessings we ought to return him querque to
“ our Praises and Acknowledgments. I have given myself the the States
“ Honour to congratulate your High Mightinesses, and to cause General.
“ an Account of the Particulars of that Action to be given to
“ you, by my Adjutant, Monsieur de Wassenaer. We shall
“ use all possible Diligence to improve this Advantage, by vigo-
“ rously pursuing the Enemy. We pass’d the Deule this Morn-
“ ing, and are come to encamp near Tor-Banch, having Lou-
“ vain behind us. The Enemy retired upon our Approach,

The Life of JOHN,

“ and are, at present, encamped beyond the Canal, near Grim-
 “ bergen. I must do Justice to the Bravery and Resolution of
 “ your Troops, Generals and subaltern Officers, by assuring
 “ your High Mightinesses, that they have, in truth, a great
 “ Share in the Victory. The English and Auxiliary Troops
 “ have also maintain’d their Reputation; and gain’d no less
 “ Honour. My Lord Duke of Marlborough, *according to his*
 “ *laudable Custom, has perform’d all that could be expected from*
 “ *a great Captain.* The Enemy have really suffered a great
 “ Loss: But I cannot yet acquaint your High Mightinesses with
 “ the exact Number of their Slain; they could only save 2 or
 “ 3 Pieces of Cannon; the rest, to the Number of 50, being
 “ fallen into our Hands; we have, likewise, taken 70 Standards
 “ and Colours, and 200 high and subaltern Officers, without
 “ reckoning what the English have taken. I have given Leave
 “ to many of my Prisoners to go home, upon their Parole, for 3
 “ Months; some of them being much wounded, and others hav-
 “ ing, by the Fate of War, been stripp’d of their Cloaths. The
 “ Number of Soldiers taken Prisoners, amounts to three thou-
 “ sand, whom I have sent to Maestricht, by the Way of Liege, to
 “ be dispersed in other Places. We have, on our Side, lost several
 “ good Officers of Note; and, among the rest, Prince Lewis of
 “ Hesse, Colonel of Foot. I shall order an exact List to be
 “ given me, of the Officers and Soldiers that have been kill’d
 “ and wounded in this Action, which I shall give myself the
 “ Honour to transmit to your High Mightinesses. I hope and
 “ pray, that God will continue his Blessing, upon your Arms,
 “ and those of your Allies, in order to attain the desir’d End.
 “ I am of Opinion, that this Army ought to be forthwith re-
 “ inforced, as much as possible, both to maintain our Advan-
 “ tages, and push them farther on; and, in order to that,
 “ Troops must be drawn out of the Garrisons; since they are
 “ now sufficiently out of Danger. The Enemy will do their
 “ utmost to make themselves stronger, here, and the Marshal
 “ de Marfin is to join them in a Day or two, with a great De-
 “ tachment. I remain, with much Respect, &c.

At the Camp near Louvain,
 May the 26th, 1706.

Sign’d,

AUVERQUERQUE.

D.

Extract of a Letter, from Lieutenant-General Wood, to a noble Friend.

Extract of a
 Letter from
 General
 Wood to a
 Friend.

“ ONE of the Lieutenant-Colonels, who was much wound-
 “ ed, remembring me, since the last War, called out to
 “ me to save his Life, as I did: The other Lieutenant-Colonel
 “ came

" came to me, and yielded himself Prisoner also. Both these
 " assured me, the Day after the Battle, that the Elector him-
 " self, and the Marshal de Villeroy were in the Croud, and
 " not ten Yards off from me, when they two called out to me
 " for Quarter, and that they narrowly escap'd: Which had I
 " been so fortunate as to have known, I had strain'd Carolia-
 " nus, [*his Horse*] on whom I rode all the Day of Battle, to
 " have made them Prisoners."

1706.

E.

The Elector of Bavaria's Letter to the French King.

SIR,

" IF the Events of the Battle of Ramellies had answered the
 " Hopes we expected from it, it would not have been the
 " Loss, but the Gain of a Battle, that I should have acquaint-
 " ed your Majesty with. There is no Fault to be imputed to
 " the Generals, who have commanded, nor the Troops who
 " have fought, but to a Fatality without Example. I have a
 " Heart so full of this Misfortune, that I cannot express to
 " your Majesty the Burden I labour under. The Loss, Sir, of
 " the Battle of Ramellies, which has been as fatal as that of
 " Hochstadt, convinces me, that it is not the Number of an
 " Army, nor the advantageous Situation of a Camp, nor the
 " Courage of Soldiers, that give the Victory, but God alone.
 " When I seriously consider all that has pass'd in this great
 " Action (where your Majesty's Household, and my Cuirassiers,
 " broke no less than three times the Enemy's Left,) I must
 " confess I do not comprehend the Business of War. The only
 " Consolation that remains, Sir, in my Misfortunes, is, that I
 " have done nothing contrary to your Orders, which Marshal
 " Villeroy cannot but acknowledge, as well as all the Officers
 " of the Army, who have seen me expose myself as much as
 " the meanest Soldier; and, if the Peril of my Life would have
 " purchas'd a Victory, it would assuredly not have been my
 " Fault, that your Majesty's Arms had not been triumphant;
 " But the Evil is befallen us, and what remains is to seek the
 " Means of remedying it. I expect, in all this Chaos of Con-
 " fusion, your Majesty's Orders, and am,

A Letter
 from the
 Elector of
 Bavaria to
 the French
 King.

Near Louvain, May
 23, 1706.

SIR,

Your Majesty's, &c.

The Elector of BAVARIA.

Their High Mightinesses return'd the following Answer to the Duke of Marlborough's Letter.

SIR,

A Letter
from the
States to
the Duke of
Marlboro'.

“ THE News brought, the Day before yesterday, by Adjutant General de Wassenauer, of the great and signal Victory, which the Army of the Allies, under your wise and courageous Conduct, has, by the Blessing of God, gained over that of the Enemy, has fill'd our Hearts, and the Hearts of all the good Subjects of our Commonwealth, with unspeakable Joy, which is now redoubled, by the Confirmation of it in your Excellency's Letter, of the 25th Instant, which was deliver'd to us before the Arrival of Colonel de Chanclos, and, at the same time, acquaints us with your glorious Entry into Louvain, from whence we have a long time as much wish'd to hear from you, as your Excellency has desir'd to be there, for the Good of the common Cause. We do, in Return, congratulate with your Excellency, for the happy Success of this great and glorious Action; a Success principally owing, after the divine Benediction, to your Conduct and Valour, which will render your Glory immortal. It is a particular Satisfaction we receive from the Testimony which you have given of the Courage and Bravery of our Troops; for tho' we never doubted but they would follow the Steps of so great a Captain, as your Excellency is, yet this Testimony is extremely advantageous to them, and acceptable to us. We will not forget the Services which they have performed on this great Occasion. We pray God to bless more and more all your Defens and Enterprizes: And since your Glory, after the Battles of Schellemburg, Hochstadt, and Ramellies, can receive no Addition, by the Greatness of Victories, we wish it may by their Number. We desire you to believe, that the Esteem, we have for your Excellency's Person, and rare Merit, cannot be greater. We are

Your Excellency's

Most affectionate to serve you,

The STATES GENERAL of the
United Provinces of the Low
Countries;

G. de SUYLT de Serofskercke.

By their Command,

F. FAGEL.

At the Hague, May
27, 1706.

A fine Medal was struck, at Utrecht, on Occasion of the Victory at Ramellies:

1706.

The Face represents a General arm'd, and fallen on the Ground, his Shield and Sword drop'd, holding up his Hand in a suppliant Posture; and Pallas standing over him, her left Hand on his Shoulder, keeping him down, her right Hand elevated, with a Palm-Branch in it, denoting Victory. Over the General are the Words LUDOVICUS MAGNUS; (Lewis the Great;) and over Pallas, ANNA MAJOR; (Greater ANN.)

Medal on the Battle of Ramellies.

On the Reverse is the Story of Abimelech's being kill'd, in attacking the Tower of Thebez, as it is related in the ninth Chapter of Judges; and represents a Tower attack'd; the Assailants are endeavouring to set it on Fire, in one Part, in another they assault it with missive Weapons, and are oppos'd from the Battlements, by the Defendants, among whom is a Woman, with her Arms stretch'd out, as in the Action of having just thrown down a Stone, which lighting on the Head of Abimelech, who is near the Gate of the Tower, makes him drop his Sword and Shield, and, in a sinking Posture, he is turned towards his Armour-bearer, who stands near him, in the Action of drawing a Sword. Above are the Words, PERCUTE ME, NE DICATUR QUOD A FOEMINA INTERFECTUS SIM. Jud. Cap. 9. (*Thrust me thro', lest Men say of me, I was slain by a Woman.*) On the Edge of the Medal are the Words, DOMINUS TRADIDIT EUM IN MANUS FOEMINÆ. Jud. Cap. 16. (*The LORD has deliver'd him into the Hand of a Woman.*)

After the Battle of Ramellies, a General Revolution followed, throughout the Low Countries, and the Allies were bless'd with a continued Chain of Conquests. The Inhabitants of those Provinces (weary of the French Government) received the Confederate Generals every where as their Deliverers, who had redeem'd them from Slavery, and recover'd their antient Liberty.

The Consequences of the Battle of Ramellies.

The French having abandon'd Louvain, as we have heard above, and being retired over the Canal of Brussels, the Duke of Marlborough pursued them, without loss of time, and having decamp'd from Bethlem, advanced to Digham, the 26th of May, N. S. In this March, his Grace received the following Letter, from the Marquis de Deynse, Governour of Brussels.

SIR,

Brussels, May 26, 1706.

THE States of Brabant, and the Magistracy of Brussels, have taken the Resolution to send Deputies to you: They have desired me, Sir, to write to you, most humbly to desire you to send a Trumpeter, to conduct them in Safety, to the Place where you shall think fit to receive them. I

The Marquis de Deynse's Letter to the Duke of Marlborough.

1706.

“ have not the Honour, Sir, to say more to you, concerning
 “ my particular Interests, and those of other Persons of Quali-
 “ ty, who seem resolv'd to stay there, if you approve of it. I
 “ have the Honour to be, with Respect,

SIR,

Your most humble,

and most obedient Servant,

The Marquis de DEYNSE.

The Depu-
ties of Bra-
bant, &c.
wait on the
Duke of
Marlboro'.

The Duke, hereupon, sent Colonel Panton, one of his Aids de Camp, with a Compliment to the Marquis, and the States of Brabant, to let them know he should be glad to see them, in the Afternoon. According to this Invitation, they came to his Grace's Quarters, near Dighem, with two other Deputations, one from the Sovereign Council of Brabant, the other from the Burgomasters, and City of Brussels. They all express'd, as well their Satisfaction at their being delivered from the French Yoke, as their deep Sense of the Obligations they owed to the Queen of Great Britain, and the States General. As soon as they were gone, his Grace, in Conjunction with the Field Deputies of the States, wrote the following Letter to the States of Erabant.

GENTLEMEN,

His Grace's
and the
Field Depu-
ties's Letter to
the States of
Brabant.

“ **G**OD ALMIGHTY having bless'd the Arms of the Allies,
 “ in behalf of his Majesty, King Charles the third, and
 “ the Retreat of the Army of France having given us the Op-
 “ portunity of approaching your Capital, I come to assure you
 “ of the Intentions of the Queen, my Mistress, as the Deputies
 “ do, on the Part of the States General, their Masters, and, in
 “ the first Place, to tell you, that her Majesty, and their High
 “ Mightinesses, have sent us to maintain the just Rights of his
 “ said Catholick Majesty, Charles the 3d, to the Kingdom of
 “ Spain, and to all that depends thereon; and that her Maje-
 “ sty, the Queen, and their High Mightinesses, nothing doubt-
 “ ing, but that you being likewise convinced of the lawful So-
 “ vereignty of his said Majesty, will, with Pleasure, embrace
 “ this Occasion of submitting yourselves to his Obedience, as
 “ faithful Subjects. We can assure you, Gentlemen, at the same
 “ time, on the Part of the Queen, and the States, that his Ca-
 “ tholick Majesty will maintain you, in the entire Enjoyment
 “ of all your antient Rights and Privileges, as well Ecclesia-
 “ stical as Secular; that we will be very far from making the
 “ least Innovation in what concerns Religion; and that his Ca-
 “ tholick Majesty will cause those Concessions to be renewed,
 “ which are termed, *The joyful Entry of Brabant*, in the same
 “ Manner, as they were granted by his Predecessor, Charles

“ the



THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
155 N. 4TH ST. N.Y.C.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
155 N. 4TH ST. N.Y.C.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
155 N. 4TH ST. N.Y.C.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
155 N. 4TH ST. N.Y.C.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
155 N. 4TH ST. N.Y.C.

1706.

“ the 2d, of glorious Memory. As to our selves, we assure
 “ you, that the Army shall be employed every where for your
 “ Protection, in such Manner as you desire it ; and that we will
 “ most earnestly seek, in every thing, the Opportunities of
 “ shewing the Respect, and sincere Esteem, wherewith we have
 “ the Honour to be,

Gentlemen,

At the Camp of
 Beaulieu, May
 26, 1706.

Your most humble, and
 most obedient Servants,
 The Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.
 Ferdinand van COLLEN.
 Sieur GOSLINGA.

His Grace judg'd it necessary to write this Letter to the States of Brabant, not only to enable them to assemble, but likewise to prompt them to declare immediately for King Charles III. before the Enemy had recover'd their Consternation, and could make a Stand. Two other Letters, of the like Tenor, were also sent to the Sovereign Council of Brabant, and to the City of Brussels, all which had the desired Effect: For, the very next Day, the three Deputations attended his Grace, and the Dutch Deputies, with three Letters; the first from the Chancellour, and Members of his Majesty's Sovereign Council, which was as follows:

In Instance
 of the
 Duke's Pru-
 dence and
 Assiduity.

OUR LORDS,

“ WE have, this Morning, received the Letter, which
 “ your Highness, and your Excellencies, were pleased
 “ to write to us, at the Camp of Beaulieu, yesterday; upon
 “ which we have the Honour to tell you, that we submit our-
 “ selves to the Obedience of his Majesty King Charles the
 “ third, and that we will, upon all Occasions, give him sincere
 “ Testimonies of the same Fidelity, which we have paid to his
 “ Majesty, Charles the second, of glorious Memory. We
 “ thank your Highness, and your Excellencies, for the Assu-
 “ rances which you give us, on the Part of her Majesty, the
 “ Queen of Great-Britain, and the High and Mighty Lords
 “ the States General, and particularly for that his Majesty
 “ Charles the third, will maintain us in the entire Enjoyment
 “ of all our antient Rights and Privileges, as well Ecclesiasti-
 “ cal as Secular; that no Attempt shall be made upon our Re-
 “ ligion, and that his Majesty will renew the Concessions, call-
 “ ed *The Joyful Entry*, in such Manner as the same was sworn
 “ by his late Majesty, Charles the second. We send Deputies
 “ of our Body to express these our Thoughts, by Word of
 “ Mouth, to your Highness, and your Excellencies, to make

A Letter
 from the
 Sovereign
 Council to
 the Duke
 and the De-
 puties.

1706. " our Acknowledgments for the Protection, which you have
 " been pleased to promise us, upon all Occasions; and to assure
 " you, that we are, with great Respect,

My LORDS,

Brussels, May
 27, 1726.

Your Highness's and your Excellencies

most humble and most obedient Servants,

Ordered in
 Brabant.

The Chancellour and Members of his
 Majesty's Sovereign Council.

J. GILSON.

The 2d Letter from the Members of the three Estates of
 Brabant, to his Grace, and the Deputies, was in these Words.

OUR LORDS,

A Letter
 from the
 States of
 Brabant to
 the same.

" WE have received, with all possible Respect, the Let-
 " ter which your Highness, and your Excellencies did
 " us the Honour to write to us, the 26th Instant, and shall,
 " without any Loss of Time, communicate it in the usual
 " and requisite Form, to the other Members of the three
 " States of this Country, whom it may concern. In the mean
 " time, we are come, our Lords, to return you a thousand
 " most humble Thanks, for the obliging Offers, and the most
 " honourable Marks, we have received, of the Protection,
 " which your Highness, and your Excellencies are pleased to
 " grant us, on the Part of her Majesty, the Queen of Great
 " Britain, and their High Mightinesses, the States General;
 " as also for the sincere Assurances given, that his Catholick
 " Majesty, King Charles the third, will maintain us in the
 " full Enjoyments of our ancient Rights and Privileges, both
 " Ecclesiastical and Civil, without permitting the least Inno-
 " vation to be made, in any thing that relates to the Church;
 " and that his said Majesty will cause the Concessions, known
 " under the Name of *The joyful Entry of Brabant*, to be re-
 " newed in the same Manner, as was done by King Charles the
 " second, of glorious Memory. We do not doubt but the
 " other Members of the States, in the Day of their General
 " Assembly, will express (as we do at this present) their per-
 " fect Submission and Obedience, which shall be follow'd by
 " that Loyalty and fervent Zeal, which we have always shewn
 " for him, whom God has granted to us, to be our Master
 " and Sovereign. We are also penetrated with a lively Sense,
 " of

“ of all the Goodness and Favours, wherewith your Highness
 “ and your Excellencies, in particular, have been pleased to
 “ honour us ; and we humbly pray, that you will be fully per-
 “ suaded, that we have the Honour to be with Esteem,

1706.

OUR LORDS,

Your Highness's and your Excellencies
 most humble and most obedient Servants,

May 27, 1706.

The Members of the three States of this
 Country and Dutchy of Brabant, who
 are now in this City of Brussels,

By their Command,

H. VAN BROCKE.

The third Letter was from the Burgo-Masters, Sheriffs, and
 Council of the City of Brussels, as follows :

OUR LORDS,

“ **T** IS with profound Respect, that we have received From the
 “ your very obliging Letter, by which your Highness, City of
 “ and your Excellencies, have been pleased to assure us, of the Brussels.
 “ generous Protection of her Majesty of Great Britain, and
 “ their High Mightinesses the States General ; and that his
 “ Catholick Majesty, Charles the third, will maintain us in
 “ the entire Enjoyment of our antient Rights and Privileges,
 “ both Ecclesiastical and Civil, without suffering the least In-
 “ novation to be made in what concerns Religion ; and that his
 “ Majesty will renew the Concessions, known under the Name
 “ of *The joyful Entry of Brabant*, in as full and ample Manner,
 “ as they were granted to us by King Charles II. of glorious
 “ Memory. We assure you, our Lords, that, on our Part,
 “ we will give you the most lively Marks of our Fidelity,
 “ Zeal and Obedience to his said Catholick Majesty. We are
 “ likewise very sensible of all the Marks your Highness, and
 “ your Excellencies, in particular, have been pleased to give us
 “ of your Goodness, Favour and Protection, and shall eter-
 “ nally acknowledge the infinite Obligations we have to you ;
 “ and are with most profound Veneration,

OUR LORDS,

Your Highness's, and your Excellencies,
 most humble and most obedient Servants,

The Burgo-Master, Sheriffs, and
 Council of the City of Brussels.

H. JACOBS.

Besides

1706.

Besides the Contents of these Letters, the respective Deputies repeated the great Sense they had of her Majesty's Goodness, in relieving them from the Oppression of the French Government.

Great Dexterity in the Management of this Affair.

The Submission of Brussels, which had afterwards so great an Influence on the other Towns in Brabant and Flanders, being one of the most curious Points of the History of this Campaign, I shall add, in this Place, the following memorable Letter, from the Field Deputies of the States, to their High Mightinesses, on that Subject, than which there can be no greater Testimony and Monument of the Prudence and Dexterity, with which his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, with their Assistance, proceeded in an Affair of so nice a Nature; as well as because it gives not only some farther curious Circumstances of this Matter, but of the Battle, of which this was the happy Consequence: And what might farther be expected from this glorious Beginning of the Campaign.

High and Mighty Lords,

The States Deputies Letter to their High Mightinesses.

AFTER having given the necessary Orders in Louvain, to preserve the rest of the Magazines of Meal and Oats, and discover the Provisions the French had put into several Monasteries, we marched from that Camp (that is, Bethlem) and, being on our March, my Lord Duke received a Letter from the Marshal de Deynse, Governour of Brussels, in the Name of the Deputies of the States of Brabant, and the Magistrates of Brussels, wherein they desired my Lord Duke to appoint an Hour and Place to receive a Deputation of the said States, who being now abandon'd by the French, were willing to submit to the Arms of England, and the States General. The same Evening, about six, my Lord Duke did us the Honour to come to our Quarters, and bring along with him the States of Brabant. But before we receiv'd them, we had a private Conference with my Lord Duke, who told us, that he found them in a favourable Disposition, to cause, upon the Demand of his Grace, and the Deputies of your High Mightinesses, the three States of Brabant to meet, with all possible Expedition, to proceed to the Recognition of King Charles the third, for their lawful Sovereign, in a most solemn Manner; whereupon, we thought it of the highest Importance to the common Cause, in this Juncture, to improve their favourable Disposition, in hopes that the Example of Brabant, and the capital City in particular, will be followed by the other Provinces. This will give us, likewise, an Opportunity to persuade them to re-call their Troops in the Service of France;

“ And

1706.

“ And besides, we do not question, but this will have another good Effect, viz. to encourage the Spaniards and Walloons, and even the Bavarians, to desert: The two former, because they may have the same Employments under their lawful Prince, and the latter because they are exasperated against the French, whom they charge not to have done their Duty in the late Battle. The Elector himself has express’d the same Things in very plain Terms. These were the chief Things that were agreed upon, between my Lord Duke and us, which being set down in Writing, and communicated to the Deputies of the States of Brabant, &c. aforesaid, who approved the same, Letters were directed to the several Members thereof, to cause their respective Bodies to be assembled to-morrow or next Day. We hope, that your High Mightinesses will approve our Conduct in this Affair, which is so nice in itself, that it would not admit of any Delay, and that you will send us your farther Orders and Instructions, with all possible Speed. Having in one of our former, represented the Necessity to cause the Artillery to be brought from Coblentz, we shall add in this, that having conferr’d with my Lord Duke, on that Subject, we have pitch’d upon Dort, as the most convenient Place, where that Artillery is to be brought. Your High Mightinesses will give us Leave to complain, once more, that there is not here any one President of the Council of War, nor Fiscal or Provost, nor any Persons belonging to the Hospitals, tho’ the former are absolutely necessary for keeping the Troops under a good Discipline, and the other for looking after the Wounded, and to take Care of so many gallant Men, who have so bravely and so joyfully expos’d their Lives, for the Service of the State. We cannot likewise forbear, on this Occasion, to desire your High Mightinesses to take into Consideration, whether it will not be fitting to give some Gratuity to your brave Soldiers, as it has been sometimes practis’d on the like Occasion; for we dare say, that their Bravery cannot be sufficiently praised, and our Enemies admire it, and commend it themselves.

“ The Enemy had all the Troops of the Household, and the choicest Regiments of all their other Forces, in that Place; and having, besides, the Advantage of the Ground, and 50 Pieces of Cannon in Front, to cover them, they thought themselves invincible; but notwithstanding the same, the Army of the two Powers, (England and Holland) and in particular the Troops of your High Mightinesses, which being posted on the Left, had the Right of the Enemy to engage, where the Troops of the Household, with their Armour on, were, attack’d them with so much Vigour, in

1706.

" Front and Flank, that they facilitated the Victory to our
 " Right Wing: Therefore we take the Liberty to recommend
 " these brave Troops to your High Mightinesses, that they may
 " be encouraged to behave themselves in the like Manner, on the
 " like Occasion, as it may very well still happen this Campaign,
 " which in all Probability will decide the Fate of this War.
 " We cannot, on the other hand, forbear to acquaint your
 " High Mightinesses, that several Generals of the Cavalry of
 " the Left Wing, and even all the Brigadiers, except one, are
 " absent, as are also a great many Officers of lesser Rank, of
 " whom we have order'd a List to be made. We have or-
 " der'd some Regiments out of the Frontier Places, which are
 " now out of all Danger, by this Victory, to march, and we
 " desire your High Mightinesses to give Orders to all the
 " Troops in the Provinces, &c. to march, with all Speed,
 " that this unspeakable Consternation of the Enemy, and the
 " favourable Season, may be rightly improved to the best
 " Advantage. The Confusion the Enemy were in, after the
 " Battle, cannot be expressed, as we are informed by the Sieur
 " St. Gravenmoer, who was an Eyewitness thereof, having been
 " taken Prisoner when the Enemy broke thro' our first Line.
 " He reports, that the Elector, notwithstanding his great Cou-
 " rage and the Bravery he express'd in the Battle, could not
 " forbear to melt in Tears, in his Presence, as did also several
 " other Generals. In short, the Victory is compleat, and the
 " happy Consequences thereof begin to appear. We congra-
 " tulate your High Mightinesses on that Account, and hope to
 " have Matter enough to repeat the Compliment, the Con-
 " juncture being very favourable, and the Duke applying
 " himself to it with all possible Zeal. We shall, on Sunday
 " next, return our solemn Thanks to God Almighty, to whom
 " these great Successes are owing, and offer up our Prayers,
 " that he would be pleas'd to continue to bless the Arms of
 " the Allies, and put a Stop, by means of a lasting and ho-
 " nourable Peace, to the Effusion of Christian Blood. We re-
 " main, &c.

FERDINAND VAN COLLEN.

F. A. BARON VAN RHEEDE.

S. VAN GOSLINGA.

P.S. " The Towns of Malines and Alost have submitted
 " themselves; the City of Brussels, and the Court of Justice
 " being assembled, while we were writing the Letter above,
 " have declared themselves for King Charles; but the other
 " three States cannot meet till within 8 Days. There is no
 " doubt

1706.

“doubt but they will submit likewise. There being a great
“Number of Colours and Standards taken by your own Troops,
“we desire the Instructions of your High Mightinesses about the
“Disposal thereof. We have ordered to take a List of the Names
“of who have taken them, that they may receive the Reward
“promised for their Encouragement.

The Duke of Marlborough being desirous to give all the Security and Satisfaction he possibly could to the several Towns and Countries, which had submitted to the Obedience of their lawful Sovereign, King Charles III. and that they might have an entire Dependence upon the Assurances given them by his Grace, and the Deputies of the States General, thought fit to publish the following Order, at the Camp at Beaulieu.

“John, Duke and Earl of Marlborough, Prince of the Holy
“Roman Empire, Marquis of Blandford, Baron Churchill of
“Aymouth, one of her Britannick Majesty's most honourable
“Privy Council, Knight of the most Noble Order of the
“Garter, Master-General of the Ordnance, Colonel of the
“first Regiment of her Majesty's Guards, Captain-General of
“her Land Forces, and Commander in Chief of the Army
“of the Allies.

“**W**HEREAS God has graciously blest'd the just Arms
“of the Allies, with a Victory over the French Forces,
“and thereby brought us into the Spanish Netherlands, which
“Provinces we acknowledge to belong rightfully to his Catho-
“lick Majesty, King Charles the III^d, we are resolved to pro-
“tect these Provinces, and maintain all their Inhabitants in the
“quiet Possession of their Effects and Estates, as good Subjects
“of his said Majesty. Wherefore, by these Presents, we for-
“bid all the Officers and Soldiers of our Army, to do the least
“Hurt to the said Inhabitants; but, on the contrary, command
“them, to give them all the Help and Assistance they shall re-
“quire: And declare, that if any Soldier shall be taken plun-
“dering, or doing any other Damage to the said Inhabitants,
“their Houses, Cattle, Moveables, or other Goods, he shall
“immediately be punished with Death; and, the more effectual-
“ly to restrain Maroders, and oblige the Officers to keep their
“Soldiers under strict Discipline, we further declare, that the
“Regiments or Corps, to which any Soldiers taken, transgres-
“sing this our Order, belong, shall be obliged to make good to
“the said Inhabitants, all the Loss and Damage they may have
“sustained, without any other Form or Process, than the appre-
“hending such Soldiers in the Fact, who, (as is abovesaid) shall
“suffer Death without Mercy. And that no Person may pretend
“Ignorance

The D. of
Marlboro's
Order for
strict Disci-
pline.

1706.

" Ignorance hereof, we command that these Presents be forth-
 " with read and published, at the Head of each Squadron and
 " Battalion of our Army, and that a printed Copy be distribu-
 " ted to each Company. Given in our Camp at Beaulieu, the
 " 26th of May, 1706.

Sign'd,

The Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

Mechlin
 submits.

The same Day, in the Evening, the Inhabitants of Mechlin (or Malines) waited upon the Duke of Marlborough, and the Field Deputies, and made their Submission; whereupon his Grace sent Colonel Durel, Adjutant-General, with a Detachment of 200 Horse, to take Possession of that Town, whose Governour surrender'd himself Prisoner.

The Army
 marches to
 Grimberg.

The Duke of Marlborough, having sent his Brother, General Churchill, with four Battalions of Foot, and two Squadrons of Horse, to command in Brussels, caused the Army, the seven and twentieth of May, N. S. to pass the Canal of that City, and to encamp at Grimberg, where his Grace, and the Field-Deputies, received the three Deputations and Letters above-mentioned, and where it was thought reasonable, after the great Fatigue the Troops had undergone, to give them two Days Repose. From Grimberg, his Grace wrote the following Letter to Mrs. Secretary Harley.

His Grace the Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Harley.

SIR,

Camp at Grimbergh, May 28, 1706.

A Letter
 from the
 Duke of
 Marlboro' to
 Mr. Secreta-
 ry Harley.

" I Hope Colonel Richards will be with you, in a Day or
 " two, with the good News of our Victory over the Ene-
 " my, which, by the Event, appears to be much greater than
 " we could have expected. For on Monday Night, while we
 " were making our Disposition to force the Passage of the Deule,
 " by break of Day, the next Morning, we had Advice, that
 " the Enemy, having abandon'd Louvain, were retired towards
 " Brussels, so that we made our Bridges, and pass'd the River,
 " without any Opposition. We encamped, that Day, at
 " Bethlem; and continued our March next Morning early. A-
 " bout 10 o'Clock, I received the enclosed Letter by a
 " Trumpet from the Marquis de Deynse, Governour of that
 " Place: Whereupon I sent Colonel Panton, one of my Aids de
 " Camp, with a Compliment to him and the States, to let them
 " know, I should be glad to see them in the Afternoon. About
 " four

“ four o’Clock, they came to Digham, with two other Depu-
 “ tations, one from the Sovereign Council of Brabant, and the
 “ other from the Burgomasters and City of Brussels. They all
 “ shew’d great Satisfaction at their being delivered from the
 “ French Yoke, and express’d, with a very becoming Re-
 “ spect, the Obligation they owe to her Majesty, on this Occa-
 “ sion. As soon as they were gone, I writ a Letter, in Con-
 “ junction with the Deputies of the Army, to the States,
 “ whereof you have here a Copy. I was advis’d to it as neces-
 “ sary, not only to enable them to assemble, but likewise,
 “ to prompt them to declare immediately for King Charles,
 “ before the Enemy came to make a Stand. We wrote
 “ two other Letters, of the like Tenor, to the Sovereign
 “ Council, and to the City, which have all the good Effect
 “ we could wish: For yesterday, in the Afternoon, the three
 “ Deputations returned with the Letters, whereof you have
 “ likewise Copies, owning his Catholick Majesty in Form.
 “ They repeated again the great Sense they have of her Ma-
 “ jesty’s Goodness, in relieving them from the Oppression of
 “ the French Government; and I can assure you, there
 “ seems to be an universal Joy among all Sorts of People. The
 “ Magistrates of Mechlin, and those of Alost, have likewise
 “ been with me, and made their Submission. The Enemy
 “ have abandon’d Liere, and carried all their Artillery and
 “ Stores to Antwerp, which, I reckon, is now the only Place in
 “ Brabant we are not Masters of. The Army pass’d the Canal
 “ of Brussels yesterday, and came and encamped at this Place,
 “ where we halt to-day and to morrow, to refresh the Troops,
 “ who have march’d six Days together, without any Rest. No-
 “ thing could excuse the giving them so great a Fatigue, espe-
 “ cially after a Battle, but the Necessity of pursuing the Enemy,
 “ and getting hither. However, I shall send a Detachment to-
 “ morrow, to possess themselves of Alost. I leave my Brother
 “ Churchill to command at Brussels, with four Battalions of
 “ Foot, and two Squadrons. Our hasty Pursuit of the Enemy
 “ obliged them to leave a great Number of wounded Officers
 “ there, who are made Prisoners of War, among others the
 “ Count de Horn, a Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of Clare,
 “ a Major-General; but the latter died, on Wednesday, of his
 “ Wounds. There are likewise great Numbers in other Places.
 “ On Sunday, we shall continue our March to Alost, and so
 “ on towards Gand, (or Ghent) to press the Enemy whilst the
 “ Consternation continues among them. I cannot help saying,
 “ That, I think a Victory was never more compleat, nor
 “ greater Advantages made of the Success, in so short Time. I
 “ hope God will continue to bless her Majesty’s Arms, till the
 “ Enemy be reduced to a firm and solid Peace. Besides the
 “ great

1706.

“ great Slaughter that was made in the Battle, of their best
 “ Troops, we have an Account from all Parts of great Numbers
 “ of Deferters, that are gone to Liege, Maestricht, and other
 “ Frontier Places, since the Action, whereby their Army must
 “ be much weakened.

I am, &c.

MARLBOROUGH.

The Duke
 of Marlbo-
 rough goes
 to Brussels.

The seven and twentieth, the Duke of Marlborough sent his Brother, General Churchill, with four Battalions of Foot, and two Squadrons of Horse, to command in Brussels; and the eight and twentieth, his Grace made his publick Entry into that City with great State; he was met at the Gate, by the Magistrates, who presented him with the Keys; which he returned, with Assurances of her Majesty of Great Britain's Protection. After having received the Compliments of such of the Nobility, as had not followed the Elector of Bavaria, who, at the same time, express'd their Affection and Fidelity to King Charles III. and having paid Visits to several Ladies of the highest Distinction, being every where highly caress'd, and receiv'd with all possible Demonstrations of Joy and Respect, his Grace returned, in the Evening, to the Camp, where he received Advice, that the Enemy, having carried away their Cannon and Ammunition from Liere, had quitted that Place; upon which his Grace sent, the nine and twentieth, a Detachment of 200 Men, to take Possession of it.

Liere abandon'd by
 the Enemy.

An Instance
 of the Duke
 of Marlbo-
 rough's Ge-
 nerosity and
 Politeness.

Notwithstanding the Duke of Marlborough had Cause, at the Opening of the Campaign, to complain of the Conduct of the Court of Denmark, which, either in Favour to France, as some surmiz'd, or out of a too great and ill timed Caution, on account of Arrears, had like to have hemm'd the Course of his Glory, and hinder'd the Battle and Victory which ensued, or might have expos'd the Confederate Army to the greatest Hazard; yet his Grace was so far from shewing any Resentment, that the Danish Troops, having had a great Share in the Victory gained at Ramellies, the Duke not only acknowledged that signal Piece of Service, by the Praises he gave them himself; but, according to his usual Politeness, wrote the following Letter to the King of Denmark:

The

The Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the King of Denmark.

SIR,

“ **B** EING inform'd, that the Letter which I did myself
 “ the Honour to write to your Majesty, the next Day
 “ after our Victory, happened to fall into the Hands of the
 “ Enemy, I take the Liberty to address this second Letter to
 “ your Majesty, to congratulate you, with all Submission and
 “ Respect, upon the happy Success which God has been gra-
 “ ciously pleased to give the Arms of the high Allies over
 “ the Enemy, the Particulars of which I forbear to repeat,
 “ well knowing your Majesty has had a full Account of them
 “ from other Hands. We have already reap'd all the Fruit of
 “ it, that we could wish for, in so short a Time; the Capital
 “ City of Brussels, and all the other Towns of Brabant, Ant-
 “ werp excepted, having submitted to his Catholick Majesty,
 “ King Charles the Third.

A Letter
from the
Duke of
Marlboro'
to the King
of Den-
mark.

“ After the Troops have had a little Refreshment, we shall
 “ advance again towards the Enemy, without giving them
 “ Time to recover themselves, relying entirely on the Blessing
 “ of Heaven, and the Bravery of the Troops, particularly those
 “ of your Majesty, who distinguished themselves so eminently, and
 “ acquir'd so much Glory in the Battle, that I cannot excuse myself
 “ from writing this second Letter to your Majesty, to do Justice to
 “ the Duke of Wirtemberg, who, that Day, gave shining Proofs
 “ of his Capacity and Valour; as also to all the other Generals,
 “ Officers, and Soldiers, of your Majesty's Troops, under his Com-
 “ mand, who well deserve all the Praises I can give them, and if
 “ I might presume to say it, all the Regard your Majesty can shew
 “ for such brave Men. I have not been wanting to do them this
 “ Justice to the Queen, and his Royal Highness, and I hope
 “ your Majesty will excuse the Liberty I take in recommending
 “ them to your Favour, and also in beseeching your Majesty
 “ to believe, that I am inviolably, with most submissive Re-
 “ spect,

Your Majesty's

From the Camp
at Grimberg,
the 29th of
May, 1706.

most humble,

and most obedient Servant,

The Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

This Letter was so well taken by his Danish Majesty, that in
 a Letter he wrote in Answer to it, (which, however I have
 VOL. I. C c not

1706: not seen,) it is said, he treated the Duke in the Stile of Cousin.

The Army
encamps
near Aloft.

The same Day, the Duke of Wirtemberg was detach'd, with 2,000 Grenadiers, 1,000 Horse, and six Pieces of Cannon, to take Post at Aloft; that place having declared, for King Charles the Third, two Days before. The thirtieth, the Army march'd from Grimberg, and encamp'd near Aloft; the Duke of Wirtemberg advancing, with his Detachment, towards Gavre, with the Pontons, for laying Bridges over the Scheld, near that Place, in order to intercept the Enemy's Retreat, towards their own Frontiers: But as soon as they heard of the Confederate Army's Motion, they quitted their Camp, between St. Dennis and Ghent, and march'd, the thirty-first, at three o'Clock, in the Morning, towards Courtray. The Duke being advis'd of this, and that the Enemy had evacuated Ghent (leaving only a Spanish Battalion in the Castle, with the Duke de Vintemille, Governour of the Town) his Grace advanc'd near that City, and pitch'd his Camp, the same Day at Meerlebeck. Brigadier Cadogan approaching Ghent, with some Horse, when the last Battalion of French were marching out of it, the Inhabitants appeared, in great Numbers. on the Walls, and calling out, with great Joy, *Welcome, Welcome!* would have let him into the Town; telling him, there were in the Castle only some few Spanish Soldiers, who were enclined to lay down their Arms: But the Brigadier contented himself with making his Report to the General, and the Deputies of the States, who were soon after attended by the Magistrates of that City. The first Day of June, being appointed by the Duke of Marlborough, as a Day of Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the late Compleat Victory at Ramellies, and the great Advantages that had attended it, the same was observed with as much Devotion as can be expected in a Camp. The same Day the Duke of Marlborough wrote the following Letter to the States General.

And marches to
Meerlebeck.

A Thank-
giving cele-
brated in
the Army.

High and Mighty Lords,

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough's
Letter to
the States.

“ I Return you my most humble Thanks, for the Letter your
“ High Mightinesses have done me the Honour to write to
“ me, bearing date the 27th past. The Satisfaction you ex-
“ press of the Services we have done to your Republick, affects
“ us with the due Sense thereof, and will encourage us more and
“ more to continue to use our utmost Efforts for the Common
“ Cause. Since my last, from the Camp of Grimberg, we are come
“ near Ghent, having sent a Detachment of 2,000 Grenadiers,
“ and 1,000 Horse, under the Command of the Duke of Wir-
“ temberg, with the Pontons, to lay a Bridge on the Scheld, at
“ Gavre, to endeavour thereby to cut off the Retreat of the
“ Enemy,

1706.

“ Enemy, whose Army was then encamp’d near the City ;
 “ but as soon as they had Notice of our Design, they abandon’d
 “ the same, and march’d, yesterday Morning, at three of the
 “ Clock, towards their old Lines, near Courtray. Yesterday,
 “ after our Arrival in this Camp, in the Afternoon, the Ma-
 “ gistrates of the City came to make their Submission, and we
 “ have written to them, in Concert with Messieurs the Depu-
 “ ties, a Letter to the same Effect, as we did to the City of
 “ Brussels, and we doubt not but they will follow their Example.
 “ The Prince of Vintimiglia, Governour thereof, who has been
 “ left in the Castle, with a Battalion of Spaniards, had sent to
 “ us some Proposals, but I am persuaded he will surrender, as
 “ well as the Marquis de Deynse, Governor of Brussels. We
 “ are sending a Detachment to Bruges, to receive their Submis-
 “ sion, and I have just now written two Letters, one to the
 “ Marquis de Terracena, Governour of the Citadel of Antwerp,
 “ wherein are four Spanish Battalions ; and the other to the
 “ Magistrates, to exhort them to submit. Quarter-Master-
 “ General Cadogan is entrusted with those Letters, from which
 “ I expect a good Success. I will, with all Speed, impart to
 “ your High Mightinesses, the Answers I shall receive. I am,
 “ with all possible Respect, &c.

At the Camp at Meerlebeck,
 near Ghent,
 June 1, 1706.

The Prince and Duke of

MARLBOROUGH.

His Grace sent, the same Day, Major-General Ross, with a Detachment of 600 Horse to Bruges, with Letters to invite the Magistrates of that City, and the Franc, to the Obedience of King Charles III. And, at the same time, Brigadier Dewitz was detach’d, with six Squadrons, to summon the Governour of Oudenard. The same Day, likewise, the Magistrates of the City of Ghent came again to the Confederate Camp, to compliment his Grace, who exhorted them to follow the Example of the Cities of Brabant, and acknowledge their lawful Sovereign, King Charles III. Count Corneille of Nassau, Son to Monsieur d’Auverquerque, with two Battalions, march’d into that City ; upon which, the next Day, early in the Morning, the Prince de Vintimiglia, after making some Difficulties, gave up the Castle, and the Regiment of the Marquis de Los Rios, which was in Garrison there, surrender’d themselves Prisoners of War.

The Castle of Ghent surrenders.

The Duke of Marlborough makes his

The Duke of Marlborough went, about Noon, to the City, and was met, at the Gate, by the Magistrates, who presented

Entry into that City.

1706.

Oudenard
surrenders.

Bruges, and
the Franc,
submit to
K. Charles.

Damme
abandon'd
by the
Enemy.

to him the three Keys, which his Grace returned, and was afterwards entertained, at Dinner, by the Count de Nassau. In the Evening, the Magistrates again attended his Grace, at his Quarters, and made their formal Submission to King Charles. Brigadier Dewitz sent to acquaint his Grace, at the same time, that, at his coming before Oudenard, he had summoned the Garrison, consisting of one Spanish, and two French Battalions, who refused to surrender; but that he had Intelligence, if a small Body of Foot, with Cannon, appeared before the Place, they would certainly capitulate. Upon this, Lieutenant-General Scholten march'd, with seven Battalions, four Pieces of Cannon, and two Mortars, upon whose Appearance, the Garrison surrendered, the next Morning, being permitted to march out.

The same Morning early, his Grace received Letters from Major-General Rofs, and Brigadier Cadogan; the first advising, that, upon his approaching Bruges, the French Battalion, which was retired thither, and the Magistrates, were desirous to submit themselves to King Charles III. The latter, acquainting his Grace, that there were ten Battalions, in the City and Castle of Antwerp, who seem'd willing to surrender upon honourable Terms; upon which, the Duke sent the Brigadier an Authority to treat with them. The same Day, likewise, about nine of the Clock, the Magistrates of Bruges, and of the Franc, waited on his Grace, to desire his Protection, and to make their Submission in Form to King Charles. His Grace also received Notice, that the Enemy had quitted Damme, and that fifty Dragoons of Major-General Rofs's Detachment took Possession of that Place, who were relieved by a Dutch Regiment, out of Flanders; and another march'd into Bruges. In the Afternoon, his Grace sent Colonel Durel, with a Detachment of 150 Horse, and a Letter, to the Governour of Dendermond, to summon that Place to acknowledge King Charles III. And a Letter was, likewise, sent to Major-General Rofs, for the Governour of Ostend, to the same Purpose. All which Transactions being very considerable, the Duke of Marlborough thought fit to inform the States General of them, which he did in the following Words:

High and Mighty Lords,

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough's
Letter to
the States,
dated from
the Camp
at Meerle-
beck, June
3d N. S.

“ According to what I gave my self the Honour to write to
“ your High Mightinesses, on the first Instant, the Castle
“ of Ghent was obliged to surrender, the next Day. The
“ Spanish Battalion, consisting of 400 Men, with the Colonel,
“ the Marquis de Los Rios, and all the Officers, being made
“ Prisoners of War; but all the Soldiers, except 50, declared
“ for King Charles. The Summons we sent to Bruges, and the
“ County of Franc, has had the desired Effect: The Magistrates
“ came hither, this Morning, to make their Submission, and
“ acknowledged

1706.

“ acknowledged their lawful Sovereign, in a due Form. We
 “ caused a Battalion of the Troops of Flanders to march there-
 “ into, and another was sent to Damme, which the Enemy had
 “ abandon’d ; but what is more surprizing still, is, that having
 “ yesterday caused Oudenard to be summoned, and upon their
 “ Refusal, order’d, that Day, Lieutenant-General Scholten to
 “ march thither, with 7 Battalions, 4 Pieces of Cannon, and
 “ two Mortars, the Garrison consisting of 3 Battalions, has im-
 “ mediately capitulated, and a French Battalion therein, has
 “ obtained Leave to retire. The other two Battalions being
 “ Spaniards, and the Governour, have declared for King Charles,
 “ and, at this Instant, I am informed that our Men are got into
 “ the Place. This Morning I received a Letter from Brigadier
 “ Cadogan, whom I had sent to summon Antwerp, whereby it
 “ appears, that we had not been rightly informed of the Strength
 “ of that Garrison ; since he informs me, that there are five
 “ French, and as many Spanish Battalions therein. However,
 “ he acquaints me, that they seem disposed to surrender upon
 “ honourable Terms ; whereupon, having advis’d with Messieurs
 “ the Deputies, and Monsieur d’Auverquerque, and considered
 “ the Importance of that Place, and how precious Time is to
 “ us, we have sent a full Power to the Brigadier aforesaid, to
 “ grant them reasonable Terms, of which we expect an Account
 “ to-morrow.

“ The Hand of God appears visibly in all this, striking the
 “ Enemy with such a Terror, as obliges them to deliver up so
 “ many strong Places, and large Countries, without offering the
 “ least Resistance.

“ This has encouraged me to summon the Towns of Dender-
 “ mond and Ostend ; and, for that Purpose, I have sent De-
 “ tachments, with Letters for the Governours. We shall soon
 “ know, what this will produce, and I shall not fail to impart
 “ this to your High Mightinesses. We have made our Bridges,
 “ and the necessary Dispositions, to pass the Scheld, and the
 “ Lys, to-morrow, to encamp between Deynse and Nivelles.
 “ The Enemy are retired beyond Courtray. I am, &c.

Sign’d,

The Prince and Duke of

MARLBOROUGH.

P S. “ I am informed from Mons. Schelton, that the 3 Bat-
 “ talions of the Garrison of Oudenard, are all marched away,
 “ the French to Courtray, and the other towards Mons.

1706.

The Enemy's Army separates.

It will not be improper to observe here, that the Enemy's Army did not continue long near Courtray; Mons. de Chamillard, the French King's Prime Minister, coming to their Camp, the first of June, had a Conference with the Elector of Bavaria, and the Marshal de Villeroy, and it was concluded between them, that to prevent the farther great Desertion of their Men, and to secure the Frontier-Places. as well as others of Hainault, and French Flanders, the Army should separate, and only leave two flying Camps, one at Mortagne, on the Scheld, and the other at Armentier, on the Lys. Pursuant to this Resolution, the Elector of Bavaria march'd, and re-inforced the Garrison of Mons, where he took up his Residence. Detachments were likewise sent to Tournay, Lisle, Ipres, Menin, and other Places.

Farther Motions of the Confederate Army.

They encamp at Arseele.

The fourth of June, N. S. the Confederate Army marched from Meerlebeck, and having, (as the Duke of Marlborough advised in his Letter to the States-General,) pass'd the Scheld and the Lys, encamp'd between Deynse and Nivelles, where the Magistrates of Oudenard came to wait upon the Duke, to entreat his Grace's Protection, and assure him of their Fidelity to his Catholick Majesty, Charles III. The next Day, the Army march'd again, and encamp'd with the Left at Arseele, and the Right, at Caneghen. In the Morning, Baron Schelde, Treasurer of Antwerp, with an Officer of the Garrison, came to the Duke of Marlborough, with Letters from the Magistrates of the City, and the Marquis de Terracena, Governour of the Citadel; praying, that those Gentlemen might have Leave to go to the Elector of Bavaria, to receive his Directions, how they were to behave themselves, with relation to the Summons, which they had received from his Grace. The Duke did not, however, think fit to grant their Request, (and, indeed, it is to be wonder'd how they could hope it) but sent them back to Antwerp, with Answers to the Letters they brought; and thereupon, immediately detach'd the Lord Orkney, with 1,000 Horse, to join Brigadier-General Cadogan, and invest the Place; giving them Orders, at the same Time, to form the Siege, as soon as his Lordship could be joined with sixteen Battalions of Foot, who were ordered to march, for that End, from Flanders. In the mean time, his Grace dispatch'd Orders to Brigadier Cadogan, to give the Garrison no more than four Hours Time, to consider of the Capitulation which was offer'd them.

Preparations made to besiege Antwerp.

Dendermond refuses to surrender.

The same Day, Colonel Durel sent an Express to acquaint his Grace, with the Answer of the Governour of Dendermond, which was: "That the Place being well garrisoned, and provided with all Necessaries for its Defense, he hoped to merit his Grace's Esteem, by discharging his Duty, and the Trust reposed in him."

The

The sixth of June, the Duke of Marlborough had the Satisfaction, to receive the News of the Relief of Barcelona, which had been reduced almost to the last Extremity, by the French and Gallo-Spaniards; but what heightened the Joy was, that the Express by which he received this News, directly from thence, thro' Genoa and Germany, brought him two Letters from King Charles, of which, as they are a Monument of Honour to his Grace, I shall insert translated Copies, at large.

1706.
The Duke receives Advice of the Relief of Barcelona.

The first Letter was to this Purpose.

My Lord Duke and Prince,

“ **Y**OU could never have given me more convincing Proofs
 “ of your Zeal and Concern for my Service, and the Good
 “ of the common Cause, than by interposing your good Offices
 “ with the Queen, your Mistress, in order that the Fleet and
 “ Forces, she had designed for my Service, might use the Diligence they have shewn to come hither. My City of Barcelona, wherein I chose to continue, to encourage the Garrison and Inhabitants to a long and vigorous Defence, was reduced to such Extremities, that without the Arrival of this Fleet and Succours, it was to be feared, that the Enemies, who were actually lodged on the Point of the Counterscarp, and had made a sufficient Breach, would have taken the Place in a very little Time. I do hereby acquaint you with so fortunate an Event; and while I hope, that the rest of the Campaign will answer this noble Beginning, I flatter myself to hear, likewise, in a short time, good News from you, and the glorious Operations you have performed, by your own Valour, and that of the Troops under your Command. The Queen, your Mistress, and Messieurs the States-General, could not oblige me more, than in sending hither the Count de Noyelles, and Brigadier Stanhope, assuring you, that their Persons have always been, and always will be acceptable to me. I do not question, but you interested your self, in the Choice of both, as you do in every Thing that may promote my Interest, and that of the common Cause: Whereupon I pray God to keep you, my Lord Duke and Prince, in his holy Protection, and I assure you of my perfect Esteem and Gratitude.

K. Charles's Letter to the Duke of Marlborough.

Barcelona.

May 12, 1706.

1706.

The other Letter was as follows :

My Lord Duke and Prince ;

Another
from the
same to the
same.

“ BY these few Lines, which you shall receive with a Letter
“ of the 10th Instant, I have been willing to share with
“ you the new Joy I have of seeing my City of Barcelona en-
“ tirely freed from the Siege. Never was Retreat made with
“ so much Precipitation, as that the Enemy made just now ;
“ having left us all their Artillery, consisting of 140 Pieces of
“ Brass Cannon, and a vast Quantity of all Manner of Ammu-
“ nition, and Provisions, beyond Belief. I do not doubt, but
“ you shall receive, from other Hands, the Particulars of this
“ Siege : Wherefore I write this the shorter, praying God to
“ keep you, my Lord Duke and Prince, in his holy Protec-
“ tion.

CHARLES, R.

Barcelona, May 12, 1706.

For the Particulars of this great Event, I refer the Reader to
Lediard's Naval History, where they are related at large.

Réjoicings
on Account
of this News.

Upon the Receipt of this joyful News, the Troops and Artil-
lery were drawn out, the next Morning. and a triple Discharge
made of the Artillery and small Arms. The same Day, at
Noon, the Duke of Marlborough received Advice from Brigadier
Cadogan, That, the Day before, the Governours of the Castle
and City of Antwerp had signed the Capitulation, by which the
Garrison, consisting of six French, and as many Spanish Regi-
ments, was allowed to march out in three Days, and was to be
conducted to Le Quenoy.

The Garri-
son of Ant-
werp capit-
ulates.

French Ac-
count of the
Surrender of
this Place.

The Marquis de Quincy gives us the following Account of
the Surrender of this important Place. “ The Troops (says he)
“ sent by the Duke of Marlborough, for that End, having
“ seized all the Avenues to this Place, the Officer who com-
“ manded them, summon'd the City to surrender. The Garri-
“ son consisted of six French and six Spanish Battalions. The
“ Marquis de Terracena, to whom the King of Spain had con-
“ fided the Government of the Citadel, whether of his own
“ Motive, or gain'd by the Citizens, who were unwilling to
“ expose their Houses to the fatal Events of a Siege, gave evi-
“ dent Proofs to the French Troops, that he was not inclin'd
“ either to defend the Place, himself, or to leave it to the Care
“ of Monsieur de Pontis, Captain of the Guards, who com-
“ manded them ; so that, as he was Master of the Citadel,
“ Mons. de Pontis was obliged to capitulate, without standing
“ an Attack. It was stipulated in the Capitulation, that the
“ French Troops should march out, with their Arms and Bag-

g-ges

“ gage, and all other Marks of Honour, with four Pieces of
 “ Cannon, two Mortars, and each Soldier Ammunition for
 “ twelve Discharges. They were conducted to Quenoy and
 “ Landrecy. As for Monf. de Terracena, it was agreed, that
 “ he and his Spanish Troops should keep Possession of the Cita-
 “ del, till farther Orders from the Archduke; (King Charles III.)
 “ An evident Proof of the Governour’s Treachery, and that he
 “ had made his Agreement with the Allies, before they sent
 “ their Troops thither.

At the same time, another Express arrived, from Major-General Ross, with the Governour of Ostend’s Answer to the Summons made him to surrender, which was: “ That he had sent
 “ to the Elector of Bavaria, and hoped he would be excused,
 “ if he defended the Place, as became him, till farther Orders.” Upon which, a Detachment was commanded to march, and possess itself of Plassendael, a strong Fort upon the Canal, a small League from Ostend, to facilitate the Siege of that Place. The Day before, the Assembly of the States of Flanders passed the following Resolution, concerning the Recognition of King Charles III.

Ostend refuses to surrender.

“ **T**HE Letter which his Highness, my Lord Prince and
 “ Duke of Marlborough, and their Excellencies, Messieurs the Deputies of the States General of the United Provinces, have been pleased to write to the Assembly of this
 “ Province of Flanders, having been read, with due Respect, and
 “ the advantageous Contents thereof being taken into Consideration; it has been unanimously resolved, to acknowledge, as
 “ the said Assembly acknowledges, by these Presents, the Sovereignty of his Catholick Majesty, Charles III. to whom
 “ they submit, as good and faithful Subjects, in Hopes, and in
 “ Confidence, that his Majesty will maintain this Province in
 “ all their Privileges, Uses and Customs, as well in temporal
 “ as spiritual Concerns. That his Majesty, as Count of Flanders, will not suffer that any thing, relating thereunto, be
 “ any ways changed or lessened, and that he will agree to,
 “ and approve, the Constitution of the Government of the said
 “ Province, Courts, Countries, Towns, Chatelenies, Offices,
 “ and generally all the Districts of the same, either as to the
 “ Farms of the Revenue of the Province, or the Sums borrowed
 “ to this Day, upon what Account soever they be, without any
 “ Exception, for the Security of the Publick in general, and
 “ the Security of private Men in particular. And for the Performance of what is here above expressed, his Highness, my
 “ Lord Prince, Duke of Marlborough, and their Excellencies,
 “ Messieurs the Deputies of the States General of the United
 “ Provinces, are most humbly desired, to be pleased to ratify
 “ what

The States of Flanders Recognition of King Charles III.

1706.



“ what they have had the Kindness already to grant to the Colleges and Cities of this Province, upon the Prayers and Representations made unto them. And forasmuch as many Inhabitants of this Province, as well Clergymen as Secular, find their Estates were confiscated and seiz'd, 'tis hoped, that these Confiscations and Seizures will entirely cease, from the Date of this present Submission. Done in the Assembly of the Deputies, Spiritual and Temporal, of the Provinces of Flanders, in the Town-House of Ghent, June the 6th, 1706.

Signed, T. THYSBAERT, and sealed by the great Seal of the Province of Flanders.

“ The whole granted, in the Name of his Catholick Majesty, King Charles III.

Signed,

At the Camp of
Arseele, June
7, 1706.

The Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.
FERDINAND VAN COLLEN.
F. H. Baron van RENSWOUDE.
J. van GOSLINGA CUYPER.

Rapidity of
the Duke of
Marlboro's
Successes.

Thus, within the Space of fifteen Days, the Duke of Marlborough entirely defeated and dispersed one of the most gallant, and best-appointed Armies, that ever France brought into the Field, and recovered the whole Spanish Brabant; the Marquisate of the holy Empire, with its Capital, the famous City of Antwerp; the Lordship and City of Mechlin, and the Capital City, with the best Part of Spanish Flanders. An Event, which can hardly be parallel'd.

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough re-
fuses the Go-
vernment of
the Spanish
Nether-
lands.

It is said, upon this Occasion, that the Government of the Spanish Netherlands was propos'd to the Duke of Marlborough; but he generously refusing the Offer, it was settled, by his Grace and the Deputies of the States General, and the Administration was given to a Council of State, consisting of natural-born Subjects of the Spanish Provinces, who took the Oath of Fidelity to King Charles, in the Presence of the Duke of Marlborough, the Deputies, and the States.

The King of
France will
hardly give
Credit to the
News of the
Duke's Suc-
cesses.

Lewis the XIV. was so surpriz'd, when the News was brought him of these Successes of the Duke of Marlborough, that he would not give Credit to it; but sent Mons. de Chamillard, his Minister of War, to examine into the Truth, Circumstances, and Causes of it, and to give the necessary Orders on the Spot: But this being before the Surrender of Antwerp, what must not his Surprise have been upon receiving Intelligence of that?

On



On occasion of this Success, the following Medal was struck.
On the Face is represented a Bust of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, with the following Title :

1706.

A Medal struck on Occasion of them.

JOANNES, DEI GRATIA, SACRI ROMANI IMPERII PRINCEPS, DUX MARLBOROUGH, EXERCITUM ANGLORUM COMMENDATOR GENERALIS.

John, by the Grace of GOD, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, Duke of Marlborough, and Generalissimo of the English Armies.

On the Reverse, is a Pile of Trophies, among which are the Arms of Flanders and Brabant, erected in Honour of our Hero, with the following Inscription :

PRETIUM NON VILE LABORUM.

The worthy Reward of his Labour.

And in the Exergue :

GALLIS ACIE DEVICTIS, BRABANTIA, FLANDRIA, ET ANTVERPIA, 15 DIERUM SPATIO EREPTIS. 1706.

The French being conquer'd in Battle, Brabant, Flanders, and the Marquisate of Antwerp, were recover'd in the Space of 15 Days, in 1706.

The Artillery and Provision-Waggons could not possibly keep Pace with the rapid March of the Confederate Army, which being therefore unable to undertake any thing for several Days, the Duke of Marlborough, whose active Genius would never let him spend a Day in vain, resolv'd to employ that Time in a Journey to the Hague, to confer with the States General, about the farther Operations of War, and other Concerns of Importance. Some were of Opinion, that the Duke had been thwarted by the Dutch Deputies and Generals, in a Council of War, and hinder'd from pursuing his good Fortune, in some Enterprizes, which they thought too hazardous, and that this occasion'd his Journey. Be this as it will, he left the Army at Arseele, under the Command of Velt-Marshal d'Auverquerque, and set out, the eighth of June, for that Place, where he arrived the next Day ; accompanied only by Mr. Cardonnel, and Colonel Durel. The tenth, in the Afternoon, several Deputies of their High Mightinesses waited on his Grace, and had a Conference with him, concerning the farther Operations of the Campaign,

The D. of Marlboro' goes to the Hague.

1706.

paign, and whether they readily concurr'd in what he propos'd, or not, it is certain they did in some Things; and, in particular, it was said, they consented to the Siege of Menin, provided he would engage to reduce Ostend first; which we shall see he did. Here I shall leave his Grace a while, and return, in the mean time, to England.

News of
the Duke's
Success ar-
rives in
England.
Letter from
the Queen to
the Duke.

The first News of the ever-memorable Victory of Ramellies was brought to England by Colonel Richards, Aid de Camp to the Duke of Marlborough, who arrived in London, the sixteenth of May: And, the very next Day, the Queen (desirous of giving the Duke the early Satisfaction of seeing what a grateful Sense she had of his eminent Services, honour'd him with a Letter, in which she was so gracious to tell him, that "She wanted Words to express the true Sense she had of the great Service he had done his Country and her, in that *Great and Glorious Victory*, and hoped it would be a Means to confirm all good and honest People in their Principles, and frighten others from being troublesome;"—*and then spoke* "of the Allay it was to all her Satisfaction, to consider what Hazards he was exposed to" and repeated an obliging Request, (*which it is said*) she had often made, "that he would be careful of himself." The same Day, Mr. Secretary Harley wrote the following Letter to his Grace.

My Lord,

Mr. Secr.
Harley's
Letter to
the Duke.

"Yesterday, about seven in the Evening, Col. Richards brought the most acceptable News of the glorious Success your Grace had obtain'd, in attacking the French Army; and at the same time we are rejoicing for the Victory, we cannot (*I mean every good Englishman*) but be sensibly touch'd with the Danger all was in, by the Hazard your Grace expos'd your own Person to; that Deliverance enhances the Value of the Victory, considering how dear it had like to have cost us. Heaven itself hath preserved that precious Life, and would not suffer us to lose *your Grace, who was born for the Delivery of your own Country, and the Rescue of many others from Tyranny and Oppression*. Your Grace does not only triumph over the publick Enemies, by teaching us how to conquer abroad, but you deliver us from ourselves, and rescue us from that Tyranny which each Party here would exercise upon one another: You have again disarmed Malice, and tho' your glorious Actions will increase Envy, yet the Lustre of what you have done will discover it, and frequently render it impotent. May your Grace still go on profperously, the best General, to the best Queen, and engaged in the best Cause; and may you live long to enjoy, in Peace, the

"Fruits

" Fruits of your innumerable Hazards and Toils. I am, with
 " the greatest Duty and Affection,
 " My Lord,
 " Your Grace's most humble,
 " and most obedient Servant,

1706.

RO. HARLEY.

This Account was confirmed, the twenty-first, by Captain Pit, another of his Grace's Aids de Camp. with a farther Relation of the glorious Progresses of her Majesty's Arms, and those of her Allies. Her Majesty having, at the same time, received an Account of the Success of her Fleet and Forces in Spain, the same Day Captain Pit arrived, at Kensington, a Proclamation was ordered, in Council, to be published, for a publick Thanksgiving, to be held the seven and twentieth Day of June. At the same time, another Order was made in Council, and publish'd, to open a free Trade with the Spanish Netherlands, which was another happy Consequence of the Success of her Majesty's Arms, under the wise Conduct of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough.

Proclamation for a Thanksgiving. A free Trade with the Spanish Netherlands opened.

The same Day, Mons. Vryberg, Envoy-Extraordinary from the States General, had private Audience of the Queen and Prince, to congratulate with them, in the Name of their High Mightinesses, upon the signal Victory obtained by the Arms of her Majesty, and her Allies, in Brabant. Two Days after, her Majesty, and her royal Consort, went to Windsor, where her Majesty was attended by congratulatory Addresses, from most Parts of her Dominions. Among the rest, the loyal City of London, as on all other, so on this Occasion, was most forward to express their Zeal and Affection to her Majesty's auspicious Government, by an Address, in which they had the following Words, in Honour to his Grace, the Duke of Marlborough.

The Dutch Envoy congratulates with her Majesty on account of the Victory. Congratulatory Addresses from all Parts. Particularly from the City of London.

" We humbly congratulate your sacred Majesty, on the amazing and late glorious Victory over the French Army, by the signal Blessing of ALMIGHTY GOD, upon the potent Arms of your Majesty, and your Allies, under the prudent Conduct of his Grace, the Duke of Marlborough, your most Undaunted and Renowned General; &c.

The twenty-fourth, Mr. Secretary Harley wrote the following Letter to the Duke; and on the 28th and 31st the two subsequent.

1706.

Letters from
Mr. Secretary
Harley
to the Duke.

My Lord,

I Cannot tell where this Letter will find your Grace; the Improvements you make of your glorious Victory are so stupendous: You have united the Characters of Scipio and Hannibal; your Grace knows how to conquer, and how to improve a Victory to Admiration. Among the Letters which have fallen into my Hands, there is one to Monf. d'Allegre, hath this Article, that the Elector of Bavaria had wrote to his Brother the Elector of Cologne, in these Terms: *Avec la plus belle Armée, et la plus florissante et animée, j'ai été batue, Dieu l'a voulu.* I hear from one I sent to Calais, that after the News of the Victory, and the declaring of Brussels, the Mob of Calais were very troublesome in the Town, and had your Grace's Name continually in their Mouths. We are assured that an Express was sent away, May 25, N. S. to Monf. Feuillade, to offer the Duke of Savoy any Terms whatever. I doubt not but their Emissaries will be busy also in Holland again; but I wrote last Post to Monf. Buys, to caution him upon that Subject, how necessary it was to be very vigilant, &c. &c.

I am with the greatest Duty and Affection, &c. &c.

RO. HARLEY.

My Lord,

I Received, this Morning, the Honour of your Grace's Letter of June 3. and cannot but observe, with the utmost Pleasure and Satisfaction, the great and wonderful Successes which attend every Day your Grace's most prudent and most valiant Conduct. It is true, that Victories have been obtain'd over potent and flourishing Armies formerly. Your Grace gave us, two Years since, a noble Instance of that; but give me Leave to say, this is not only obtaining a Victory, but wearing of it too; this is improving your own Actions, and out-doing your own Victories; for nothing but you, Sir, can outdo my Lord Marlborough's former Victories.

Your Proceedings are so swift, that it is scarce possible, with Thought, to keep pace with them, therefore we can only here give Directions at Random, &c.

I am, &c.

May 28.

RO. HARLEY.



1706.

My Lord,

“ **W** H A T Success, this fortunate raising of the Siege
 “ (of Barcelona) will have upon the Minds of the Por-
 “ tuguese, I cannot tell. All sorts of People here are much
 “ exasperated against them; and Schonnenberg now writes to
 “ his Masters, that he suspects some of those Ministers are in
 “ the Interest of France, and I believe all of them hope for
 “ a civil War in Spain, of which they will make their Mar-
 “ kets; but the glorious things your Grace has done, puts an
 “ End to such little Projects. Your Grace does all at once,
 “ and the Influence of it will be as extensive as the Grandeur
 “ of the Action, &c.

I am, &c.

May 31.

RO. HARLEY.

As there are Fragments of two other Letters extant, which are much to the same Purport as the three above, tho’ of some Weeks fresher Date, I think I cannot assign them a more proper Place than here, and shall therefore subjoin them; tho’ seemingly address’d to the Ducheſs, and not to the Duke.

MADAM.

“ **I** Was just going to end this Trouble, when I was favour’d
 “ with your Grace’s Commands, which I shall apply my-
 “ self to obey with all imaginable Chearfulness and Diligence;
 “ I cannot think of a Servant and a Spy without the utmost
 “ Abhorrence, and particularly when I find it levell’d at your
 “ Grace’s Family, to whom we all owe so much. I have
 “ been often provoked to see so much publick and private In-
 “ gratitude exercis’d towards the Duke.

“ I shall not omit any thing which may tend towards a Dis-
 “ covery of this Villany; and I will not put it into any
 “ one’s Hands, but manage that myself. I beg your Grace
 “ will do me the Honour to believe me to be, with the utmost
 “ Duty,

Thursday Aug.
 8, 1706.

Madam, &c.

RO. HARLEY.

“ I return your Grace most hearty and humble Thanks for
 “ the favourable Expressions in your Letter. I beg Leave to
 “ assure you, that I serve you by Inclination and Principle,
 “ and a very little Time will make that manifest, as well as
 “ that I have no Views or Aims of my own.

March, 25, 1707.

This

1706.

This last Letter seems to have been writ in Answer to one from the Duke, in which he insinuated, at least, that he had not the best Opinion of Mr. Harley.

“ Is it not amazing (says a late noble Author) that a Person, who could thus extol the Duke of Marlborough’s Services to his Country, speak of his Glory as beyond the Power of Envy or Malice to hurt it, and profess to feel such a peculiar Joy in the Contemplation of it ; is it not amazing that this very Person should be, at the same Time, contriving how to ruin that glorious Man, in order to raise himself upon his Ruin ?

But that I may not, (notwithstanding what I have already declar’d in my Preface) again be look’d upon rather as the Duke’s Advocate than his Historian, *Audiat et altera Pars.*

“ I have already observed, Madam, (says the supposed Right Honourable Author of the other Side of the Question) “ that Mr. Harley is intended to be the second Devil of your Drama, as likewise that your Temper is so extremely frank and open (your own way of describing it) that the Customs and Manners of the World are no better than Cobwebs to your Grace.

“ Thus in expatiating on the dreadful Shock you receiv’d in the Queen’s Affection, by the Means of Mrs. Masham, according to your State of the Case, or in Consequence of your own imperious and decisive Manner, according to mine, you make no Scruple to violate private Correspondences (hitherto held sacred) and to display before the World Mr. Harley’s Compliments to your Lord, on several Victories, as so many Proofs of an unlimited Attachment, which no Consideration could justify him for breaking thro’.

“ If therefore Mr. Harley, in Compliance with the Times, has, in those Letters, better supported the Character of a Politician than a plain Dealer, we cannot pass any Censure upon him, without accompanying it with some ungentle Thoughts of the Person who brought those Letters to light, so long after the Writer was no more.

This is, I think, the whole of what has been said on both Sides of the Question, in this Part of the memorable Controversy between the Noble and suppos’d Right Honourable Disputants ; and here I shall rest it, begging Leave only (without being censur’d as an Apologist rather than an Historian) to confess my Ignorance in supposing Letters wrote, by a Secretary of State, to a publick Minister, a Plenipotentiary, and a Commander in chief, were not to be deem’d publick Correspondences, and in some Measure, Instructions, by which a Person in such high Posts, is to regulate his Conduct, and that they are no otherwise

1706.

otherwise held sacred, than as they are to be deem'd secret, and as containing the Sense and Opinion of the Sovereign and the Publick, and as such to remain Secrets, till the Person intrusted with Concerns of so high Nature has form'd his Conduct thereupon, and in Compliance therewith. In this View, and in this only, I thought them very proper to be introduced here, as Vouchers for the Duke's Conduct; and, for want of better Information, never look'd upon them as meer private Correspondences, wrote only in Compliance with the Times, or that the Publication of them could be deem'd a Violation of any thing that ought to be held sacred, at so great a Distance of Time: But the Author of *The other Side of the Question* has very judiciously summ'd up the whole Charge, and herself given Judgment, by allowing that Mr. Harley, in those Letters, has better supported the Character of a Politician than a plain Dealer; and this, if I take the Matter right, is all her Noble Antagonist contends for.

The seven and twentieth of June, the Day appointed for a publick Thanksgiving, was celebrated with the usual Solemnities; and her Majesty repair'd, for that End, to the Cathedral of St. Paul's, with the same State she had done, upon the like Occasions, in preceding Years.

C H A P. II.

The Siege of OSTEND.

IN the foregoing Chapter, I mention'd, that the French and Spanish Armies in the Netherlands were separated, and the greater Part of them put into Garrisons, as not being then in any Condition to withstand the Torrent of Success, which attended the victorious Army of the Confederates. They did not, however, yet give up all Pretence to the Success of this Campaign: They had, indeed, put their Troops into Garrison; but it was only to refresh and recruit them, in order to take the Field again as soon as possible. They even boasted, that, by the middle of July, they would have an Army of 60,000 Men, ready to oppose the Allies; and, in order to this, great Detachments were ordered from the Upper Rhine, and from the King of France's Household, to join the French Army in Flanders. It was, likewise thought necessary to make an Alteration in the Command of their Forces; a thing scarce ever before practis'd in the middle of a Campaign. The Duke

Proceedings
of the
French.

1706.

The Duke de Vendôme called out of Italy.

And appointed to command in Flanders.

de Vendôme being their most prosperous, if not their ablest General, he was sent for out of Italy, to command on this Side, in order to stop the Progress of the Duke of Marlborough, and the Allies; but we shall not find him to have answered the Expectations, which his Master conceived of him, as we may see in the Preamble to his Patent, where the French King says; "there was a Necessity of putting, at the Head of his Troops in Flanders, a General, who might gain the Confidence of the Officers and Soldiers, and restore to the Troops, that Spirit of Fortitude and Boldness so natural to the French Nation. And that the Knowledge he had of no one being more capable to answer his Expectations, had determin'd him," &c. His most Christian Majesty did not consider, that the Duke de Vendôme would not here have to encounter with tatter'd (tho' valiant). Germans and Hussars, who were in want of every thing but Courage, such as he had to do with in Italy: No, he was here to oppose a gallant Army, consisting of experienced Officers and resolute Soldiers, flush'd with repeated Victories, well cloathed, and as regularly paid, and provided with all Necessaries for carrying on any Manner of warlike Exploit whatsoever. He was, therefore, deceived in his Expectations, and the Duke de Vendôme made but an indifferent Figure in Flanders, as we shall now soon see. In the mean time, to salve Monsieur de Villeroy's Honour, it was given out at Paris, that he had desir'd to be recall'd.

The Duke of Marlborough sets out from the Hague.

His Reception at Antwerp.

The Duke of Marlborough concerted, in one Day, with the Deputies of the States, the farther Operations of the Campaign, and agreed about the Government of the Cities and Towns lately conquered; for they agreed to every thing he proposed, and sent him back with full Powers. This done, he set out the eleventh of June, N. S. from the Hague, in order to return to the Army, and lay, that Night, at Moerdike. The next Day, as his Grace was proceeding on his Journey, he was met, at Merxem, two Leagues from Antwerp, by the Bishop of that City, attended by all the Clergy, both Secular and Regular, who assured his Grace of their inviolable Loyalty and Affection to King Charles III. and to the House of Austria; acknowledging, at the same time, his Grace to have been the glorious Instrument of their happy Deliverance from the Tyranny of France, under which they had labour'd ever since the Death of King Charles II. The Margrave of Antwerp, with the Burgomasters, and the rest of the Magistrates, attended his Grace, at some Distance from the City, where the first Pensionary, in the Name of the rest, made a Speech to the same Purpose, as the Clergy had done before, and presented his Grace the Keys of the Town, tell-

ing

1706.

ing him, *They had never been deliver'd up to any Person, since the Great Duke of Parma, and that after a Siege of twelve Months*: A great Honour to his Grace, who became Master of the Place, in a less Number of Days, almost in a less Number of Hours. At his Entrance into the Town, the Duke was received with all the Honours and Ceremonies, which were usually paid to their Sovereign Princes, 150 of the principal Citizens going in Procession before the Coach his Grace was in, with lighted Torches, to the Bishop's Palace, where he was splendidly entertain'd and lodg'd that Night. The Marquis de Terracena, Grandee of Spain, and Governour of the Citadel, who had declared for King Charles III. waited on his Grace during the whole Solemnity; and the Streets were crowded with an infinite Number of People, continually repeating, with the greatest Marks of Joy and Satisfaction imaginable, *Long live King Charles III.*

His Grace left Antwerp, the thirteenth, early in the Morning, and arrived, the same Evening, in the Camp at Arseele. When the Garrison of Antwerp was to march out, according to the Capitulation, one Spanish, and one Walloon Regiment staid behind entire; and of the other Regiments of those Countries, there were scarce 150 left, when they pass'd by Brussels, most of the Officers and Soldiers entering into the Service of his Catholick Majesty; as did, likewise, the Marquis de Winterfeld, Lieutenant-General, and Governour of Lier, who commanded the Garrison in the City of Antwerp, and the Baron de Wrangle, a Major-General, a Person of the first Quality, and of great Credit among the Troops.

He arrives at the Camp at Arseele.

Almost the whole Garrison of Antwerp enters into the Service of the Confederates.

On the 14th of the same Month, General Churchill, Governour of Brussels, caused a Proclamation to be affix'd at the usual Places; importing, "That he judg'd it necessary, for the Service of his Catholick Majesty, Charles III. and to prevent many Inconveniences, to command all Frenchmen, military or others, not Burghers, or Housekeepers, in that City, not to stir out of their Dwellings, on the said 14th of June, 1706. in the Afternoon, on Pain of Imprisonment; having directed Passes, for their retiring safely, to be given to all such as should desire the same; declaring, that if 24 Hours after that Time, any Frenchmen, not Burghers or Housekeepers, should be found in that City, they should be treated as Spies, and hang'd. All Innkeepers, and other Inhabitants of that City, were that Morning to deliver to his Excellency a perfect List of all the French, who lodg'd in their Houses, pursuant to an Ordinance of the Magistrates of that City, publish'd the Day before: All Spaniards, who were come thither from the Garrison of Antwerp, and would not acknowledge Charles III. for their lawful Sovereign,

All French, not Inhabitants, banish'd the City.

1706.

" reign, nor could produce Passes from Brigadier Cadogan;
 " should be treated as the aforesaid Frenchmen; and the Wives
 " of all French Officers, and Soldiers, except such as, by rea-
 " son of Sickne's, were confined to their Beds, were to retire
 " from thence in three Days, on Pain of Imprisonment, and
 " Forfeiture of all their Goods and Effects."

Both Armies
 re-inforc'd.

While the Enemy lay near Courtray, they were reinforced by the Detachment of Foot, which Monsieur de Marfin was leading from Germany, the Horse of that Detachment having joined them before the Battle of Ramellies: And several other Detachments, both from the French Army on the Upper Rhine, and from the King's Houshold, were order'd to Flanders. The States General, on the other hand, caused twenty Battalions to march out of several Garrisons, to re-inforce the Army under the Duke of Marlborough and Monsieur d'Auverquerque; and, at the same Time, the Troops of Hannover, and those of the King of Prussia, advanced towards Brabant, with hasty Marches, to make amends for their former Slowness. The Confederates being, therefore, still superiour, the Resolution, which the Duke had concerted, with the States, at the Hague, to besiege Ostend, was put in Execution. This Place was more famous for the Siege it sustain'd, in the last Age, for above three Years, against all the Forces of Spain, than for the Goodness of its Fortifications; tho' even they were stronger, at this Time, than at that Siege. It was, however, very considerable, on account of its Situation, which covers great Part of Flanders, (standing about 9 Miles North-East of Newport, 11 West of Bruges, 20 South-West of Sluys, 24 North-East of Dunkirk, and 35 almost West of Ghent;) and as it was a Sea-Port, and a Nest of Privateers, which very much annoy'd the Trade of the English and Dutch.

And that of
 Dunkirk re-
 jected.

It had been propos'd to the Duke of Marlborough to lay Siege to Dunkirk; but whether his Grace look'd upon that Enterprize as too difficult and hazardous, or whether he thought it might be reduced with more Ease hereafter, the Resolution for besieging Ostend took Place.

The Fort
 of Plassendael taken.

The greatest Difficulty in this Enterprize was, because the Place could be attack'd only on one Side, and that within a very narrow Compass: However, whilst the Grand Army was taking some Refreshment, General Fagel, who was encamp'd at Oudenberg, took the Fort of Plassendael, Sword in Hand; which Place, not being far from Ostend, very much facilitated the taking of that Town.

A Design on
 Newport
 laid aside.

It had been resolv'd, to make an Attempt, at the same Time, on Newport, in order to which, Monsieur d'Auverquerque, with one and forty Battalions, and thirty Squadrons, came before that Place, the eighteenth of June, and made some Preparations

Preparations to attack it : But several unforeseen Difficulties occurring, especially that of opening the Sluices, which would have made the Siege tedious. the Design was abandon'd, and it was resolv'd to turn that Force against Ostend. French Writers insinuate, that this was only a Feint, and no real Design of the Allies ; since, notwithstanding they had attack'd and taken the Redoubt before the Fort of Nieuwendam, and several other Posts, leading from thence to Oudenburg, they quitted the Enterprize.

1706.

The Siege of Ostend.

Accordingly, the Velt-Marshal decamp'd, the nineteenth, from before Newport, and encamp'd at Marienkirk, near Fort Albert, within half a League of Ostend. It was intended to open the Trenches, the twentieth ; but the Ground being very low, and as it was impossible, in some Places, to dig a Foot and a half, without finding Water, it was put off, till they had got a sufficient Number of Fascines and Gabions, to cover the Workmen and Soldiers. All possible Diligence was used to get these, and every Thing else, in a Readiness ; yet, in the Council of War, which was held, on the twenty-third, it was found necessary to suspend the opening of the Trenches some Days longer, till they had received all their Artillery, and other Necessaries, for carrying on the Siege with Vigour. Sir Stafford Fairborn, with a Squadron of nine large English Men of War, four Bomb-Ketches, and two Fire-Ships, at the same time, block'd up the Harbour, being appointed to batter the Town by Sea.

The Night between the five and twentieth and six and twentieth, the Enemy having erected a Battery of five Pieces of Cannon, without the Town, towards the Sea Side, to hinder the Barks from Landing, the advanced Guard march'd thither, nailed up those Cannon, and retired again by Break of Day. The Besiegers, in the mean time, having Intelligence, that the Seamen and Citizens intended to assist the Garrison, in defending the Place, the Velt-Marshal let them know, he would ruin the Town and burn all their Ships, if they should offer to lend any Assistance to the Enemy : And this Message had its desired Effect upon them ; for they not only laid aside their Design ; but, the eight and twentieth, the four Burgomasters came to the Camp, and humbly entreated, that their Town and Ships might be spared, the Bomb-Ketches having already thrown in some Bombs : But as they made no Overtures of Surrendering, they were obliged to return as they came.

Some of the Enemy's Cannon nailed up.

In the Night, between the eight and twentieth and the nine and twentieth, the Trenches were opened, within Musket Shot of the Place, by Lieutenant-General Fagel, who had, under him, Major-General Lauder, and Brigadier Amama, with two Colonels, and 2,000 Soldiers or Pioneers, supported by four Battalions, two English and two Dutch. The Enemy made a

The Trenches opened.

1706.

great Fire from the Town ; but that did not hinder the Works from being carried on, with great Success, and the Loss of the Confederates, on this Occasion, was not above sixty Men, kill'd and wounded. The nine and twentieth, the Trenches were relieved by Lieutenant-General Oxenstiern, Major-General Murray, and the Duke of Argyle, Brigadier, with a Colonel, four Battalions, and 1,800 Pioneers.

Character
of the Duke
of Argyle.

“ The Duke of Argyle, of whom I shall have frequent Occasion to make honourable Mention, in the Sequel, is Representative of the Noble Family of Campbell ; great Grandson to that Earl who lost his Head at the Restoration ; Grandson to that Earl who was beheaded by King James ; and Son to that Earl who came over with King William, at the Revolution, and by him created Duke. His Family has not lost, in his Person, the great Figure they have maintain'd for so many Ages. The Queen gave him the Command of the Horse-Guards, which his Father also had, and made him one of the Knights Companions of the Thistle : As many of his noble and valiant Actions will be recorded in this Work, I shall not forestall them here ; what he did for the Support of the Succession in the illustrious House of Hannover, at the Beginning of the late King's Reign, and how he was deservedly advanced in Honour, Rank and Dignity, is too fresh in every one's Memory, to need a Recapitulation here ; and, therefore, shall only add, that on the 3d of December, 1705. he was introduced into the House of Peers, of England, as Baron and Earl of this Kingdom, by the Style, and Title, of Baron of Chatham and Earl of Greenwich, in the County of Kent.

The thirtieth, General Spar. with Major-General Collier, and Brigadier Litten, with a Colonel, four Battalions, and 1,500 Pioneers, relieved the Trenches : And these three Lieutenant-Generals commanded, in the Trenches, in their Turns, till the Place surrendered.

The Batteries finished.

By the first of July, N. S. the Batteries were finished, and the Besiegers planted Cannon upon them. The third, Sir Stafford Fairborn came a-shoar, to confer with Monsieur d'Auverquerque, and they agreed, that, the next Day, the Bomb-Vessels should draw near the Town, to bombard it. The same Day, the Trenches, on the Left, were carried on, within 150 Paces of the Glacis of the Place ; and the Line of Communication being finish'd, the Attacks were pursued, with such Vigour, that the Besiegers soon covered themselves from the Cannon of the Town. The four Batteries they had erected were one of eight Pieces of Cannon, one of eighteen Mortars, the third of eight and thirty Pieces of Cannon, and the fourth of seven. These, being all ready, began to batter the Place, by Break of

The Town
batter'd and
bombarded,
with great
Fury.

Day,

Day, and continued the Fire, with such uninterrupted Fury, that the Flames appeared in several Places, before eight in the Morning. Before Night, the Battering by Sea, having likewise done great Execution, a great Part of the Cannon of the Besieged was dismounted, and the Place near reduced to a Heap of Rubbish. The fourth, the Firing and Bombardment was continued, with great Vigour; and, the Night following, an Assault was made on the Counterscarp.

The Attack was begun by fifty English Grenadiers commanded by a Lieutenant, and supported by a Battalion of the Dutch. It was carried on with all possible Courage and Resolution, and the Enemy being beaten from their Works, the Allies made a Lodgment upon the Counterscarp.

A Lodgment made on the Counterscarp.

The same Day, the Duke of Marlborough, accompanied by the Princes of Hesse and d'Auvergne, the Count Van der Nat, and Count Nassau, Son of General d'Auverquerque, came to the Siege. His Grace was saluted by the Guns of all the Ships of the Fleet, under the Command of Vice-Admiral Fairborn, who, likewise, came on Shoar, and having dined with the Duke, held a Conference with him.

The Duke of Marlborough visits the Camp before Ostend.

The next Morning, the Besieged sallied out, with 900 Men, in order to dislodge the Besiegers, and endeavour the Regaining of the Post, they had taken: But the Battalions, which were in the Trenches, advancing to their Succour, after a small Encounter, the Enemy retired, without having gained any other Advantage, by their Sally, than killing and wounding about fifty of the Besiegers. During this, all possible Diligence was used, to perfect two Batteries on the Glacis, one of twelve, and the other of eight Pieces of Cannon.

The sixth, at nine in the Morning, the Besieged finding it was to no Purpose, to hold out any longer, against the Fire of six and forty heavy Cannon, eighteen Mortars, and several hundreds of small Cohorn Mortars, beat a Parly. The Capitulation being, thereupon, agreed to and sign'd, at eleven, the same Night, the next Morning the Allies took Possession of Ostend, in the the Name of King Charles III.

Ostend surrenders.

The taking of this Place, in so short a Time, was so much the greater Honour to the Confederates; because, in the Years 1601, 1602, and 1603, it held out a Siege against the Spaniards of three Years; during which, the Besiegers lost near fourscore thousand Persons before it: Whereas now, the same Place, tho' defended by a strong Garrison, commanded by two Generals, one a Frenchman, the other a Spaniard, and provided with Artillery and Ammunition in Abundance, surrendered to the Allies, after having been batter'd no more than three Days, and some few Hours.

Honour gained in this short Siege.

1706.
Reasons
assign'd by
the French
for surren-
dering so
soon,

The French, to justify Monsr. de la Mothe, their Governour, from any Imputation, for delivering up this important Place, in so short a Time, say, that the Place being entirely ruin'd, by above 10,000 Bombs, which were thrown into it, the Menaces of the Inhabitants to revolt, the Misunderstanding between the French and Spanish Garrisons, and the Want of Arms for the Soldiers, oblig'd him to capitulate. To all which, Monsr. de Quincy adds, that the Place was very ill provided with every Thing, and that the Garrison, which consisted only of eight Battalions, and four Regiments of Dragoons, were all either new Levies, or disaffected Walloons. How little Truth there was in some of these Assertions, the Reader has already seen.

The Capi-
tulation.

According to the Capitulation, the Garrison consisting of two Spanish Battalions, four Troops of Dragoons of the same Nation, and four French Regiments, march'd out, the eighth of July, N. S. without any Marks of Honour, their Swords and Baggage only excepted, having first been obliged to promise, that they would not bear Arms against King Charles III. or his Allies, for the six Months following; but most of the Spaniards enter'd into the Service of the Allies. In this Capitulation, no mention was made of the Shipping in the Harbour; in which, however, were found two Men of War, one of eighty, the other of fifty Guns, and about five and forty small Vessels. This important Conquest did not cost the Allies above 500 Men, killed and wounded. They found, in the Place, four and twenty Colours, and one Standard; fifty Pieces of Brass, and forty Iron-Cannon; Ammunition in Abundance; and 300,000lb. of Powder.

Loss of the
Allies.

On the Surrender of this Place, the following Medal was struck.

A Medal
struck on
the Sur-
render of
Ostend.

On the the Face are two Busto's, representing the Duke of Marlborough, and the Velt-Marshal d'Auverquerque, with the Inscription:

JOHANNES, DUX MARLBOROUGH, HENRICUS D'AUVER-
QUERQUE, SIDERA ANNI, 1706.

*John Duke of Marlborough, and Henry d'Auverquerque, the two
Constellations of the Year, 1706.*

On the Reverse, the Velt-Marshal d'Auverquerque, on Foot, placing the Cap of Liberty on the Head of a Nymph standing before him, with her Hands bound, representing the City of Ostend, which appears at a Distance, with the Inscription:

LIBERAT, NON MUTAT JUGUM, DIE 6. JULII.

He delivers her from, but does not exchange, her Yoke, July 6.

The

The following Lines, upon the Marshal de Villeroy, were handed about at Paris, soon after the Defeat of the French Army, at Ramellies.

1706.

Verfes made
on Marshal
de Villeroy.

*C'est à ce Coup, que Villeroy
Ce Maréchal incomparable,
Pour avoir bien servi le Roy,
Aura l'Epée de Connetable :
Car pour un moindre Evenement
Tallard eut un Gouvernement.*

*Varus rends moi mes Legions !
S'ecrioit l'Empereur Auguste :
Tallard rends moi mes Battalions !
Dit Louis, à titre plus juste :
Tallard repond— He ! Grand Roi,
Demandez les à Villeroy.*

The Approaches before Ostend being levell'd, and a good Garrison left in that Town, and in Plassendael, under the Command of Lieutenant Général Spar, Monsieur d'Auverquerque march'd, the twelfth of July, with the Troops under his Command, to join the Duke of Marlborough whom we left at Arseele : And of whose Proceedings, in the mean time, I am now to give an Account.

Monsieur
d'Auver-
querque re-
joins the
Duke of
Marlboro.

His Grace broke up from Arseele, the eighteenth of June, and marched to Rousselaer, where he encamp'd, to cover the Siege of Ostend. The twenty-second, he received Advice from Brigadier Meredith, who commanded the Troops which blockaded Dendermond, that the Enemy, having sent a Detachment of 3,000 Horse, and 2,000 Foot, from Mons, hoping to surprize him, he, having timely Notice of their Approach, had retired from Lebbeke to Baestroo, a Post so advantageous, that the Enemy did not think fit to attack him there, tho' so much superiority in Number. Of fifty Men he had left, in a Redoubt, to cover his Retreat, only five Men were killed, and the Captain, who commanded them, with seven of his Men, were taken Prisoners. The Enemy put about 400 Foot, and 100 Dragoons, into the Town ; and, upon sight of Brigadier Cadogan, with six Squadrons, who came from Oudenarde, about an Hour too late to secure the Bridge of Aloft, they retreated, in the greatest Hurry, to Mons again, having lost, in this Expedition, near 700 Men, most of whom deserted.

Motions of
the Duke's
Army dur-
ing the Siege.

An un-
successful At-
tempt of the
Enemy's.

The eight and twentieth, the Duke of Marlborough received a Letter from Brigadier Cadogan, with an Account, that the Town of Dendermond having been set on Fire, in several Places, by the Bombs, he had, the seven and twentieth, by the Advice

Dender-
mond re-
fuses a se-
cond time,
to surren-
der.

1706. of the Marquis de Terracena, written a Letter to the Governour, the Marquis Delvalle, to acquaint him, that the Garrison was to expect no other Conditions, than to remain Prisoners of War, if they obstinately persisted to maintain the Place any longer; upon which the Governour desired a Cessation of Arms for four and twenty Hours, to assemble and consult with his Officers. The Cessation being expired, his Answer, to the Marquis de Terracena was; "That having call'd a Council of War, "it was there resolv'd; since the Town had a strong Garrison, "and was otherwise well provided, for a good Defense, it was "their Duty to hold out to the last.

About this Time, the Duke of Marlborough wrote the following Letter to the Earl of Peterborough.

The Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the Earl of Peterborough,

My Lord,

A Letter
from the D.
of Marlbo-
rough to the
E. of Peter-
borough.

" **T**H O' we have no direct Account of your Lordship's
" Progress, since the Relief of Barcelona, yet the Ad-
" vices from several other Parts, as well as the Enemy's
" Frontiers, agree so well, and we are naturally so inclined to
" believe readily what we wish, that I persuade myself, there is
" no Reason to doubt of your having, some time since, brought
" the King to Madrid. As this good News has been indulg'd
" here, with the greatest Satisfaction, I do, with no less Plea-
" sure, take this fresh Opportunity of congratulating your Lord-
" ship on the glorious Occasion, which is by all Hands chiefly
" attributed to your Valour and good Conduct. The whole
" Confederacy is full of Joy, for the Advantages this wonder-
" ful Success will produce to the Publick, and I assure you, I
" am no less so, for the Addition it has made to your Lordship's
" Glory; in which no Man alive takes more Part than I do.
" After such surprizing Events, there is nothing that we may
" not expect from you; therefore, I hope, your Lordship will
" not think us unreasonable in our Expectations, that we shall
" soon hear of the entire Reduction of Spain, to the Obedience
" of their lawful Sovereign, for which you seem design'd, by
" Providence, to be the happy Instrument; and I heartily wish
" you all Manner of Success in the accomplishing this great
" Work.

" We have reduced Ostend, and are now making all possible
" Diligence in the necessary Preparations for the Siege of
Menin,

Menin, and hope, with the Blessing of God, we shall not end
our Campaign there. I am with Truth and Respect,

1706.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most

Faithful humble Servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

So ready was his Grace in acknowledging Merit in others, and in rejoycing at their good Success.

Orders were dispatch'd to block up Dendermond very closely, till there should be a proper Season for attacking it in Form. The Troops of Prussia and Hannover came that Day to Aloft, and Orders were sent them, to encamp there, till further Orders.

Farther Proceedings of the Confederate Army.

The second of July, at Night the Lord Raby, her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary to the King of Prussia, came from Wesel, to the Camp at Rousselaer, to wait upon the Duke of Marlborough. The fourth, in the Morning, when his Grace went to Mons. d'Auverquerque's Camp, before Ostend, as I have said above; as he passed thro' Bruges, he was saluted with a triple Discharge of the Cannon of that Place. His Grace, likewise, pass'd thro' Bruges, in his Return, where he was again saluted, with a triple Discharge of the Artillery. The Clergy met him, at some Distance, out of the Town, as the Magistrates of that City, and the Franc, did at the Gates. They all made their Excuses, that they did not know of his Grace's coming the Day before, till he was at their Gates. They presented him the Keys of the City, and assured him of their Zeal and Loyalty to their lawful Sovereign, King Charles III. acknowledging, at the same time, the great Obligations they had to his Grace, as the happy Instrument of their Deliverance from the Tyranny of France. These Ceremonies being pass'd, his Grace arrived, about six in the Evening, at the Camp.

The Duke of Marlborough's Reception at Bruges.

Before the Duke went to Ostend, he had ordered the Prince of Holstein-Beck, Lieutenant-General, to march, with eight Battalions, and take Possession of Courtray, where he arrived, accordingly, the fifth. The Detachment, under the Command of Major-General Berensdorff, which lay near Oudenarde, was ordered, at the same time, to take the Camp of Harlebeck, near Courtray, his Grace designing to march thither, with the Army. The Troops of Hannover and Prussia were ordered, the same Day, to march to Ninove. The sixth, the Duke of Marlborough, with the Army under his Command, march'd from Rousselaer, and encamp'd, with the Right, at Courtray, and the Left, at Harlebeck, having the River Lys in the Rear. His Grace having Notice, that the Prince Royal of Prussia intended to see the Army, sent away Colonel Durel, Adjutant-General,

The Allies take Possession of Courtray.

1706. General, the eighth, in the Morning, to Cleves, to compliment his Royal Highness, and to conduct him to the Camp. The tenth, Colonel Lalo's Regiment march'd from the Camp towards Ostend, there to embark, together with Brigadier-General Farrington's, and Brigadier-General Maccartney's Regiments, in order to join the Troops in England, which were appointed for a Descent. The eleventh, the Army march'd from Harlebeck and came to Helchin, near which Place four Bridges were laid, by his Grace's Directions, over the Scheld. In the Evening, Count Maffei, Envoy Extraordinary from the Duke of Savoy, came thither, to wait on his Grace, by particular Orders from his Royal Highness. The thirteenth, Brigadier Cadogan was sent, by the Duke, with 400 Horse, to mark out a Camp for the Army, near Gramont, in case the Enemy's Motions should make it necessary to march that Way: Which being done, and Directions, likewise, given, for the widening and repairing the Ways thither, he returned, with his Detachment, in the Evening, to the Army. The Elector of Bavaria, in the mean time, having Advice, that the Allies had laid Bridges over the Scheld, and that some of their Troops had appeared about Gramont, retired, with his Court, the thirteenth, at Night, with great Precipitation, from Mons to Valenciennes.

The Elector of Bavaria retires from Mons at the Approach of the Confederate Army.

The Prince Royal of Prussia comes to the Army.

The Duke and Prince take a View of Tournay.

The sixteenth, the Prince Royal of Prussia arrived at the Confederate Camp, with his Court. The Duke of Marlborough, and the rest of the Generals, met him, at some Distance from the Camp, and his Grace conducted his Royal Highness to his Quarters, where he was splendidly entertained at Dinner. The next Morning, his Grace ordered the first Line of the Army to draw out, and pass in Review before his Royal Highness. The eighteenth, in the Morning, the Duke, with the Prince Royal, and several General Officers, having with them a Guard of 2,000 Horse, and 600 Foot, went to a rising Ground, within a Mile of Tournay, where they took a View of that Place, and returned to the Camp, about Noon. The nineteenth, early in the Morning, his Grace went to view Mons. d'Auverquerque's Army, which came, the seventeenth, to St. Eloy-Vive, beyond Harlebeck, on the Lys, where they continued, for the better Subsistence of the Troops. At the same time, his Grace ordered that River to be viewed; and finding, that the Enemy, by making Sluices, had so drained the Water, that instead of the Depth necessary to bring up the Boats with the Artillery, in many Places, there was not one Foot left; General Salisch was ordered, the twentieth, to take a strong Detachment under his Command, and destroy all the Sluices, between Lisse, Armentiers, Menin, and Courtray. Three Days before, the Troops of Prussia and Hannover, with 3000 Palatines, marched from Alost, and, the nineteenth, arrived in the Rear of the second Line.



112543

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY
 1000 10th Ave. N. Minneapolis, Minn. 55412
 Tel. 822-1111

1870

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, including:

- 1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, including:
- 2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses, including:
- 3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses, including:
- 4. The fourth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, including:
- 5. The fifth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, including:
- 6. The sixth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, including:
- 7. The seventh part of the document is a list of names and addresses, including:
- 8. The eighth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, including:
- 9. The ninth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, including:
- 10. The tenth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, including:

[Faint handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side.]

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, including "Mr. J. H. Smith, 123 Main St., New York City" and "Mr. J. H. Smith, 123 Main St., New York City".

C H A P. III.

The Sieges of Menin, Dendermond, and Aeth, with other Transactions to the End of the Campaign.

THE Confederate Army, being now considerably re-inforced, his Grace thought fit to employ most of the Troops, that had no Share in the former Services and Fatigues of this Campaign, in some considerable Enterprize; and none could be greater, at this Juncture, than the Siege of Menin, which was reckoned a Key to the French Conquests in the Netherlands; one of the most regular Fortifications in Flanders, and on which, the celebrated French Engineer, Monsieur de Vauban, who directed the Fortifications, had bestowed his utmost Skill, and thought them his Masterpiece. It was built after the Peace of Nimeguen; and nothing that Art could invent was wanting, to render it impregnable. It was, besides defended, by a Garrison of 6,000 Men; (Roussset says, 4,326 private Men, commanded by 574 Officers, including Serjeants;) the Marquis de Bully, who was Gouverneur, had under him, Lieutenant-General Caraman; and Monsieur de Valloris, who was chief Engineer, had two other Engineers of Note under him. All these Things duly weigh'd, it was thought, by many, too bold an Undertaking, to besiege it; but then, on the other hand, it was considered, that the Reduction of so important a Place would not only add great Reputation to the Arms of the Allies, but would be a great Help to secure their late Acquisitions: It being situated on the River Lys, five Miles South-West of Courtray, nine almost North of Lisse, and twelve almost South-East of Ipres. Upon these, and other Considerations, this Siege being resolved upon, part of the Forces, which were appointed for that Service, with Messieurs des Rocques and Hertel, the two chief Engineers, and fourteen other Engineers, march'd, the twenty-first of July, N. S. to Courtray; having with them, 12 Pieces of Cannon, 8 small Mortars, and 12 Pontons. The next Day, General Salisch, to whom the Command and Direction of this Enterprize was confided, march'd, with the rest, being together two and thirty Battalions, and five and twenty Squadrons: Twelve thousand Pioneers were, likewise, appointed to work on the Lines of Circumvallation. The Place was invested, the twenty-third of the same Month; but, the Artillery from Ghent not being come up, the Trenches were not opened, till the fourth of August, in the Night.

The principal Officers, who were appointed to command, at this Siege, under General Salisch, were Lieutenant Generals Scholtz, The Trenches opened.

1706.

The Siege of Menin resolved on.

Strength of that Place.

1706.

Scholtz, and Lord Orkney; Major-Generals Erberveld, Rantzau, Weck, Villate, Pallandt, and the Prince of Sondeburg; and the Brigadiers Capol, Schurel, Nassau-Woudenburg, Amama, Argile, Troufiel and Schwartzel.

The Counter-
scarp
taken by
Storm.

The Approaches were carried on, in the usual Forms, without any remarkable Occurrence, till the 18th of August, when the Caps on the Right and Left being advanced, as far as the Salliant Angles of the Counterscarp, the Disposition was made for attacking it, in the Evening. This Action proving the most bloody, that happen'd at any Siege, since that of the Cover'd Way of Keyserwaert, I shall be the more particular in my Relation of it. Lieutenant-General Scholtz (or Sholten) commanded the Attack on the Right; having under him Major-General Pallandt, and Brigadier Schwartzel; the Earl of Orkney commanded the Attack on the Left, with Major-General de Villate, and the Duke of Argile, Brigadiers; and at each Attack, were 300 Grenadiers, as many Workmen, and a Detachment of the like Number of Fusileers, to cover them; the whole being sustained by the 9 Battalions that relieved the Trenches, four on the Right, and five on the Left, *viz.* those of Lottum, Ingoldsby, Pallandt, Fagel, Lander, Vogelín, Goven, Ranck, and Leers: And four other Battalions were order'd to support them, in case of Need: The Duke of Marlborough was that Day himself at the Camp, and assisted at making the necessary Dispositions for this famous Action. The Attack began about seven o'Clock, upon a Signal of a Mine the Besiegers sprung up, at each of the two Salliant Angles of the Cover'd Way, which had a good Effect. Their Men behaved themselves with great Bravery; the Grenadiers, especially, advanced with an uncommon Intrepidity to the Pallisadoes, and; throwing their Grenadoes into the Cover'd Way, leap'd in after them, killing all that oppos'd them. The Enemy made a gallant Resistance, and the first five Battalions suffer'd very much, by the excessive Fire which was made from the Place; but the Grenadiers pressing on, with great Fury, they soon beat the Enemy out of the Cover'd Way, with a terrible Slaughter, and made Lodgments close to the Pallisadoes, on the four Angles of the Counterscarp. The Enemy sprung two Mines, during the Attack, which did the Besiegers but little Harm; but they were expos'd to the Fire of the Ravelins, and other Works, for near two Hours, before the Men could cover themselves. This occasion'd the greatest Part of their Loss, which was little less than 1400 Men, kill'd or wounded; with three Engineers kill'd, and three wounded. However, it was as little as could be expected in so warm a Service. The Deputies of the States, and the Generals, expressed themselves extremely well satisfied, with the Gallantry of the Troops, on this Occasion. Among the rest, the Duke of Argile distinguish-

The Duke
of Argile
distinguishes
himself.

ed

ed himself very much in this Action. The same Night, the Besieged made several Signals to give Notice, as it was believ'd, that they were reduced to the last Extremity; and they were answer'd from all the neighbouring Places.

1706.

In the mean time, the Army under the Duke of Marlborough, continued encamped at Helchin, only the Left Wing was extended to Lauwe near Menin, in order to oppose any Attempt, that might be made by the Duke de Vendôme, who being arrived at Valenciennes, the 4th of August, was drawing together an Army, with which he threatened to relieve Menin. On the 16th of the same Month, Brigadier Cadogan, being out near Tournay, with a few Horse, to cover the Foragers, was surpriz'd and surrounded by a superior Number of the Enemy's Cavalry, and carried Prisoner into Tournay; but, the 18th, the Duke de Vendôme sent him back, on his Parole; being willing to contend with the Duke of Marlborough, if not in the Field, at least in Generosity. On the other hand, the Duke of Marlborough released Baron Palavicini, a Major-General in the French Service, taken at the Battle of Ramellies, by way of Exchange.

The Duke de Vendôme arrives at Valenciennes.

Brigadier Cadogan taken Prisoner.

But released upon Parole.

The nineteenth of August, N. S. the Confederate Troops before Menin began two Saps, in order to make a Descent into the Ditch, and work'd, at the same time, upon the Batteries on the Counterscarp. The next Day, they finished two Batteries, one of six, and the other of five Pieces of Cannon, which began to fire upon the Bastion and the Ravelin, next Morning, at Break of Day; and two more Batteries, being perfected, were ready to play, the twenty-second, in the Morning. The Duke of Marlborough going thither, to see what Progress was made, the Governour beat a Parly, upon which Hostages were exchanged about nine, that Morning. The Garrison desired, among other Things:

The Siege of Menin carried on.

The Town capitulates.

“ That they might be allowed four Days, from the Date of the Capitulation, to expect Succours, and that, if they were not relieved in that Time, a Gate should then be delivered up; that the Garrison should march out with Arms and Baggage, and all the usual Marks of Honour, should carry away with them twelve Pieces of Cannon, and four Mortars, and should be conducted to Lisle; that they should be furnished with Waggons and Boats for their Baggage, and their Sick and Wounded; and such of them, as were not in a Condition to remove, should be taken Care of, in the Town, at the Expence of the Allies: That none of the Garrison should be stopp'd for Debt, giving Notes under their Hands, for what they might owe: That 12 cover'd Waggons should be allowed the Garrison, which should not be visited: That Prisoners taken on both Sides should be set free: That no En-

Their Demands.

“ quiry

1706. "quiry should be made after any Deferters, on either Side :
 " That such of the Garrison as had Estates or Effects, in the
 " Countries which were under the Obedience of the Allies,
 " should not be molested in their Persons or Estates, and might
 " continue in the French Service, and enjoy their Estates and
 " Effects : That as many Persons might march out with the
 " Garrison, mask'd, as the Governour should think fit. That
 " the Guard to conduct them to Lisle should consist of no more
 " than 4 Squadrons of Horse, that the Burghers should be
 " maintained in their Privileges, and those who would might
 " depart : That all the Generals of the Confederate Forces
 " should sign the Capitulation, and that the Allies should not
 " take any of their Men out of their Ranks, as they march'd
 " out, under any Pretence whatsoever." In the Evening the
 Capitulation was concluded; the first Article they proposed was
 refused, and it was agreed : " That they should deliver up the
 " Gates of Bruges the next Day, being the 23d, at nine in the
 " Morning : That they should march out in the Manner de-
 " fired, but should carry away with them only four Pieces of
 " Cannon, and two Mortars, and should be conducted to Douay :
 " That they should be provided with Waggon's and Boats ; that
 " their Sick and Wounded, who could not be removed, should
 " be taken Care of, in the Town, at their own Charge. That,
 " as to the Debts of any of the Garrison, the latter should not
 " be stopp'd, provided they gave such Security for Payment
 " thereof, as should be accepted by their Creditors. That only
 " eight cover'd Waggon's should be allow'd them ; that the
 " Prisoners on both Sides should be set at Liberty, as desired."
 The Articles they demanded concerning the Deferters, the Estates
 of any of the Garrison continuing in the French Service, and
 Persons marching out mask'd, were rejected : " The Guard to
 " conduct them to Douay was agreed to be 200 Horse." What
 was desired in favour of the Inhabitants was granted, " pro-
 " vided those who retired should declare their Intention of so
 " doing, within a Month. It was agreed, that the Capitula-
 " tion should be signed by the General who commanded the
 " Siege, as usual in like Cases : " The last Article they pro-
 posed was refused ; " But it was promised, that Care should be
 " taken to prevent any Disorder, and Justice should be done
 " immediately upon any Complaint."

Terms
granted
them.

The Surrender of this Place happen'd sooner, by some Days,
 than the Besiegers could reasonably have expected, considering
 the Strength of it, and the Number of the Garrison, who be-
 sides had very considerable Magazines, both of Provisions and
 Ammunition.

Pursuant

1706.

Pursuant to this Capitulation, the Duke of Argile took Possession of one of the Gates, call'd the Gate of Bruges, the twenty-third, in the Morning, with a Guard of 200 Men, and, on the five and twentieth, the Garrison, consisting of twelve Battalions of Foot, and three Squadrons of dismounted Dragoons, making in all, about 4,300 Men, march'd out, with all the usual Marks of Honour, under a Guard of 200 Confederate Horse, who conducted them, the next Day, to Douay. It had been agreed, that the Garrison should march thro' the Breach; but it appearing not to be wide enough, they march'd thro' the Lisle-Gate. It is said, that when the Governour first demanded to march out of the Breach, he was answer'd; that it was not advisable for him to do it, unless he had Ladders, and thereupon he chose to march out at the Gate. The same Day, Major-General Welderen, being appointed to command in Menin, took Possession of the Town, with five Dutch Battalions of Foot. The Duke of Marlborough found, upon visiting the Place, 55 Brass Cannon, 10 Iron Cannon, 6 Mortars, 810 double Barrels of Powder, 387 double Barrels of Musket-Balls, with a great Quantity of all Sorts of Provision. Among the Artillery, were, likewise, found four Pieces of Cannon, with the Arms of England, taken at the Battle of Landen, which his Grace ordered to be sent to England; and, at the same time, gave Directions for levelling the Approaches, and repairing the Fortifications of Menin. The Loss which either Party sustained in this Siege, the Reader will see, in the following Letter, from General Salisch to Monsieur Fagel, Secretary to the States General.

The Duke of Argile takes Possession of the Town.

SIR,

“ I GIVE myself the Honour to acquaint you, that the Garrison of Menin march'd out yesterday, about ten in the Forenoon, according to the Capitulation, making in all, about 4000 Men; so that they had in this Siege 1300 Men killed or wounded. My Lord Duke of Marlborough, and Monsieur the Velt-Marshal d'Auverquerque, saw the Garrison march out, and every thing was done in good Order. As to the Loss we have sustained in this Siege, your Honour may see it in the following List. We have found in the Place 55 Pieces of Brass Cannon, and 10 of Iron; besides several other Pieces that were buried under Ground, 6 Mortars, 810 double Barrels of Powder, 387 double Barrels of Musket-Balls; besides a great Quantity of all other Sorts of Ammunition and Provisions, of which I have not yet an exact List: The Battalions of Heyden, Sachsen-Eysenach, Chambrier, Uffingen, and Floor, are march'd into the

General Salisch's Letter to Mr. Secretary Fagel.

VOL. I.

E c

“ Place,

1706. " Place, to remain there in Garrison, till farther Orders.
 " I am, &c.

Sign'd,

From the Camp before Menin,
 Aug. 26, 1706.

E. W. SALISCH.

According to this Letter, my Account of the Force of the Garrison, at the Beginning of the Siege, will appear large ; but as I had it from good Authority, I shall leave it as I found it, without determining on either Side.

Loss of the
 Enemy.

As for the Loss of the Enemy, during this Siege, the French themselves allow it to have been greater than General Salisch makes it. Monsieur de Quincy, gives us the following State of it. Dragoons, kill'd or wounded, 93 ; sick, 28 ; Officers kill'd, 49 ; Soldiers wounded, 802 ; Soldiers kill'd, 560. Together, 1532 Officers and Men, kill'd, wounded, and sick.

Loss of the
 Confede-
 rates.

A true List of all the Wounded and Slain in the Siege of Menin, since the Place was invested, till the Capitulation.

	Killed.	Wounded.
Colonels ———	00	03
Lieutenant-Colonel ———	00	01
Majors ———	00	04
Captains ———	13	22
Lieutenants ———	13	27
Ensigns ———	06	26
Serjeants ———	34	69
Private Soldiers ———	517	1872
Run away to the Enemy ———		21
	<hr/> 583	<hr/> 2045

The Duke
 de Vendôme
 passive.

The Duke de Vendôme having assembled an Army of 155 Squadrons, and 73 Battalions, it was thought he would have made some Motion to disturb the Progress of the Confederate Arms ; but he had the Mortification to be only a Spectator of the Siege, and Surrender of Menin, and continued quiet in his Camp, behind the Deule.

Dender-
 mond be-
 sieg'd in
 Form.

A Descrip-
 tion of the
 Place.

The nine and twentieth of August, the Duke of Marlborough gave Orders to besiege Dendermond in Form, which had been blockaded ever since the Battle of Ramellies, and appointed his Brother, General Churchill, to take the Command and Direction of that Undertaking. Dendermond is a strong Town in the Earldom of Flanders, on the Rivers Scheld and Dender, from which latter it has its Name. It is situate 12 Miles East of Ghent, 14 South-West of Anwerp, and 17 North-West of Brussels.

Brussels. Three Days after, his Grace arriv'd himself, in the Camp before that Place, together with the Deputies of the States, to hasten the Siege; and from thence they wrote the following Letters, giving an Account of its Siege and Surrender.

1706.

Dender-
mond taken.

High and Mighty Lords,

" I Arrived here last Thursday Night, with Monsieur de Gossinga, and Monsieur de Geldermalsen, to hasten the Attack of this Place, and am very glad I can acquaint your High Mightinesses, that this Morning, about 10 o'Clock, the Garrison beat a Parly, demanding honourable Conditions; but my Brother returned Answer, that he could grant them no other Terms, than that they should remain Prisoners of War, yet that their Baggage would be left them, provided they did declare themselves, and deliver up one of their Gates in two Hours time. They rejected this Proposal, and the Hostages having been sent back, Orders were given to renew the Attack; whereupon the Garrison desired a farther Cessation of Arms, for an Hour, at the Expiration of which they surrendered, and about 5, delivered up the Gate of Mechlin. They are to march out next Tuesday, in order to be conducted to Holland.

The D. of Marlboro's Letter to the States, about the Surrender of Dendermond.

" I heartily congratulate your High Mightinesses upon this happy Event, in which the Hand of God has visibly appear'd: It having been observed, that for several Years past, there has not been in this Country so favourable a Season for such an Enterprize. I am, with entire Devotion and Respect,

High and Mighty Lords, &c.

At the Camp before Dendermond,
Sept. 5. 1706.

Signed,

The Prince and Duke of

MARLBOROUGH.

High and Mighty Lords,

" According to our last, the Trenches were open'd, and the Batteries finish'd; so that they began to play yesterday Morning, with so great Fury and Execution, that the Branches, in a Redoubt, and Work that cover'd it, being wide enough this Morning, our Men carried the same by Storm, with great Bravery, and little Loss: Whereupon the Besiegers immediately desired to capitulate, and sent us Hostages, for that Purpose. Their Proposals having been brought to us, and to my Lord Duke of Marlborough, whilst we were all in the Trenches, to see the Assault, several Messages were sent to and fro; and the Agreement was, at last, concluded, about five this Afternoon, by which the

The States' Deputies Letter to their Principals.

1706.

“ Garrison are to remain Prisoners of War, on Condition,
 “ however, that they should be allow'd their Swords and Bag-
 “ gage. And accordingly they have delivered up to us the Gate
 “ of Mechlin. We shall take further Measures with my Lord
 “ Duke of Marlborough, about the next Enterprize; and we
 “ shall wait for your High Mightinesses Order, to know whither
 “ the Garrison shall be conducted. We have thought it our
 “ Duty to congratulate your High Mightinesses, upon this
 “ speedy and happy Success. We are,

High and Mighty Lords, &c.

From the Camp be-
 fore Dendermond,
 Sept. 5, 1706.

Signed,

S. V. GOSLINGA.

A. V. BORSSELE, Lord of
 GELDER MALSEN.

Some Obser-
 vations on
 this Success.

Thus the Troops of the Allies made themselves Masters, in
 a Siege of seven Days, of this important Place, which, being
 strongly situated among Morasses, had formerly baffled the Ar-
 my of the French King, who besieged it in Person, and which
 was now defended, by two French Regiments of Foot, a Spa-
 nish Battalion, 700 Men, drawn out of several other Regiments,
 and 200 Dragoons unmounted. The French, according to
 Custom, to lessen the Honour gain'd by the Besiegers, pretend
 the Garrison might have held out longer, had it not been for
 a Misunderstanding between the Governour and the Officer who
 commanded the French Troops. The Duke of Marlborough
 appointed Brigadier Meredith, to command in Dendermond,
 with a Garrison of 500 Men; besides the Regiment of Sarra
 Blanca, which was ordered to remain at Grimberg, under his
 Direction, to cover the Country of Waes.

Situation of
 the Confe-
 derate Ar-
 my.

The Duke of Marlborough came, in Person, to visit this
 Place; his Army, in the mean time, was encamp'd at Elchin,
 whither General Salisch had Orders to bring back the Troops
 from the Siege of Menin. He arrived there, the eighth of
 September, and, the same Day, the English, Prussian, and Han-
 noverian Infantry made a Motion, by Order of the Duke, from
 the Right to the Left, to be nearer at Hand, to pass the Scheld,
 over six Bridges, which this General had caused to be built, op-
 posite to the Village of Potte. Brigadier Wertmuller, who com-
 manded in Courtray, likewise, join'd the Army, with his Gar-
 rison: And, the ninth, the Troops began to pass the Scheld,
 and advance towards Aeth.

Aeth in-
 vested.

Dendermond being now reduc'd, after so many Conquests, the
 Confederate Army might have ended the Campaign, crowned
 with more Glory than cou'd almost be aimed at in 'one Summer;
 but

but the ever-victorious Duke of Marlborough thought it yet too soon to stem the Torrent of their Success: He, therefore, ordered them to turn their Arms against Aeth, which was, accordingly, invested, the sixteenth of September, by forty Battalions and thirty Squadrons, under the Command of Monsieur d'Auverquerque; the Duke of Marlborough himself being encamp'd at Gramez, to cover that Siege, and the Enemy between Condé and Mortaigne.

1706.

Aeth is a strong Frontier-Town, and a Place of some Consideration, in the Earldom of Hainault, situate on the Dender, at the Place where the Brook of Cambron empties itself into that River, 14 Miles almost North-West of Mons, 22 almost South-West of Brussels, and 24 South of Ghent. The French took it in 1697; but restor'd it, the same Year, by the Peace of Ryswick. It is a pretty regular Fortification, and all the Works were, at this time, in good Repair. Monsieur de Spinola was Governour of it, and the Brigadier de St. Pierre commanded the Troops, to the Number of about 2000 Men. The Enemy had Time to provide every thing that was necessary for a long and vigorous Defense; but Men were chiefly wanting. The seventeenth, the Besiegers begun their Line of Circumvallation, and to make and bring Fascines together.

Situation
and Force of
the Place.

The Trenches before Aeth, were opened, the 22d, in the Night, with very little Loss. This was chiefly owing to a Stratagem; for tho' the Design of the Besiegers was to open the Trenches on the South-Side, they made a Feint of opening them on the North-Side; upon which, the Besieged drew the greater Part of their Strength that Way, and in that Interval the Besiegers pursued their Point, with so much Success, that before they were discovered, they were got under good Shelter. The Besieged were the easier deceived in this, because it was on the North-Side, that the Marshal de Catinat had formerly attack'd it, and the Breaches then made, being no otherwise repair'd, than by Fascines: But the Besiegers discover'd a more convenient Place, between the Brook of Cambron, and the Dender.

The
Trenches
open'd.

The Attack being carried on as usual, the Besiegers made a Lodgment, on one of the Angles of the Cover'd Way, the nine and twentieth of the same Month; and having carried on the Saps, which they begun that Night, on the Right, against the Point of the Ravelin, and, on the Left, against the two Points of the Counterguard, within 200 Paces of each other; they took Possession of that Counterguard, the Night between the last of September, and the first of October; and finish'd, at the same time, a new Battery, on the Cover'd Way.

This obliged the Garrison, who were terrified with the Apprehensions of a general Storm, to beat a Parly, the first of October, at four in the Afternoon. They, at first, refus'd to sur-

Aeth sur-
renders.

1706.

render, upon the Conditions offered them by Mons. d'Auverquerque, upon which the Hostilities were renew'd; but beating a Parly the second time, they were obliged to surrender themselves Prisoners of War: The Circumstances of which, the Reader will see in the two following Letters from Mons. d'Auverquerque to Mr. Secretary Fagel.

Mons. d'Auverquerque's first Letter to Mr. Secretary Fagel.

SIR,

A Letter
from Mons.
d'Auver-
querque to
Mr. Secre-
tary Fagel.

" AFTER we had made ourselves Masters of the Cover'd
" Way of the Counterscarp, and while I was in the Ap-
" proaches, about six o'Clock, last Night, the Enemy beat a
" Parly, and sent out two Officers to demand an honourable
" Capitulation. I let them know, that they were to hope for
" no other Terms, than to be received Prisoners of War; that
" out of Consideration, however, for the Officers, I would
" allow them their Swords and Baggage, and the Soldiers their
" Knapfacks, and gave them half an Hour's time to resolve
" what to do. I sent one of my Adjutants with them, to know
" the Governour's Resolution; but he return'd immediately,
" and told me the Governour would not agree to it; upon
" which, the Hostilities were renew'd. But to-day, towards
" Noon, the Besieged having beat a second Parly, and sent
" back the two Officers that came out to treat with me last
" Night, one of whom is a Colonel, the other an Adjutant to
" the Duke de Vendôme, it was agreed, after some Debate,
" that the Garrison should surrender themselves Prisoners of
" War. We shall take Possession of a Gate to-morrow, and
" the Garrison is to march out on Monday. I do myself the
" Honour to congratulate their High Mightinesses, with all my
" Heart, upon the Surrender of this Place. I wish, and hope,
" that the ALMIGHTY will bless, more and more, the Arms
" of the State, and its High Allies, and make them victorious.
" My Adjutant, Lieutenant-Colonel Mortaigne, is ordered to
" carry this News to their High Mightinesses.

I remain, &c.

October 2.

AUVERQUERQUE.

P. S. " The Garrison consisted of 2100 Men, of which 500
" were killed or wounded, in the Siege. On our Side, 8 or
" 900 Men have been killed or wounded.

According to the Accounts, the French themselves give of
their Loss, at this Siege, they had but 800 Men left, of the
Garrison, when they surrender'd; and they assign that as a
Reason

Reason for the Governour's being obliged to surrender on so hard Conditions; because he had not Men enough to beset all the Posts. and had for that Reason abandon'd the Saillant Angles of the Cover'd Way.

1706.

Monf. d' Auverquerque's second Letter to Mr. Secretary Fagel.

SIR,

Y Eſterday, the Garriſon of Aeth march'd out, as Priſoners of War, conſiſting of 150 Officers, and about 600 Soldiers, beſides almoſt 300 Sick and Wounded, left in the Hoſpitals. I have ſent them to Ghent, to be embark'd there for Bergen op Zoom, where one Half is to continue, and the other Half is ordered for Breda, till their High Mightineſſes think fit to diſpoſe of them, in other Places. Yeſterday, the Baggage, which I had granted to the Officers, was ſent to Mons and Condé, and I gave Leave to the Prince of Spinola, late Governour of Aeth, Monf. de St. Pierre, Commander of the French, Colonel Hondetor, and Colonel St. Valier, to go for France for ſix Weeks, upon Account of their private Affairs. This Morning, I cauſed the Troops poſted about this Place, to draw up upon two Lines. The Enemies cauſe more Troops to march towards Mons.

Another Letter from Monf. d' Auverquerque to Mr. Secretary Fagel.

From the Camp before
Aeth, Oct. 5, 1706.

I am, &c.

AUVERKERQUE.

The Duke of Marlborough remained all this while, encamp'd at Gramez, to cover the Siege of Aeth; and the Duke de Vendôme contented himſelf to look on the taking of that Place, with the ſame Tranquillity, as he had, before, that of Menin: But being apprehenſive that the Allies might have a Deſign, either upon Mons, or Charleroy, he cauſed the Garriſons of thoſe two Places to be re-inforced.

The two Armies join again at Cambron.

This Lukewarmneſs of the Duke de Vendôme, was highly diſtaſteful to the Elector of Bavaria. He wanted to be in Action again; tho' he ſaw a Series of ill Fortune attended him, in whatever he took in hand; but the French did not care to hazard any thing under his Conduct. " They were (ſays a late Author) jealous of the Elector's Heat; and tho' he deſired to command an Army apart, yet it was not thought fit to divide their Forces, tho' now grown to be very numerous. " Deſerters ſaid, the Pannick was ſtill ſo great in the Army, that there was no Appearance of their venturing on any Action. Paris itſelf was under a high Conſternation; and tho' the King carried his Miſfortunes, with an Appearance of Calmneſs and Compoſure; yet he was often let Blood, which

The Elector of Bavaria diſguſted at the French.

Reasons aſſign'd for their paſſive Conduct.

1706.

“ was thought an Indication of a great Commotion within;
 “ and this was no doubt the greater, because it was so much
 “ disguised. No News was talked of at that Court, all was
 “ silent and solemn, so that even the Duchess Dowager of Or-
 “ leans knew not the true State of their Affairs; which made
 “ her write to her Aunt, the Electress of Hannover, to learn
 “ News of her.

Motions of
 both Ar-
 mies.

The Lines before Aeth being all levell'd, the Army, which was employed in that Siege, made a Motion, the fifth of October, in the Afternoon, and, the next Day, encamp'd, with the Right, at Molley, and the Left at Aubre: Whereupon, the French stretch'd out their Camp; so that their Line took up near four Leagues, in length, the Left being at Mortaigne, and the Right at Querrichin. The twelfth, at four in the Afternoon, the Duke sent the Quarter master General, with the Quarter-Colours, and all the Picquet of the Army, and Orders to advance, and pitch a Camp at Cameron Cloister. The thirtieth, in the Morning, the Army commanded by the Duke of Marlborough march'd from Gramez, and having pass'd the Dender, near Leuze, join'd the Army under the Command of Monsf. d'Auverquerque.

The French had reported, that they would fall upon the Rear of the Allies, at Leuze: And they did, indeed, appear, the eighteenth, in the Afternoon, and again the 20th in the Afternoon, with large Bodies of Horse, to reconnoitre the Confederate Camp; but the necessary Precautions being taken against any Attempt, they did not think proper to shew themselves any more. The two Armies being join'd, the whole encamp'd together, on the Plains of Cambron, with the Right at Chierre, and the Left at Lens; the Head-Quarters being at the Abby of Cambron, within two Leagues and a half of Mons.

The D. of
 Marlboro'
 leaves the
 Army.

This increas'd the Enemy's Apprehension for that Place; but the Season being too far advanced for any great Undertaking, and the Confederate Forces too much fatigued, the Duke of Marlborough, having made some Motions, for the greater Convenience of Foraging, left the Army at Ghieslenghien, under the Command of Monsf. d'Auverquerque, and went to Brussels, the seven and twentieth of October, N. S. attended by Mr. Stepney, her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary, and several General Officers.

Makes his
 publick En-
 try at Brus-
 sels.

The Duke was met, at some Distance from the Town, by General Churchill, Count Sinzendorff, and other Persons of Quality, with whom his Grace, at the repeated Request of the Magistrates, made his Entry on Horse-back. At the Anderlech-Port, his Grace was received by the Burgomaster and Magistrates, who there presented him the Keys of Honour, and made him a very polite Speech; in which they express'd their
 Gratitude

1706.

Gratitude to her Majesty of Great Britain, and the English Nation, and to his Grace, the glorious Instrument of their Deliverance. The Streets, thro' which the Duke pass'd, were filled with a great Concourse of the Nobility and Gentry, of both Sexes, and lined with the Burghers under Arms. The Populace made loud Acclamations, and gave all other Demonstrations of Joy; the Cannon, in the mean time, firing from the Ramparts; and the same Honours were paid to his Grace, as were, in former Times, wont to be paid to the Dukes of Burgundy. His Grace alighted, at the Palace of Orange, where he was complimented by the Council of State, the States of Brabant, and the Chief of the Clergy. The eight and twentieth, in the Morning, the Magistrates waited on his Grace again, in a Body, presented him with what they call the Wine of Honour, which was brought in a Tun gilded, and painted with his Grace's Arms, upon a Carriage, with Streamers, drawn by six Horses, preceded by Trumpets and Kettle Drums, and attended by a Cavalcade of young Students, on Horseback, finely cloath'd, with Devices in their Hands, in Honour to his Grace, and in particular representing the great Actions of this Campaign.

His splendid Reception and Entertainment there.

His Grace, having received all possible Marks of Honour and Respect, from the whole City, return'd, the thirty-first of October, to the Army. The third of November he sent Major-General Murray, with four Scotch Battalions, and six of the Danish Troops, towards Courtray, where they had Orders to remain, till the Fortifications of that Town were repair'd, and put into a Posture of Defense.

He returns to the Army.

Two Days after, his Grace set out for the Hague; and the next Day (being the sixth of November, N. S.) the Army moved to St. Quentin Lennick, in order to separate, and march into their Winter Quarters, the Regulation of which was as follows.

Goes to the Hague.

The Army separates.

The English Forces were garrison'd in Ghent, under the Command of General Ingoldsby; the Danes, in Bruges; and the Prussians and Lunenburghers along the Demer, and between the Maese and the Rhine. The Dutch Troops were quarter'd in the following Places, under the following Generals. Mons. d'Auverquerque was appointed to command in chief, in the Netherlands, and to reside at Brussels, having, under him, Messieurs Dopf, and Huekelom, Lieutenant-Generals, and Mons. Villates, and Prince William of Hesse-Cassel, Major-Generals; Count Tilly, General of Horse, was appointed to command in Louvain, with Mr. Dedem, Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of Athlone, Major-General; Mons. Salisch, General of the Infantry, in Mechlin, with Mons. Dompere, Lieutenant-General, and Mr. Collier, Major-General. The Earl

The Repartition of the Winter-Quarters.

1706.

of Albemarle commanded on the Maese, having under him Messieurs Hompesch and Oxenstiern, Lieutenants-General, and Messieurs Souteland and La Lecq, Majors-General; Major-General Murray, in Courtray; Major-General Pallandt, in Menin; Brigadier Pallandt, in Aeth; Major-General Lauder, in Dendermond; Lieutenant-General Spar, in Ostend; and Lieutenant-General Fagel, in Sluys, in Dutch Flanders. All the Brigadiers were order'd to continue with their Regiments, under Penalty of being cashier'd.

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough ar-
rives at the
Hague.

The Duke of Marlborough, having embark'd at Antwerp, the seventh of November, N. S. on board one of the Yachts belonging to the Admiralty of the Maese, arrived, the eighth, at Rotterdam, and, the next Morning, at the Hague, attended by Count Sinzendorff, and Mr. Stepney. The latter, being recall'd from Vienna, where he was her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, came to the Hague, to succeed Mr. Alexander Stanhope, in the same Character; the Queen having thought fit to allow Mr. Stanhope, to quit that publick Station, which he was no longer able to discharge to his own Satisfaction, by reason of his great Age, and ill State of Health.

Character of
Mr. Step-
ney.

As I shall have farther Occasion to make honourable Mention of Mr. Stepney, in the Sequel, some Account of his Family, Rise and Establishment in publick Business, may not be unacceptable to the Reader. "George Stepney, Esq; was
"indeed born in Westminster, but was descended from the
"Family of the Stepney's in Pembroke-shire. He had the
"good Fortune to be educated at Cambridge, at the same
"Time with Mr. Montague, afterwards Lord Halifax, who
"brought him to Town, and sent him Secretary to Mr. John-
"ston, Envoy at the Court of Berlin. When that Gentleman
"was recall'd, and made Secretary of State for Scotland,
"Mr. Stepney remain'd there and was made Resident. He was
"afterwards sent Envoy to the King of Poland; and he being
"noted for understanding the Affairs of Germany better than
"ever any Englishman did before him, and that there were but
"few Germans who understood them so well, he was employ'd
"by King William to negotiate Affairs at several Courts of
"Germany; in all which Commissions he discharged his Duty
"so well, that, at his Return to England, the King made
"him one of the Commissioners of Trade, and sent him af-
"terwards to reside, with the Character of Envoy Extraor-
"dinary, at the Court of Vienna, in which Post, the Queen,
"at her Accession to the Throne, continued him, with the
"Addition of Plenipotentiary, till she afterwards sent for him
"from Vienna to the Hague, to succeed Mr. Alexander Stan-
"hope in the same Character: No Man ever was or could be
"better

“ better qualified to serve his Country in foreign Negotiations :
 “ He was possess’d of excellent natural Parts, and of a great
 “ Share of Learning ; he was a thorough Statesman, and
 “ spoke almost every Language, as well antient as modern, in
 “ great Perfection ; he was very agreeable in Conversation, and
 “ wrote his Letters in a clear and eloquent Stile ; and with all
 “ these Qualifications necessary for a Minister, was very polite
 “ and affable, and besides, so good a Poet, that England has
 “ produced very few, if any, that have exceeded him : And
 “ indeed such a Person was highly requisite to succeed so able
 “ a Person as his Predecessor at the Hague.”

The Duke of Marlborough having received the Compliments of the States, foreign Ministers, and other Persons of Distinction, on his wonderful and glorious Campaign, his Grace had several Conferences with the Deputies of the States, in which, among other Things, it was agreed, That the Steps France had made towards a Peace, should be communicated to the Ministers of the Allies, in order to remove all Suspicions of clandestine Negotiations, and encourage the several Members of the Grand Alliance, to redouble their Efforts against the next Campaign.

Confers
with the
Deputies of
the States.

The States having, therefore, desired the Ministers of the Allies, residing at the Hague, to be present, the twenty-first of November, at an extraordinary Congress, their Deputies for foreign Affairs made a Notification to them, which gave them great Satisfaction :

Offers made
by France
for a Peace.

“ They own’d, that France had formerly, by some private
 “ Persons, made general Intimations of their Willingness to
 “ treat of Peace ; and that, last Winter, the Marquis d’Ale-
 “ gre had presented to the States a formal Memorial, on the
 “ same Subject, the Substance of which was read to the Con-
 “ gress : That they had given no Ear to these Advances,
 “ nor communicated them to the Allies ; because they did not
 “ judge them worth imparting to them. But that, in October
 “ past, the Elector of Bavaria had written a Letter to the Duke
 “ of Marlborough, and another to the Field-Deputies of the
 “ States ; which two Letters, and the Answers that had been
 “ returned to them, were also communicated to the Congress.
 That to the Duke of Marlborough, with his Answer, were as follows :

Communi-
cated to the
Allies.

1706.

A Letter from the Elector of Bavaria to the Prince and Duke of Marlborough.

The Elec-
tor of Ba-
varia's Let-
ter to the
Duke of
Marlboro'.

“ THE most Christian King, Sir, finding, that some O-
“ vertures of Peace, which he had caused to be made
“ in a private Manner, instead of producing the Effect of
“ making known his Dispositions, towards procuring a general
“ Peace, have been look'd upon, by ill-designing Persons, as
“ an Artifice to disunite the Allies, and make an Advantage
“ of the Misunderstanding that might be created among them ;
“ has resolv'd to shew the Sincerity of his Intentions, by re-
“ nouncing all secret Negotiations, and openly proposing Con-
“ ferences, in which, Means may be found, for re-establishing
“ the Tranquillity of Europe.

“ The most Christian King is pleas'd to charge me to inform
“ you of this, and to desire you to acquaint the Queen of Eng-
“ land with it.

“ I give the like Notification, on the Part of the most
“ Christian King, to the States General, by a Letter that I
“ have written to their Field-Deputies ; and he would do the
“ like with regard to the other Potentates, that are at War
“ with him, had they Ministers near at hand, as you are, to
“ receive the like Intimation, he having no Design to exclude
“ any of the said Potentates, from the Negotiation, that shall
“ be begun, in the Conferences he proposes. Moreover, for
“ advancing a Good, so great and necessary to Europe, which
“ has too long suffer'd the inevitable Calamities of War,
“ he consents that a Place may forthwith be chosen, between
“ the two Armies, and after their being separated, between
“ Mons and Brussels, in which you, Sir, with whom the In-
“ terests of England are so safely entrusted, the Deputies
“ which the States shall please to nominate, and the Persons
“ whom the King of France shall empower, may begin to treat
“ upon so important an Affair.

“ I am extremely pleas'd, Sir, to have such an Occasion
“ to write you this Letter, being persuas'd it will leave no
“ Room to doubt of the Sentiments of his most Christian
“ Majesty, which may be so beneficial to all Europe.

“ You will be glad to give an Account of it to the Queen
“ of England, without Loss of Time, and to whomsoever else
“ you shall think fit. I shall expect your Answer, Sir, to ac-
“ quaint the most Christian King with it ; and shall be al-
“ ways ready, Sir, to do your Service.

Sign'd,

Mons, Oct.
21, 1706.

M. EMANUEL, Elector.

The

The Answer from the Duke of Marlborough to the Elector of Bavaria.

SIR,
 " HAVING communicated to the Queen, my Mistress, The Duke
 " what your Electoral Highness did me the Honour to of Marlbo-
 " write to me, in your Letter of the 21st of last Month, of rough's An-
 " the Intentions of the most Christian King, to endeavour to swer.
 " re-establish the Tranquillity of Europe, by Conferences to be
 " held for that Purpose, between Deputies on both Sides, her
 " Majesty has commanded me to answer your Electoral High-
 " ness, that she has received with Pleasure the Notice of the
 " King's Inclination, to agree to the making of a solid and
 " lasting Peace with all the Allies, being the sole End that ob-
 " liged her Majesty to continue this War till now, so she will
 " be very glad to conclude it, in Concert with all her Allies,
 " on such Conditions as may secure them from all Apprehen-
 " sions of being forced to take up Arms again, after a short
 " Interval, as has so lately happened. Her Majesty is also
 " willing I should declare, that she is ready to enter jointly
 " with all the high Allies, into just and necessary Measures for
 " attaining to such a Peace: Her Majesty being resolved not
 " to enter upon any Negotiation without the Participation of
 " her said Allies. But the way of Conferences that is propos'd,
 " without more particular Declarations, on the Part of his
 " most Christian Majesty, does not seem to her to be proper
 " for obtaining a truly solid and lasting Peace. The States
 " General are of the same Opinion. Wherefore your Electo-
 " ral Highness will rightly judge, that other more solid Means
 " must be thought on, to obtain so great an End, to which
 " her Majesty will contribute, with all the Sincerity that can
 " be wish'd, having nothing so much at Heart, as the Relief
 " of her Subjects, and the Tranquillity of Europe. Your E-
 " lectoral Highness will always do me the Justice to be persua-
 " ded of the Respect, with which I have the Honour to be,
 " &c.

Hague, Nov. 20, 1706.

The Elector's Letter to the Deputies of the States, with their Answer, being much of the same Tenour, with those to and from the Duke of Marlborough, I omit them.

After the Reading of these Pieces, the Deputies of the States made a Speech to the Congress, pursuant to the Instructions given them by their High Mightinesses for that Purpose, in which they represented: " That their High Mightinesses
 Substance of the Speech made by the Deputies on that Occasion.

1706.

“ being firmly resolved to observe their Alliances, in every Part,
 “ and to do nothing that may be contrary thereto, would not
 “ be wanting to lay before them, the Propositions that have
 “ been made to them, and what they have resolved thereupon.
 “ That a Peace would be extreamly agreeable to their
 “ High Mightinesses, and, without doubt, to all the other
 “ High Allies, provided it could be had on such Terms, as
 “ might reasonably promise its being firm and lasting; but that
 “ the Conferences propos’d, without a more particular Declaration
 “ of the Intentions of France, and without a probable
 “ Certainty or Appearance of good Success, did not seem to
 “ their High Mightinesses to be a proper Means for attaining
 “ it, but much rather a Means, by such Conferences about a
 “ Peace, to divert the Thoughts of War, and of the great Preparations
 “ the Enemy make, and to lull some of the Allies asleep by the
 “ Hopes of Peace: That their High Mightinesses, for their
 “ own Parts, are resolved to abide by the Measures they had
 “ taken, and the Alliances they had made, which God had
 “ hitherto so wonderfully bless’d, and to execute and observe
 “ sincerely what was stipulated and promised by the
 “ Treaties, and therefore not to enter into any Negotiation of
 “ Peace, but jointly with their High Allies, and to communicate
 “ to them faithfully, conformable to the said Treaties, the
 “ Proposals that may be made to them on this Subject, expecting
 “ that the said High Allies would do no less on their Part.

Reasons why the French sued for a Peace.

The French had very substantial Reasons to induce them to sue for a Peace, at this time: The raising of the Siege of Barcelona; the Loss of the Battle of Ramellies, and the Consequences that attended it; the total Defeat of their Army, before the Walls of Turin, by the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, which entirely chang’d the Affairs in Italy; the Streights to which the King’s Treasury was reduc’d, and which were but ill remedied, by forcing and imposing Mint-Bills upon the Nation, instead of ready Money: All these, I say, concurr’d to cast the Court of France, into the utmost Consternation and Perplexity, and obliged them to make these publick Advances towards a Peace.

These Overtures towards a Peace on the Side of France, being look’d upon to be too general to ground a Treaty upon, and being, for that Reason rejected; Reflections were again cast upon the principal Persons concern’d, on the Side of the Allies, as if they acted rather with private Views, than for the publick Good. It was no Wonder, (says a French Author) that these “ Advances made by France, however sincere, had “ no Effect; because the three principal Powers, on whom “ this Accommodation depended, were govern’d by three “ Persons,

Their Reflections on the Duke of Marlboro’, &c.

“ Persons, whose private Interest it was to continue the War ;
 “ that is, Prince Eugene, the Duke of Marlborough, and Pen-
 “ sionary Heinfius. It is well known (continues my Author)
 “ that Prince Eugene, besides the particular Enmity he had
 “ conceived against France, his native Country, was entirely
 “ in the Sentiments of the Emperor, who contributing little or
 “ nothing to this War, which was begun in his Favour, and in
 “ which he could lose nothing, but had a Prospect of gaining
 “ much, it was his Interest to see it continued ; that the
 “ Duke of Marlborough had an absolute Power over the
 “ Minds, not only of the Queen, but of the Parliament, and
 “ the more as the principal Offices of the Kingdom were
 “ fill’d with his Creatures ; and lastly, that Pensionary Hein-
 “ fius, being subservient to the Wills of Prince Eugene, and
 “ the Duke of Marlborough, was so entirely Master of the
 “ Republick of Holland, that it was, as it were, wholly
 “ robb’d of its former Liberty, and the Good of the Publick
 “ sacrificed to his private Interest.” Here, indeed is a direct
 Charge of private Interest against the Pensionary, tho’ not sup-
 ported by the least Shadow of Proof ; but for our two Warriours,
 I find nothing like it, alledged in particular or circum-
 stantially.

The Duke of Marlborough having settled several important
 Affairs with the States, particularly, at the Desire of the Duke
 of Savoy, the Continuation of the Hessian Troops in Italy, his
 Grace sail’d from the Maese, the six and twentieth of Novem-
 ber, N. S. attended by several of her Majesty’s Yachts, and
 Men of War, and landed at Margate, the next Day, and, two
 Days after, came to London.

The Duke
 of Marlbo-
 rough ar-
 rives at Lon-
 don.

The Affairs of the Allies in Germany were not so successful as
 in the Low Countries ; tho’ the French did not make all the
 Advantage, which their Grand Monarch might reasonably have
 expected from the Superiority of his Army, under the Command
 of the Marshals de Villars and de Marfin, to that under the
 Command of Prince Lewis of Baden. Their Success went no
 farther than regaining from the fatal Slowness of the Germans,
 what they had lost the foregoing Campaign : For when they
 hoped to have made some Conquests on that Side, they were di-
 verted from acting any longer offensively, by the Duke of
 Marlborough’s Success in the Netherlands, which obliged those
 Marshals to send strong Detachments thither, as I have already
 observed above.

The Affairs
 of Ger-
 many.

Prince Lewis’s melancholy Situation, and the Reproaches
 (deserved or undeserved I shall not pretend to determine) which
 he was sensible he lay under of favouring France, when he saw
 he could do no more Service, at the Head of the Imperial Army,
 but was obliged to sit quiet, and deplore his melancholy Condi-
 tion,

Death of
 Pr. Lewis
 of Baden.

1706.

tion, with the Reflection; *That, as Affairs were, at this time, managed, the greatest Misfortune that could befall a Man of Honour, was to command an Imperial Army:* These Things, I say, induced him to retire to the Baths of Schlangenbad; and, in all Probability, did not a little contribute to the lingering Sickness, of which he died, at Radstadt, the fourth of January, N. S. I shall not detain the Reader with a Character of this unfortunate Prince, and once reputed great and skilful General, whose Loss of Fame was owing to a Chain of Causes, and perhaps to none more, than his Jarring with the Council of War at Vienna, who were observed always to cross his Projects, and to fail in supplying him with what was necessary to put them in Execution.

The Duke of Marlborough invested in the Principality of Mindelheim,

I shall conclude my brief Account of the Affairs of Germany, with a short Relation of the Investiture of the Duke of Marlborough, in the Principality of Mindelheim. The Emperor having, in November last, erected that County into a Principality of the Empire, and conferred the same on the Duke of Marlborough, and her Majesty having been pleased to allow Mr. Stepney, her Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Imperial Court, to take Possession thereof, in his Highness's Name, the Ceremony was perform'd there, in the Town Hall, on the 24th of May, N. S. and, the next Day, by the Officers, Magistrates, Burghers, and other Subjects of that Principality, to whom Count Konigseg, one of the Emperour's Privy Council, and his first Commissioner for this Act, declared, that his Imperial Majesty had transferred on the Duke, in Consideration of his Important Services, all his Right to the said Principality, in Testimony whereof, a Secretary of the Feudal Court read the Lehn Brief, or Letter of Investiture, and then a Patent, whereby the said Officers and Subjects, were first discharged from the Obedience and Vassalage, which they swore a Year before to his Imperial Majesty, upon the Death of Maximilian, late Duke of Bavaria, and afterwards were directed to take a new Oath of Homage to the Duke of Marlborough, as Prince of Mindelheim, which was administer'd to them accordingly, by Mr. Stepney's Orders, in the Presence of Count Konigseg, and two other Imperial Commissioners, Baron Volmar, and Baron Imhoff, who had lately the joint Administration of that Country. The whole Ceremony was performed with a great deal of Decency; and the People, in general, gave all Demonstrations of Satisfaction, in being under his Highness's Protection. Some time before, the Emperor sent a Decree to the Diet of the Empire, importing: That having thought fit to create the Duke of Marlborough, a Prince of the Empire, in Consideration of his eminent Services, he had erected the County of Mindelheim into a Principality, and given the same to that Prince, to qualify him to sit and

1706.

and vote in the College of Princes of the Empire, and that, therefore, his Majesty recommended them to admit his Plenipotentiary thereinto, without any Delay, that the said Prince might be encouraged more and more, to continue his Services to Germany, and the Common Cause. And, in November following, the Duke's Minister was accordingly introduced into the College of Princes, at the Diet, by Count Pappenheim, Hereditary Vice-Marshal of the Empire, with all the Marks of Respect.

As his Grace had the Honour to be ranked among the Princes of the Empire, so he was obliged (*as well as the other Princes and States*) in case of Necessity, to have furnished a Quota of Money and Men, for Defense of the Empire; which, for the Principality of Mindelheim, according to the Matricula, settled by the Emperor Charles V. is three Horse, ten Foot, and seventy-six Florins; and his Seat, in the College of Princes, at the Diet of the Empire, was next to the Duke of Schwartzemburg, and before the Counts of Suabia, Wetteravia, Franconia, and Westphalia.

Mr. Stepney, the Duke of Marlboro's Plenipotentiary, admitted to the Diet of the Empire. The Duke's Quota.

And Seat.

I have already mentioned, what a happy Turn the Affairs of Italy had taken, in Favour of the Allies, upon the Raising of the Siege of Turin, by the Confederate Army, under the Command of the Duke of Savoy, and Prince Eugene, after which, that victorious Army carried every Thing before them.

Affairs of Italy.

The French pretended, that all this, and particularly the Raising of the Siege, was done by Order from Court; and that the Duchess of Burgundy, the Daughter of King Victor Amadeus, was the Person that prevailed on Lewis XIV. to consent to it. But this Pretence seems to be a very lame one; for, surely, a Retreat, concerted in the Cabinet, would not only have been made in better Order, and not have had the Appearance of a Flight; but would have prevented this Army from being oblig'd to fight against his Will and his Orders, and the exposing the Honour of his Nephew; and would, moreover have saved the Lives of a great many Men, that were lost in this Defeat.

In Spain, the Affairs of King Charles might, likewise, have been reduced to a happy Crisis, and his Catholick Majesty, in all Probability, put in a quiet Possession of all that Monarchy, had not the unadvised, if not sinister Counsels, of his German Ministers, and an ill-timed Fit of Devotion, induced him to take an inconsiderate Progress to Saragossa, instead of going directly to Madrid, as advised by his best Friends and trusty Allies, which gave Time and Opportunity to the French and Gallo-Spaniards, to recover from the Consternation they were reduced to, to re-inforce their Army, and to regain what the Confederates had won, at a vast Expence of Blood and Treasure.

Of Spain.

And of the
North,

As to the Affairs of the North, I have hitherto pass'd them by, as having no immediate Connexion with the Purport of this History; but I shall be obliged now, to make some Mention of them; because they begin, about this time, to open a Scene, in which the Duke of Marlborough had, the ensuing Year, a notable and honourable Share, and in which his prudent Conduct again decided the Fate of Europe, in Favour of the Grand Alliance.

CHAP. IV.

Some Occurrences between the Allies and the King of Sweden, with other Transactions to the Conclusion of the Year, 1706.

1706.

Stanislaus
crown'd
King of
Poland.

THE Affairs of King Augustus of Poland were now reduced to so low an Ebb, that, brave as he was, (giving too large a Scope to his Pleasures) he had been induced to retire into Saxony, leaving the greater Part of that Kingdom in the Possession of the victorious Charles XII. and to suffer Stanislaus, who, by the Sewdith Faction, was elected King of Poland, to be crown'd at Warfaw. This Coronation being attended with a Treaty, between that Prince, and the King of Sweden, awaken'd Augustus from his Lethargy, and obliged him to return from Saxony to Poland, to make a stricter Alliance with the Czar; but the Army, which was to follow him from Saxony, was scarce arriv'd near Fraustadt, in February, but it was defeated, by the Swedish General Reinchild.

The King
of Sweden
marches in-
to Saxony.

It was then believed, that the King of Sweden would not have allow'd Augustus Time to repair that Loss, by the Russian Succours; but would have pursued, and obliged him totally to abandon Poland and Lithuania; but it soon appeared, that he had other Designs in View. The Remainder of the Campaign was spent in Marches and Counter-marches, and in raising of Contributions; after which, King Charles, having re-inforced his Army, and left two Bodies of Troops in Poland, march'd suddenly into Saxony, in September, and thereby hinder'd King Augustus, from receiving any Supplies from his Hereditary Dominions. The Affairs of the latter were in this desperate Condition, when another Event, no less unexpected, seem'd to buoy up the sinking Spirits and Hopes of his Party, by the Victory he (or rather the Poles and Russians, on his Side; for he himself had no Share in it) gain'd at Kalisch, the nine and twentieth of October, N. 3.

over

over General Mardefeldt, and the Palatine of Kiovia: But the News of this Battle was scarce made publick, when the Scene was shifted again by a Peace, still more surprizing than all the rest, being sign'd, the four and twentieth of September, between Charles, Augustus and Stanislaus, above a Month before the obtaining of that Victory: Which, however, to the yet greater Surprize of every one, made no Alteration in the Treaty; tho' King Augustus thereby gave up the Kingdom of Poland, renounc'd all Right to the great Dukedom of Lithuania, and solemnly acknowledged Stanislaus, as true, rightful King of Poland, and great Duke of Lithuania. Various were the Opinions of the Motives which could induce Augustus, to condescend to such dishonourable Terms, to procure a Pacification, and to consent to abandon his constant Ally, the Czar of Muscovy. The most general Opinion was, that he did it out of a tender Regard for his Hereditary Dominions; but herein he was miserably disappointed; since they suffer'd as much after the Peace, as they could have done by the Continuance of the War: For the King of Sweden still exacted heavy Contributions from them, with the utmost Severity; it was generally said to be to the Amount of nine and twenty Millions of Rix-Dollars, or above five Millions Sterling; a prodigious Sum for so small, tho' plentiful and flourishing a Country; and, I must confess, I was strangely surprized, being in those Parts, at that Time, to find little or no Appearance of Want or Distress. It fell, indeed, hardest, for the present, on the landest Interest; for as a very great Part of the Money was spent in the Country, the Trading Part of the Electorate, especially Leipzick, gain'd, rather than suffered, by these Exactions. Augustus, however, put a pretty good Face upon the Matter, and shewed, in outward Appearance, fewer Signs of Resentment, than might reasonably have been expected; especially considering what Advantages Charles took of his Misfortunes, to treat him not in the most kingly Manner. It has been currently reported, that this unrelenting Monarch, not content with having dethroned his Enemy, and placed his Crown on the Head of another, insisted, some Months after, upon his congratulating the new King, by a Letter under his own Hand, a supposed Copy of which was pretty publickly dispers'd.

Monsieur de Voltaire, who makes no Manner of Scruple of averring the Truth of this Fact, gives a Copy, not only of this pretended Letter from Augustus, but of Stanislaus's Answer, of which, for the Singularity of them, I shall give the Reader Translations.

1706.

A Peace between the King of Sweden, King Augustus, and King Stanislaus.

Some Remarks upon it.

1706.

King Augustus's Letter to King Stanislaus.

Sir and Brother,

A supposed
Letter from
King Au-
gustus to
King Sta-
nislaus.

“ AS I ought to have a Regard to the Entreaties of the
“ King of Sweden, I cannot dispense with congratulating
“ your Majesty, upon your Accession to the Throne; tho’ the
“ advantageous Treaty, which that King had lately concluded
“ for your Majesty, might perhaps have been a sufficient Excuse
“ for my avoiding this Correspondence. Nevertheless, I con-
“ gratulate your Majesty, and pray God that your Subjects
“ may give greater Proofs of their Loyalty to you, than they
“ have to me.

Leipzick, April 8, 1707.

AUGUSTUS, King.

I have translated this from Voltaire; but I have another Copy, something different, by which, if genuine, it appears, that Stanislaus had before written to Augustus, to notify his Accession to the Throne of Poland.

Another Letter supposed to be from King Augustus to King Stanislaus.

Sir and Brother,

Another
Letter sup-
posed to be
from King
Augustus to
King Sta-
nislaus.

“ IF we have not answered your Majesty’s Letter sooner,
“ it was because we did not think it necessary to enter
“ into a particular Correspondence by Letters, at this Time.
“ However, to satisfy his Majesty, the King of Sweden, and
“ that he may not impute it to us, our being too difficult in
“ complying with his Demands, we give you Joy upon your
“ Accession to the Crown; hoping, at the same Time, that
“ your Majesty will find the Subjects of your Kingdom more
“ faithful and obedient, than those we left there. All the
“ World agree with us, in this Point, as it is well known, that
“ for all our Favours, we have had no other Return but Ingrat-
“ titude; and that the greatest Part of the Persons, upon whom
“ we have abundantly conferr’d them, have been industrious
“ only in forming Cabals against us, with the View of promot-
“ ing our Ruin. We wish your Majesty may not be exposed to
“ the like Events, recommending you to the Divine Protection.

Given at Dresden this 8th of April, 1707.

Sir and Brother,

Your good Brother and Neighbour,

AUGUSTUS, R.

Undersign’d, A. H. PHLUG.

And directed,

To his Majesty, the K.

The

The Answer to this Letter, from King Stanislaus to King Augustus, if that given us by Monsieur de Voltaire, may be supposed to be genuine, was in every Respect as cold, as either of the above. He probably perceiv'd, that Augustus, when he complained of the Ingratitude of his Subjects, designed it as a Reproach upon himself, he having given him the Palatinate of Polinania.

1706.

King Stanislaus's Answer.

Sir and Brother,

“**Y**OUR Majesty's Correspondence is a new Instance of His Answer.
“ the Obligation I have to the King of Sweden. I have
“ a true Sense of the Compliments you make me upon my Accession. I hope my Subjects will have no Reason to be wanting
“ of their Loyalty to me; because I shall observe the Laws of
“ the Kingdom.

STANISLAUS, King of POLAND.

These Letters belong, indeed, more properly, to the Transactions of the ensuing Year, of which I shall give Account in the following Chapter; but as I shall treat of these Matters there, no farther than as the Duke of Marlborough was concern'd in them, I hope this Anticipation will be excus'd.

But to return from this Digression: On the seventeenth of December, of this Year, Charles and Augustus had an Interview at Alt-Ranstadt, two German Miles from Leipzick; where, in Remembrance of the Peace, a yearly Fair was granted, called the Frieden's-Mart, or Fair of Peace.

An Interview between Charles XII. and Augustus.

Augustus, to throw off some Part of the Pusillanimity, of which he was accus'd, on this Occasion, some Years after, when the Tide turned again in his Favour, called Baron Imhoff, and Monsieur Pfingsten, his Plenipotentiaries for concluding that Peace, to an Account for it, under Pretence, that they had exceeded their Commission; and they suffered for it, tho' most thought wrongfully. But to come to the Point, which introduced this Digression.

His Swedish Majesty's marching into Saxony gave just Cause of Jealousy to the High Allies: Dr. Robinson (afterwards Bishop of London) and Monsieur Haerfolet, Envoys from her Majesty and the States General, in Poland, had, therefore, Orders to attend that Monarch, and to observe his Motions; but before their Departure from Dantzick, they sent him the following Letter.

The Allies jealous of the King of Sweden.

1706.

A Letter
from the
English and
Dutch Mi-
nisters to
the King of
Sweden.

SIR,
“ **H** E R sacred Majesty of Great Britain, and their High
“ and Mightinesses the States General of the United Pro-
“ vinces, have frequently declared to your Majesty their Sentiments and good Wishes, for preserving the Tranquillity of the
“ Empire, particularly that Part thereof, which lies next to
“ Poland; and your Majesty’s Answers to their Representations
“ were such as gave them a Prospect of your Majesty’s Compliance with their Request, and of your having such Views
“ for the Good of the Common Cause, as to join your Forces to
“ those of the Allies, who fight for the Tranquillity of Europe;
“ or, at least, to do nothing which may interrupt any farther
“ Opportunities of their acting with Glory and Success against
“ the Common Enemy, till an equitable and lasting Peace shall
“ be concluded, on such Terms as shall disable France from violating it hereafter, with Impunity, if the Course of that
“ great good Fortune, which has hitherto attended the Arms of
“ the Allies, in bridling the Disturber of Mankind, be not
“ diverted; since, next to God’s Glory, they wish for nothing
“ more, than that every one may be preserved in the Possession
“ of his own Right; and as they think this necessary for themselves, so they believe it cannot prejudice Sweden, since it is
“ too evident, that France aims at nothing less, than to disturb
“ all the Princes and States equally; so that, if they be not all
“ secured, they must be all Slaves. Several Rumours have
“ been spread abroad; which tho’ they are not credited in England and Holland, yet being somewhat perplexing, we have
“ sent to pray your Majesty, not to touch the Empire, with
“ your Arms, nor engage in any Course, which may endanger
“ your Friends, Allies, and all Europe, which God Almighty prevent.

J. ROBINSON.

J. V. HAERSOLET.

The King
of Sweden’s
Answer.

To this Letter the King of Sweden answered, “ That he
“ had no Design, by this Invasion of Saxony, to undertake
“ any Thing to the Prejudice of his Friends and Allies; but,
“ being provoked by an unjust War, to do what the Law of Nations allows, he ought long since to have removed the Seat of
“ the War, to that Electorate, where it had its Source, and
“ had been supported so many Years; but that he forbore doing it, at the Intercession of the Allies, and would not make
“ use of his Right, as long as he had any Prospect of curbing an
“ obstinate Enemy; but since his Affairs would not suffer him
“ to be amused any longer, and that he could not permit the
“ Enemy to repair his Strength, so often broke to no Purpose,
“ there

1706.

“ there was a Necessity of attacking the Fountain, from whence
 “ so many Evils had sprung; hoping, that the Allies would
 “ have no Cause to complain, if, by this Expedition, their
 “ Successes should be interrupted; since it was very apparent,
 “ Saxony had done so much Mischief, and would do more, if
 “ not prevented, &c.

This Answer not being satisfactory, and the Suspicion of the
 Allies still encreasing, upon the King of Sweden's raising great
 Numbers of Men, throughout the Empire (notwithstanding the
 Peace concluded with Augustus) and his admitting the King of
 France's, and the Elector of Bavaria's Ministers, to his Au-
 dience, the English and Dutch Ministers were directed to desire
 his Swedish Majesty would declare his real Intentions. That
 reserved Prince put them, however, still off, with dubious An-
 swers, and refused to open his Mind to any one, but to the
 Duke of Marlborough; whose successful Negotiation with
 that Prince, I shall relate, in the ensuing Chapter, more fully
 than has hitherto been done by any Historian, I have, at least,
 seen.

The An-
 swer unsat-
 isfactory.

He refuses
 to open him-
 self to any
 but the D.
 of Marlbo-
 rough.

The Duke of Marlborough, notwithstanding the many other
 weighty Concerns, which at this time occupied his Time and
 Thoughts, neglected nothing that might contribute to prevent
 the evil Consequences, which might attend these Proceedings of
 Sweden. By his constant Vigilance he had a very early Know-
 ledge of every Step the King of Sweden took; and as he was
 sensible, that the Court of Hannover took Care likewise to have
 the most early Intelligence of that Monarch's Proceedings, and
 was nearly concerned to prevent the Consequences of them,
 he began, by consulting with his then Electoral Highness (his
 late Majesty, King George I.) under whose auspicious Concur-
 rence and Councils, his Grace continued his Negotiations, on
 this Head, till they were brought to a happy Conclusion.
 The following Pieces are evincing Proofs, that the Duke of
 Marlborough had this Affair at Heart.

His Grace's
 Vigilance
 and prudent
 Conduct.

*Extract of a Letter from the Duke of Marlborough, to a Gentle-
 man very much in the Esteem of his late Majesty, at
 Hannover.*

From the Camp at Gramés, Sept. 15, 1706.

S I R,

“ I Just received your Letter of the seventh Instant, and am
 “ very much obliged to you, for the Account you give me
 “ of the Entrance of the King of Sweden into Saxony; which,
 “ if proper Measures be not taken, in time, to prevent it,
 “ may be of fatal Consequence to the High Allies. With a
 “ View to this, upon the first Report of the Troops being in

Extract of
 a Letter
 from the
 Duke of
 Marlbo-
 rough, to
 Moni. ***,
 at Han-
 nover.

F f 4

“ Motion,

1706.

“ Motion, I applied myself, some Days ago, to his Electoral
 “ Highness, to entreat his prudent Advice, in a Case of so nice
 “ a Nature; and I do not doubt but her Majesty, the Queen,
 “ and the States General, will be very desirous of it. I shall
 “ be in daily Expectation of his Electoral Highness’s Answer,
 “ for our Guide; in the mean time, you will very much
 “ oblige me, by communicating what Intelligence you may pro-
 “ cure of that King’s Design: In which I am persuaded France
 “ has been tampering, at least, with the Ministers of that
 “ Court; &c.

This Letter was written, originally, in French, and

Sign’d,

The Prince and Duke of

MARLBOROUGH.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Cardonnel, to Mons. ***, at
 Hannover, translated from the Original, in French.*

From the Camp at Cambron, Oct. 14, 1706.

“ **W**ITH regard to the King of Sweden, I do not find,
 “ that the States are inclined to pursue any but amica-
 “ ble Measures; and I think you may be convinced, that the
 “ Queen will, in this Affair, entirely follow the Advice of his
 “ Electoral Highness. I wrote, some Days since, to Mr. Ro-
 “ binson, that, according to the Opinion of my Lord Duke,
 “ he, together with the Minister of the States General, should
 “ repair to Saxony, tho’ he should not yet have received par-
 “ ticular Orders for it from our Court, but to expect them there,
 “ which I am apt to believe he will do.

“ I am of your Opinion, that Count Wratislau, tho’ he
 “ promises Wonders, is, by no Means, a proper Person, to treat
 “ with the King of Sweden, at this Juncture. For my Part, I
 “ cannot forbear thinking, it is chiefly his Fault, that the
 “ Treaty with the Hungarians did not take Effect.

I am, &c.

A. CARDONNEL.

P. S. “ It is said, that Mons. de Vendôme has Carte Blanche;
 “ he threatens us what he will do, when our Troops are gone
 “ into Winter-Quarters.

Extract

1706.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Cardonnel, to Mons. ***, at Hannover, translated from the Original, in French.*

Hague, Nov. 4, 1706.

“ **T**HE Treaty, between King Augustus, and the King
 “ of Sweden, has, as you will easily conceive, extream-
 “ ly surpriz’d us ; becausa we could never believe the former
 “ capable of taking such a Step. I must confess, Sir, you
 “ always judg’d aright ; however, I think, it is better that he
 “ has done it of his own Accord, than by the Means of others.
 “ We hope his Swedish Majesty will now think of leaving
 “ Saxony quickly, and of carrying his Arms to some other
 “ Parts, where they may give less Apprehensions to the
 “ Allies, &c.

Extract of a
 Letter from
 Mr. Cardonnel, to
 Mons. ***,
 at Han-
 nover.

A. CARDONNEL.

*Translation of a Letter from Mr. Cardonnel, to Mons. ***, at Hannover.*

St. James’s, November 19, 1706.

“ **S**IR,
 “ **W**E arriv’d here yesterday, and it is by Orders of
 “ my Lord Duke, that I have now the Honour of Wri-
 “ ting to you, to acquaint you, that his Highness found People
 “ very uneasy in Holland (and it seems to be the same
 “ Case here,) at the little Appearance there is of the King
 “ of Sweden’s quitting Saxony, so soon as was hoped ; tho’
 “ the Peace with King Augustus has been so long ratified.
 “ As for his Highness, he seems to repose an entire Con-
 “ fidence, in the upright Intentions of his Swedish Majesty.
 “ Nevertheless, as the long Stay of his Army in Saxony
 “ causes Uneasiness elsewhere, he desires you will acquaint
 “ him, by the first Opportunity, with the Sentiments of his
 “ Electoral Highness, on this Head. Our Parliament will be
 “ prorogued for about a Fortnight, in Hopes that, in the
 “ mean time, the Affairs of Scotland will be brought to a
 “ happy Conclusion.

A Letter
 from Mr.
 Cardonnel to
 Mons. ***,
 at Han-
 nover.

I am, &c,

A. CARDONNEL.

The third of December, the Earl of Sunderland was made Secretary of State, in the room of Sir Charles Hedges ; but, tho’ the Duke’s Son-in-Law, it was not till after much Sollicitation, that the Queen could be prevail’d with, to make this Alteration.

Earl of
 Sunderland
 made Secra-
 tary of State.

The

1706.

“ The Duke of Marlborough (*says a Noble Author, than whom,*
 “ *no one could know his Sentiments better*) was not, in his Inclination, for this Promotion of my Lord Sunderland. I have
 “ a Letter (*continues my Author*) from him, expressing his Dislike to the Design; but how hard pressed both he and my
 “ Lord Godolphin were to have it brought to Effect, will fully
 “ appear by the following Letter, on the same Subject.

This Letter was dated from Gramez, where the Duke lay with the Army under his Command, to cover the Siege of Aeth, in October, 1706. and, as it shews with what Indifference he acted, with regard to those Enemies of his who were endeavouring to undermine him in the Queen's Favour; and with what Disinterestedness, with regard to his own Family, when the Question was the Advancement of one so nearly allied to him, to a Post in which he might have co-operated with the rest of his Friends in being a Support to his Interest, if it wanted any, may not improperly be inserted here.

“ When (*says the Duke*) I writ my last, I was very full of
 “ the Spleen, and I think with too much Reason. My whole
 “ Time, to the best of my Understanding, has been employed for the
 “ PUBLICK GOOD, as I do assure, I do, in the Presence of God,
 “ neglecting no Opportunity of letting 83. (*the Queen*) see, what I
 “ take to be her true Interest. It is terrible to go thro' so much
 “ Uneasiness. I do not say this to flatter any Party; for I will
 “ never do it, let the Consequence be what it will: For, as Parties, they are both in the wrong. But, it is certain, 73. and
 “ his Adherents, are not to be trusted. So that 83. (*the Queen*)
 “ has no Choice, but that of employing those, who will carry
 “ on the War, and support 91: (*the Lord Godolphin*): And if
 “ any other Method is taken, I know we shall go into Confusion. Now, this being the Case, I leave you to judge,
 “ whether I am dealt kindly with? I do not say this for any
 “ other End, but to have your Justice and Kindness; for in
 “ that will consist my future Happiness. I am sure I would
 “ venture a thousand Lives if I had them, to procure Ease and
 “ Happiness to the Queen. And yet no Number of Men could
 “ persuade me, to act as a Minister, in what was not my Opinion. So that I shall never fail in speaking my Mind very
 “ freely. And as my Opinion is, that the Tackers, and all
 “ the Adherents of 73. are not for carrying on the War, which
 “ is for the true Interest of the Queen and Kingdom, you may depend I shall never join with any but such, as I think will serve
 “ her, and the true Interest of our Country with all their
 “ Hearts. And if the War continues but one Year longer, with
 “ Success, I hope it will not be in any body's Power to make
 “ the Queen's Business uneasy. And then I shall be glad to live
 “ as quietly as possible, and not envy the governing Men, who
 “ would

“ would then, I believe, think better of 90. and 91. (*himself*
 “ and the Lord Godolphin) than they now do. And I will
 “ own frankly to you, that the Jealousy some of our Friends
 “ have, that 90. and 91. (*himself* and Lord Godolphin) do
 “ not act sincerely, makes me so weary, that, were it not
 “ for my Gratitude for 83. (*the Queen*) and Concern for 91.
 “ (*Lord Godolphin*) I would now retire, and never serve more.
 “ For I have had the good Luck to deserve better from all
 “ Englishmen, than to be suspected for not being in the true
 “ Interest of my Country, which I am in, and ever will be, with-
 “ out being of a Faction: And this Principle shall govern me, for
 “ the little Remainder of my Life. I must not think of being po-
 “ pular; but I shall have the Satisfaction of going to the Grave,
 “ with the Opinion of having acted as became an honest Man.
 “ And if I have your Esteem and Love, I should think myself
 “ entirely happy. And since the Resolution is taken, to vex
 “ and ruin 91. (*Lord Godolphin*;) because 83. (*the Queen*) has
 “ not complied with what was desired for 117. (*Lord Sunder-*
 “ *land*;) I shall, from henceforward despise all Mankind, and
 “ think there is no such Thing as Virtue; for I know, with
 “ what Zeal 91. (*Lord Godolphin*) has pressed 83. (*the Queen*)
 “ in that Matter: I do pity him, and shall always love him, as
 “ long as I live, and never be a Friend to any that can be his
 “ Enemy. I have writ my Mind very freely to 83. (*the Queen*)
 “ on this Occasion; so that whatever may happen, I shall have
 “ a quiet Mind, having done what I thought my Duty: And as
 “ for the Resolution of making me uneasy, I believe they will
 “ not have much Pleasure in that; for as I have not set my
 “ Heart on having Justice done me, I shall not be disappointed, nor
 “ will I be ill used by any Man.”

I have followed my Noble Author in decyphering the Figures
 in this Letter; but as she has not been so good as to explain
 whom she means by 73. I am oblig'd in this to follow her
 suppos'd Right Honourable Antagonist, who explains roundly:
No doubt Lord Rochester.

As I have just mention'd this Antagonist, I shall add a Para-
 graph from her, in which she thinks she has done Justice to the
 Duke, after having thrown out some Reflections on him, which
 (tho' she hopes they will carry with them their own Justification,)
 might as well have been dispens'd with.

“ I will, however, (*says she*) do him (*the Duke*) the Justice to
 “ acknowledge, that the Sentence he pronounces on the two
 “ Parties, that they are both in the Wrong, ought to be recorded
 “ in Letters of Gold, where-ever the Throne is placed; as a
 “ Truth self-evident, and of the last Importance, both to Prince
 “ and People.

1706.

But to return to my Noble Author: "She supposes, that as well the Duke as Lord Godolphin were so hard press'd by the Whigs, and that the Queen was made so difficult to be prevail'd upon by Mr. Harley," who was at the Head of the Opposition to the Ministry: And she adds; "It was no Wonder, that Mr. Harley, with such Views as he then had, shou'd be unwilling to see a Secretary of State displaced, over whom he thought he had some Influence, and thro' whose Hands the greater Part of the Business of his own Office used to pass; and much more unwilling to have him succeed by a Person over whom he had no Power whatsoever."

Address of
the House
of Com-
mons.

The Parliament of England meeting, the same Day the House of Commons, in Return to her Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throne, resolved, that an Address should be presented to her Majesty, in which, among other Things, "They congratulated her Majesty, upon the glorious Victory obtained by her Arms, and those of her Allies, under the Command of the Duke of Marlborough, at Ramellies, and the repeated Successes, with which it had pleased God to bless the Arms of her Majesty, and her Allies, beyond the Example of former Ages; to which they added, *an Assurance to her Majesty*, that as her Allies had shewn their Firmness and good Disposition to carry on the War vigorously, so they were determined, that no specious Pretences of Peace should divert them from their steady Resolution of enabling her Majesty to improve in all Places, the Advantages of this successful Campaign. The Experience they had of the prudent Administration, and the great Care and Management in the Application of the publick Treasure, encouraged them to assure her Majesty, they would give such speedy and effectual Supplies, as, by God's Blessing, might establish the Balance of Power in Europe, by a safe, honourable, and lasting Peace."

The next Day they pass'd the unanimous Vote:

The Com-
mons vote
Thanks to
the Duke of
Marlboro'.

That the Thanks of this House be given to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, for his eminent Services to her Majesty, and this Kingdom, in the great and glorious Victories and Successes obtain'd over the common Enemy in the last Campaign.

His Grace's
Answer.

The Committee appointed by the Commons having, the next Day, attended the Duke, with the Thanks of that House, his Grace made this Answer: *If any thing could add to my Satisfaction, in the Services, I have endeavour'd to do the Queen and my Country, it would be the particular Notice, which the House of Commons is pleased to take of them, so much to my Advantage.*

The fifth, the House of Commons, presented their Address to her Majesty, as did the House of Lords another, doing the same

1706.

same Honour to the Duke of Marlborough : And after having congratulated her Majesty, in general, on the great Success of her Arms, this wonderful Year, observed :

Address of
the Lords.

“ That nothing could be more glorious, than the opening the Campaign by the ever-memorable Victory gained at Ramel-
“ lies, under her wise and valiant General, the Duke of Marl-
“ borough ; and nothing more seasonable, at the Close of the
“ Campaign, than the complete Victory gain’d by the Duke of Sa-
“ voy and Prince Eugene, before the Walls of Turin : And if
“ they should not do all that lay in their Power, towards im-
“ proving the Advantages divine Providence had given her
“ Majesty and her Allies, they should be inexcusable : Nor could
“ they sufficiently express the universal Satisfaction of the People,
“ on the Declaration her Majesty and the States had made to
“ the Ministers of the rest of the Allies ; that no Negotiations of
“ Peace should be enter’d upon, but in Junction with the Mem-
“ bers of the Grand Alliance. That the Example of her Ma-
“ jesty and the States ought to inspire the rest of the Allies with
“ a noble Emulation of acting with the like Vigour. If any
“ of them had fail’d formerly, they hoped her Majesty would
“ find proper Means to let them see, that the only right Amend-
“ they could make to the Cause of Liberty, was by doubling
“ their Efforts at this important Juncture, which was the true
“ Way to obtain such a Peace, as might secure the Protestant
“ Succession, the Advantages of Trade and Commerce, restore
“ the whole Monarchy of Spain to King Charles III. and fix
“ a Barrier for the States General, as might be to their Satis-
“ faction, and procure such Terms for the rest of the Allies, as
“ might be just, safe and honourable.

His Grace the Duke of Marlborough coming, the same Day, to the House of Peers, the Lord Keeper, William Cowper, Esq; by Direction from their Lordships, made the following Speech to him :

My Lord Duke of Marlborough,

“ I AM commanded by this House, to give your Grace their Acknowledgments and Thanks for the eminent Services you have done, since the last Sessions of Parliament, to her Majesty and your Country, together with their Confederates in this just and necessary War.

The Lord
Keeper’s
Speech to
the Duke of
Marlboro’.

“ Tho’ your former Successes against the Power of France, while it remain’d unbroken, gave most reasonable Expectation, that you would not fail to improve them, yet what your Grace has performed, this last Campaign, has far exceeded all Hopes, even of such as were most affectionate and partial, to their Country’s Interest, and your Glory ; the Advantages you have gain’d against the Enemy are of such a

“ Nature,

1706.

“ Nature, so conspicuous of themselves, so undoubtedly owing to your Courage and Conduct, so sensibly and universally beneficial in their Consequences, to the whole Confederacy; that to attempt to adorn them, with the colouring of Words, would be vain and inexcusable, and therefore I decline it, the rather, because I should certainly offend that great Modesty, which alone can and does add Lustre to your Actions; and which, in your Grace’s Example has successfully withstood as great Trials, as that Virtue has met with in any Instance whatsoever; and I beg leave to say, that if any thing could move your Grace to reflect, with much Satisfaction, on your own Merit, it would be this, that so August an Assembly does, with one Voice praise and thank you: An Honour, which a Judgment, so sure as that of your Grace’s, to think rightly of every thing, cannot but prefer to the Ostentation of a publick Triumph.”

His Grace’s Answer to this Speech was :

His Grace’s
Answer.

I Esteem this a very particular Honour, which your Lordships are pleased to do me; no body in the World can be more sensible of it than I am, nor more desirous to deserve the Continuance of your Favour and good Opinion.

The seventeenth of December, the House of Lords presented the following Address to the Queen, in favour of the Duke of Marlborough.

The Lords
Address in
Favour of
the Duke of
Marlboro’.

“ **WE** your Majesty’s most dutiful and obedient Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, having, with much Satisfaction, considered the many great Actions, which the Duke of Marlborough has performed, in your Majesty’s Service, to the Honour of his Country, and for the Good of the common Cause of Europe, (such Actions as the wisest and greatest People have rewarded with Statues and Triumphs,) are extremely desirous to express the just Sense we have of his Merit, in a peculiar and distinguishing Manner; and in order to perpetuate the Memory thereof, to settle and continue his Titles and Honours, with his Right of Precedence in his Posterity, by Act of Parliament, as the Method most effectual for that End, and best suiting so great an Occasion. But yet having always a just Regard for the Prerogatives of the Crown, (your Majesty being the sole Fountain of Honour) we thought it our Duty, in the first Place, to have Recourse to your Majesty, for your Royal Allowance, before any Order given to bring in a Bill of such Nature, and, at the same time, to desire your Majesty,

“ Ay,

“ ity, would be graciously pleased, to let the House know, 1706.
 “ in what Manner it will be most acceptable to your Majesty, }
 “ that the said Titles and Honours should be limited.

Her Majesty's Answer to this Address ran thus :

ANNE, R.

“ **N**othing can be more acceptable to me, than your Ad- The Queen's Answer.
 “ dress. I am entirely satisfied with the Services of the
 “ Duke of Marlborough, and therefore cannot but be pleased
 “ you have so just a Sense of them.

“ I must not omit to take Notice, that the respectful Manner
 “ of your Proceeding, in desiring my Allowance for bringing
 “ in the Bill, and my Direction for the Limitation of the Ho-
 “ nours, does give me great Satisfaction.

“ My Intention is, that after the Determination of the Estate,
 “ which the Duke of Mariborough now has in his Titles and
 “ Honours, the same should be limited to his eldest Daughter,
 “ and the Heirs Male of her Body, and then to all his other
 “ Daughters successively, according to their Priority of Birth,
 “ and the Heirs Male of their respective Bodies, and afterwards,
 “ in such Manner, as may effectually answer my Design, and
 “ yours, in perpetuating the Memory of his Merit, by con-
 “ tinuing, as far as may be done, his Titles and Name to all
 “ his Posterity.

“ I think it would be proper, that the Honour and Manor
 “ of Woodstock, and the House of Blenheim, should always
 “ go along with the Titles, and therefore I recommend that
 “ Matter to your Consideration.”

Then the Duke of Marlborough, on this Occasion, spoke to
 the Lords in these Words :

MY LORDS,

“ **I** Cannot find Words sufficient to express the Sense I have The D. of Marlboro's Speech, on this Occa- sion.
 “ of the great and distinguishing Honour, which the House
 “ has been pleased to do me, in their Resolution, and their Ap-
 “ plication to her Majesty. The Thoughts of it will be a con-
 “ tinual Satisfaction to me, and the highest Encouragement ;
 “ and the thankful Memory of it must last as long as any Po-
 “ sterity of mine.

“ I beg leave to say a Word to the House, in relation to that
 “ Part of her Majesty's most gracious Answer, which concerns
 “ the Estate of Woodstock, and the House of Blenheim. I did
 “ make my humble Request to the Queen, that those might

“ go

1706.

“ go along with the Titles, and I make the like Request to
 “ your Lordships, that after the Duchess of Marlborough’s
 “ Death, upon whom they are settled in Joynture, that Estate
 “ and House may be limited to go always along with the
 “ Honour.”

The Stan-
 dards and
 Colours ta-
 ken at Ra-
 mellies
 hung up in
 Guild-Hall.

The nineteenth, her Majesty having been pleas’d, at the Re-
 quest of the City of London, to order, That the Standards and
 Colours taken at the famous Battle of Ramellies, which were
 lately brought from the Netherlands, should be put up in Guild-
 Hall, a Detachment of her Majesty’s Horse-Guards, and Horse-
 Grenadiers, and a Battalion drawn out of both Regiments of
 her Majesty’s Foot-Guards, were drawn up, on the Parade, in
 St. James’s Park, and having received the said Colours and
 Standards, which had been laid up at White-Hall, they proceed-
 ed, in the following Manner: First the Troop of Horse-Grena-
 diers, then the Detachment of the three Troops of her Majesty’s
 Horse-Guards, six and twenty of the Gentlemen, in the Center,
 carrying each a Standard taken from the Enemy. The Battalion
 of Foot-Guards closed the March, sixty-three of the Pike-men,
 instead of their Pikes, each carrying one of the Enemy’s Co-
 lours advanced. In this Manner, they march’d thro’ the Park,
 and St. James’s Meuse, where her Majesty was pleas’d to see
 them pass by, from the Right Honourable the Lady Fitzhard-
 ing’s Lodgings, the Guns in the Park being fired, at the same
 time. Thence they proceeded down Pall-Mall, the Strand, &c.
 to Guild-Hall, where the Standards and Colours were put up,
 to remain there, as Trophies of that signal Victory, wherewith
 it pleas’d ALMIGHTY GOD to bless the Arms of her Majesty,
 and her Allies, under the Conduct of his Grace the Duke of
 Marlborough; and as a lasting Monument of the immortal
 Honour gained by her Majesty’s Arms, on that memorable
 Day.

The D. of
 Marlboro’
 dines with
 the Lord
 Mayor.

The Duke of Marlborough, having been invited by the
 Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, to dine with them, in
 the City, his Grace went thither, the same Day, about Noon,
 accompanied by the Lord High Treasurer, and the Dukes of
 Sommerfet and Ormond, in one of her Majesty’s Coaches, and
 was follow’d by a Train of other Coaches, in which were se-
 veral of the Nobility, the foreign Ministers, and other Persons
 of Quality, with the Generals, and other chief Officers of the
 Army. They were received, at Temple-Bar, by the City-
 Marshal, and were conducted to Vintner’s-Hall, where a splen-
 did Entertainment was provided for them, by Sir Robert Bed-
 ingfield, Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and Sir William
 Benson, and Sir Ambrose Crawley, Sheriffs; and they were
 followed,

followed both going and coming, with great Acclamations from the People.

1706.

The twentieth, the Bill from the Lords, entitled; *An Act for the settling the Honours and Dignities of John, Duke of Marlborough, upon his Posterity, and annexing the Honour and Manor of Woodstock, and House of Blenheim, to go along with the said Honours*, was read three times, by the House of Commons, and pass'd, *Nemine Contradicente*; and, the next Day, it had the Royal Assent.

The Bill in Favour of the Duke of Marlborough pass'd.

At the Presentation of this, together with the Land, and Malt-Tax Bill, &c. the Speaker of the House of Commons made a Speech to her Majesty, importing; "That as the glorious Victory obtain'd by the Duke of Marlborough, at Ramillies, was so surprising, that the Battle was fought before it could be thought the Armies were in the Field; so it was no less surprising, that the Commons had granted Supplies to her Majesty, before her Enemies could well know, that her Parliament was sitting." And the Queen, on her Part, in her most gracious Speech to both Houses, was pleased to express herself as follows. in Favour of the Duke:

Extract of the Speaker of the House of Commons Speech to her Majesty.

"The particular Notice you have taken, of the eminent Services of the Duke of Marlborough, is also very agreeable to me; and I make no Question, but it will be so to the whole Kingdom.

Part of her Majesty's Speech.

The last Day of the Year, being appointed a General Thanksgiving, for the wonderful Successes of her Majesty's Arms, &c. her Majesty went, with the usual State and Solemnity, to the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's; and thereby gave her Subjects, and especially the City of London, the joyful Spectacle of two Triumphs in one Year.

A general Thanksgiving.

CHAP. V.

The Duke of Marlborough's Journey into Saxony, and Conferences with the King of Sweden there; With the secret Motives to, and History of, that Journey.

THE constant Series of prodigious Successes, in almost all Parts, with which the Confederate Arms were attended, the last Campaign, made it generally believed, that the King of France would never be able to retrieve so many, and so great Misfortunes, and that he would soon be obliged to lay aside

1707.
Some introductory Observations relating to this Year's his Actions.

1707.

his Pretensions to Spain, to obtain a Peace, which his Subjects stood in great Need of, and which they implor'd of him, in the most solemn Manner; but, notwithstanding the great Hopes conceived, at this Time, the Year I am now entring upon will not furnish us with so much Matter for Triumph as the foregoing; on the contrary, we shall see the Enemy, who was look'd upon as totally overwhelm'd, raising his Head again, and triumphing, at least, in some Places, in his Turn.

Spain was the most sensible of this fatal Turn of Affairs, by the Loss of the Battle of Almanza; and the Germans felt the Weight of the French Arms, as the Effect of their own Supineness, after the Marshal de Villars had forced their Lines, and gained some other Advantages, by the Contributions he exacted from them. The grand Design of the Allies (excepting that on Naples, which succeeded, and for which the Imperial Court neglected every thing else) was the Siege of Toulon, for a particular Account of which, and the Causes of its Miscarriage, I shall refer the Reader to *Lediard's Naval History*, &c. In the Netherlands, the Necessity of securing the Conquests made in the preceding Year, hinder'd the victorious Duke of Marlborough from extending them: For the Enemy (notwithstanding their great Loss at Ramellies) had so well recruited their Army, as to be superiour in Number to the Confederates, and, at the same time, carefully avoiding an Engagement, his Grace, to his great Regret, found it impossible to come at them, in their strong Camps, tho' he several times attempted it, as we shall see more particularly below, after I have taken Notice of some Things, which pass'd before the Opening of the Campaign.

The Parliament, having met, on the seventh of January, and the House of Commons having taken into their Consideration "The eminent Services of John Duke of Marlborough, "whereby the Glory of her Majesty's Government, the Honour and Safety of the Kingdom, and the Interest of the "Common Cause had been so highly advanced," they agreed upon the following Address to the Queen.

The House
of Com-
mons Ad-
dress in Fa-
vour of the
Duke of
Marlboro'.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

"**W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, taking into our Consideration the many eminent Services of John, Duke of Marlborough, whereby the Glory of your Majesty's Government, the Honour and Safety of your Kingdoms, and the Interests of the Common Cause, have been so highly advanced, do, with all Submission, address

our-

1707.

“ ourselves to your Majesty’s most sacred Person, humbly to
 “ desire, that, as your Majesty is, at your Expence, graci-
 “ ously pleased to erect the House of Blenheim, as a Monu-
 “ ment of his glorious Actions, and the House of Peers, by
 “ your Majesty’s Permission, have given Rise to a Law for
 “ continuing his Honours to his Posterity; we, your most o-
 “ bedient Commons, may be permitted to express our Sense
 “ of so distinguishing a Merit, and our ready Disposition to
 “ enable your Majesty to make some Provision for the more
 “ honourable Support of his Dignity, in his Posterity, in such
 “ a Manner, as shall be most agreeable to your Majesty.

This Address being presented, the next Day, to the Queen,
 by the whole House, her Majesty was pleased to answer, as
 follows :

Gentlemen,

“ **I** AM very glad you have so just a Sense of the repeated The Queen’s
 “ Services of the Duke of Marlborough: I will consider of Answer.
 “ your Address, and return an Answer very speedily.

Accordingly, on the ninth of January, Mr. Secretary Har-
 ley deliver’d to the House the following Message, signed by
 her Majesty.

A N N E R.

“ **H**ER Majesty, in Consideration of the great and emi-
 “ nent Services, performed by the Lord Marlborough,
 “ in the first Year of her Reign, as well by his prudent Nego-
 “ tiations, as her Plenipotentiary at the Hague, as by his Va-
 “ lour and good Conduct, in the Command of the Confede-
 “ rate Armies abroad, thought fit to grant to him; and the
 “ Heirs Male of his Body, the Title of a Duke of this
 “ Realm; and, as a farther Mark of her Favour, and Satis-
 “ faction with his Services, and for the better Support of his
 “ Dignity, her Majesty granted to the said Duke, and the
 “ Heirs Male of his Body, during her Life, a Pension of
 “ 5000 *l. per Annum*, out of the Revenue of the Post-Office;
 “ and an Act having pass’d this Sessions, for settling the Ho-
 “ nours and Dignities of the Duke of Marlborough, upon his
 “ Posterity, and annexing the Honours and Manor of Wood-
 “ stock, and House of Blenheim to go along with the said Ho-
 “ nours, it would be very agreeable to her Majesty, if the
 “ Pension of 5000 *l. per Annum*, be continued and limited, by
 “ Act of Parliament, to his Posterity, for the more honoura-
 “ ble Support of their Dignities, in like Manner at his Ho-

A Message
 from the
 Queen to
 the House
 of Com-
 mons in his
 Grace’s Ex-
 ous.

1707.

"nours, and the Honour and Manor of Woodstock, and
 "House of Blenheim, are already settled and limited.

Kenfington, Jan. 9, 1706-7.

A Bill pas-
 sed there-
 upon.

Upon the reading of this Message, the House resolved, that a Bill be brought in, pursuant to the Tenour of the said Message; which having pass'd both Houses, received the Royal Assent, the eight and twentieth: And thus this Matter, which had been opposed, with so much Warmth, in a former Parliament, pass'd in this, by an Emulation in the House of Commons, not to be outdone by the House of Peers, in shewing a true Sense of the Duke of Marlborough's great Merit.

The Duke
 of Marl-
 borough
 goes to Hol-
 land.

The Duke of Marlborough, who, in the foregoing Years of her Majesty's Reign, made so shining a Figure, by his glorious military Atchievements, bespeaks our Attention, this Year, chiefly by his important Negotiations; for which he had as happy a Talent, and as much Skill and Sagacity, as Conduct and Bravery, when at the Head of an Army. The Plan for the Operations of the Campaign being concerted, as far as they could be at London, his Grace departed thence for Holland; but having been detained, nine or ten Days, by contrary Winds, at Margate, he embark'd there, the second of April, in the Evening, designing to reach Ostend; the Wind, however changing, he landed at the Briel, the sixteenth, N. S. at Night.

Arrives at
 the Hague.

The next Day, the Duke arrived at the Hague, about two in the Afternoon, to the great Joy of the Ministers of the Allies, who were in impatient Expectation of his Coming. His Grace dined with Mr. Stepney, her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary, who was lately return'd from Brussels; and, after Dinner, made a Visit to the Grand Pensionary, and another to the President of the Assembly of the States General. The eighteenth, his Grace received and returned several Visits, and went, in the Afternoon, to the Congress of the Foreign Ministers, to whom he signified, *That the Queen of Great Britain would hearken to no Proposals for a Peace, but what would firmly secure the general Tranquillity of Europe*: And the Deputies of the States came to confer with him, at his Lodgings. The Field Deputies of the States assured his Grace, at the same Time, that all the military Preparations were ready, and that he would not have Occasion to lose Time in waiting for any thing. On the nineteenth, in the Evening, he had another long Conference, with the Deputies of the States, at his own Lodgings, on the Affairs of the present Juncture, and, among other Things, told them; "That the Troubles of

Confers
 with the
 Deputies of
 the States

"Saxony,

“ Saxony, occasioning a great Distraction in the Empire, 1707.
 “ which brought infinite Prejudice to the Common Cause, the
 “ Queen, his Mistress, had thought fit, to send him thither, Acquaints
 “ to pay a Compliment to the King of Sweden, and endeavour them with
 “ to engage him to remove the just Jealousies, his long Stay, his Design
 “ in the Heart of Germany, gave to some of the high Allies. into Saxo-
 “ For which Purpose, he had the necessary Powers from her ny.
 “ Majesty, and desired to have the same from the States.

The Pensionary having, the next Day, acquainted the States Which the
 of Holland, and West Friesland, with the Necessity of the States ap-
 Duke of Marlborough's Journey, the Matter was thought of so prove of.
 great Importance to the Common Cause. that they readily
 concurr'd in those Measures, and his Grace set out, the same
 Evening, for Leipzick, by the Way of Hannover.

Monsieur d'Auverquerque, Veldt-Marshal of the Troops of Monf.
 the States General, having had several Conferences with the d'Auver-
 Duke of Marlborough, set out the Day before his Grace's De- querque af-
 parture, for Brussels, in order to assemble the Confederate sembles the
 Troops, in their respective Cantonments, and observe the Army.
 French, who began to be in Motion about Namur, against
 the Duke's Return.

I am now going to give an Account of a Transaction, which The Duke
 tho', at that Time, of the highest Importance to the Common of Marlbo-
 Cause, must not have been look'd on as such by our Historians rough's
 and Annalists; because they pass it slightly over, with men- Journey to
 tioning few of the Circumstances of it, and less of the happy Saxony.
 Consequences which attended the Duke's Negotiations, and of
 those fatal ones, which were thereby prevented. I shall be the
 more particular, in my Relation of them, as I was an Eye-
 witness of what happen'd publickly, on this Occasion, and had
 an Opportunity of being inform'd of many Particulars, which
 have escaped the Notice of most, or all Historians, who have
 given us any Account of this Negotiation: And I am besides,
 the better enabled to do this, as I have lately had a very curious
 German Manuscript, on this Subject, communicated to me from
 Leipzick.

The Eyes of all Europe were now on the King of Sweden, The Eyes of
 who, as I have said, in the foregoing Chapter, had, with his all Europe
 victorious Army, possess'd himself of Saxony, reduced Augustus on the King
 to the Necessity of making an inglorious Peace, with the Loss of Sweden.
 of his Crown, which he had been obliged to renounce, in Fa-
 vour of King Stanislaus. The King of Sweden was now in the
 Heart of Germany, in a formidable Posture, with an Army flush'd
 with Success; which, tho' he had concluded a Peace with Au-
 gustus, and had only the Muscovites, and a small Party of Poles
 to encounter with, he was recruiting, in all the Neighbouring
 Provinces of the Empire, and equipping, in the most powerful
 Manner.

170

The Allies
under Ap-
prehensions
of him.
Some Re-
flections on
the Reason-
ableness of
them.

Manner, with the Spoils of Saxony. This gave great Apprehensions to the Allies, and, indeed, their Jealousies seem'd to be but too well grounded. I have already observed what Countenance this Monarch gave to the Ministers of France and Bavaria, and on the contrary, what evasive Answers he gave to the Representations made him, by the Ministers of Great Britain, and Holland. What just Grounds had not then the Confederates to be alarmed? And, indeed, what could not this bold and enterprizing Prince, under these Circumstances, have done? France made strong Applications to him, and it was then a current Report, that he would turn his Arms against the Empire, and join with the Grand Monarch, to depress the House of Austria; which Report seem'd the better grounded, as it was well known, that the King of Sweden was exasperated against the Empire and the Emperor. Had this not been prevented, how easily might he not have over-run and given Laws to the Empire, I might perhaps say, to all Europe? He was then in the Meridian of his Glory, his Troops inured to Hardships, familiar with Victories, who, to a Man, were ready to sacrifice their Lives in any Cause, which should be undertaken by a Prince they ador'd, and who, by his Condescendance to them, and Conformity to their Customs, had made himself Master of their Minds, as well as their Bodies. If, with this Army, he had joined those of France and Bavaria, and march'd into the Emperor's Hereditary Dominions (not to mention what might have ensued) what but a Marlborough and an Eugene could ever have opposed such a Torrent? And might not even they, with all their Conduct and Bravery, at the Head of their brave and steely Troops, have been born down with too superiour a Force? This the great Duke of Marlborough wisely considered, and therefore resolv'd to add the Fox's Tail to the Lion's Skin; and to put a Stop to this great, this impendent Danger; it was for that, the Duke of Marlborough, undertook this important Journey, and Negotiation; and, we shall find he succeeded to his Wish.

Wisdom of
the Duke of
Marlboro.

Charles XII. had indeed pass'd his Word, in 1700, not to intermeddle in the War then breaking out, between Lewis XIV. and the Allies. It was thought, that the King of Prussia, and the Elector of Hannover, had a great Influence over the King of Sweden, and they gave the rest of the Allies great Assurances, that he would do nothing to disturb the Peace of the Empire, nor to weaken the Alliance; but the Duke of Marlborough did not care to trust to this; nor would he be persuaded, that a Prince, who pursued Glory with so much Eagerness, as the young and active King of Sweden did, would be so great a Slave to his Word, as not to sacrifice it to his Ambition and Interest.

It

It has been said, that the Elector of Hannover advised the British Court to send the Duke of Marlborough to Saxony; it may be so, and I have myself allow'd below, that every thing was transacted with his Electoral Highness's Concurrence and Counsel; but if that wise Prince was assured the Allies had nothing to fear from the Measures the King of Sweden was taking, what absolute Necessity was there for this Journey? Be this as it will, the Queen judg'd rightly, that nothing could be more grateful to the Ambition and Pride of a young, enterprising, and victorious Prince, than to be waited on by the greatest and most renown'd General of the Age. The Duke, as I have said above, took Hannover in his Way; and, in his Passage thither, spoke with the Bishop of Osnabrug, at the City of that Name.

His Design meets with the Queen's Approbation.

His Grace had, in the mean time, his private Intelligence from every Part: The following Letter was probably an Introduction to some Discovery.

Dusseldorp, April 5, 1707.

My Lord,

THE Person who will have the Honour to present this Letter to your Grace, is a perfect Stranger to me, tho' I have enquired after his Character. I do not know what he has to propose; but he being very pressing, and saying it was very much for your Grace's Service, and that he intended to go to the Hague; I did not think it proper to refuse him; and I do find that he is known here, and that he is the Brother to a Merchant at Cologn. He tells me, that he could have a Letter of Recommendation from the Elector, in Case there was Occasion. I have inclosed the Paper he gave me, and if the Propositions be such as he pretends, I shall be extremely glad to have contributed towards it; if otherwise, your Grace will pardon this Liberty.

A Letter from the Lord Manchester to the Duke of Marlboro.

I am, &c.

MANCHESTER.

Charles Earl of Manchester, of whom I had Occasion to make honourable Mention, towards the Conclusion of King William's Reign, was descended from one of the first Families of the Name of Montagu. At the Revolution, the Command of the Yeomen of the Guards was given him. He was sent Ambassadour Extraordinary to Venice, in the Year 1697. In the Year 1699, he succeeded the Lord Jersey, in his Ambassy, to the Court of France, where he remained till the Death of King James; when, upon the French King's causing the Pretender to be acknowledged King of Great Britain and

Character of the Earl of Manchester.

1707.

" Ireland, he received Orders, to retire immediately. On his
 " Return from France, he was very graciously received by his
 " Majesty, who approved of his Conduct, and not long after
 " appointed him one of his Principal Secretaries of State.

" On the Accession of Queen Ann, he had his Dimission
 " from all his Posts; but was employ'd again afterwards, by that
 " Princess, and in particular, on the 20th of January 1706-7.
 " he receiv'd private Instructions, from her Majesty, as being
 " appointed her Ambassadour Extraordinary to the Republick
 " of Venice, with Orders to call, by the Way, first at the
 " Courts of Vienna and Turin; and it was on this Journey,
 " that he wrote the above, and the following Letters.

" His general Character was, that he was of greater Appli-
 " cation than Capacity; that he was of good Address, but no
 " great Elocution; that he was perfectly honest, and a great
 " Lover of the Constitution of his Country, which he took
 " great Pains to gain a Knowledge of; and to apply that Know-
 " ledge to the Service of the Publick.

The following Extract shews, at least, that the Lord Man-
 chester had great Expectations from the Duke's Journey.

*Extract of a Letter from the Lord Manchester, to Mons.***,
 at Hannover, dated Vienna, April 30, 1707.*

Extract of a
 Letter from
 the Lord
 Manche-
 ster to
 Mons.***,
 at Han-
 nover.

" **W**E are entering on a great Scheme, in the Affairs of
 " Europe; I hope the King of Sweden will not pre-
 " vent us; and, if so, in all Appearance, we are likely to
 " have the Success we desire. They wait here, with great Im-
 " patience the Result of the Duke of Marlborough, which we
 " shall soon now hear.

The Duke
 departs from
 Hannover.

The Duke of Marlborough, having finished his Negotiations,
 with the Elector of Hannover, took his Leave of that Court,
 the four and twentieth of April, N. S. in the Evening, came
 away from thence at four the next Morning, and lay that Night
 at Halberstadt, where he was complimented by the Magistrates.
 The six and twentieth, in the Morning, his Grace continued
 his Journey to Hall, a famous University belonging to the
 King of Prussia, about five German Miles distant from Leipzick.
 Here his Grace was met by Mr. Robinson, her Majesty's Envoy
 Extraordinary, by Count Sinzendorf, the Imperial Envoy, and
 by Monsieur Cranenburg, the Dutch Minister. After Dinner,
 his Grace received the Compliments of the Magistrates and of
 the University; and then proceeded, accompanied by Mr Ro-
 binson, and Mons. Cranenburg, to Alt-Ranstadt, about two
 German Miles from Leipzick, where the King of Sweden had
 his

See Letter
 A. below.

And arrives
 at the King
 of Sweden's
 Quarters,
 near Leip-
 zick.

his Head-Quarters. He went directly to Count Piper's Quarters, which were not far from thence, where he had a Conference with that Prime Minister, for about an Hour, and then retired to the Quarters the King of Sweden had ordered to be prepared for him, at Tauche, a Village about two German Miles Distance from Leipzick, and not far from the King's Quarters.

1707.

Monf. Voltaire, (who, according to a noted Author, from Anegregious Mistake of Monsieur Voltaire's, sorry Memoirs, has wrote a Life of Charles XII.) says: "As soon as he (the Duke) was arrived at Leipzick, (*Alt-Ransstadt*, *he should have said*) where Charles then was, he made his Application privately, not to Count Piper, the first Minister; but to Baron Gortz, who began to have a Share in the King's Confidence with Piper. He told Gortz, that the Design of the Allies, was, in a short Time, to propose to the King of Sweden, his being once more Mediator between them and France. His Motives for this, were his Hopes of discovering the King's Intentions, by Gortz's Answer, and because he would much rather have had Charles for an Arbitrator, than an Enemy.

I shall not pretend absolutely to contradict this Piece of private History of Monf. Voltaire's, mentioned by no other Historian; but I must confess, it seems very improbable, if not incredible to me. I was, that Night, in the City of Leipzick, and the next Morning in the Camp; but no such Thing ever came to my Knowledge. Is it probable, that so remarkable an Incident should escape the Knowledge of every one, but Monf. Voltaire's Informant? Were not the Eyes of every one on the Duke at his Arrival? Could this Interview be so privately managed, as not to come to Count Piper's Knowledge? Would not this have raised a Jealousy in him, that must have put a Stop to, or very much entangled, the whole Negotiation? And can it be believed, that so great a Statesman as the Duke was, would have thrown such a Stumbling Block in his own Way, as this would have been, at the very Beginning of his Treaty? Baron Gortz began, indeed, at this Time, to rise in the King's Esteem and Confidence; but he was not yet arrived to that Height in his Favour, to be a Rival to Piper, or to dare to enter into a secret Negotiation without his Knowledge.

Observations on it.

Monsieur de la Mottraye carries the Matter yet farther against Voltaire, and says, Gortz was out of the Question, he being then Grand Marshal of the Bishop of Lubeck, Administrator of the Duchy of Holstein, and was certainly then very little known to Charles. This is, however, carrying the Matter too far; for he certainly was then very much in the Esteem, if not in the actual Service, of the King, as Minister. Mr. Robinson says, the Duke had a Conference, the 28th in the Afternoon, with Count Piper and Baron Gortz; but he limits that Conference

See Letter A. below.

1707. ference to the Affairs of Holstein, in which (he says) Things were concerted to mutual Content.

The Duke, indeed, was, at all times, very condescending, when he could thereby serve the Interest of the Queen his Mistress, and the Nation; but how would it have become his Character and Dignity to apply himself principally, not even to a second, but to a third Minister, when the prime and second Ministers were present? And if it was only to sound him, as *Monf. Voltaire* seems think, would not a third Person, or another Time, if but a Day, or a few Hours later, have been more proper? And would not he, in the mean time, have applied himself to the Prime Minister? As there is hardly any Reason to doubt he did, notwithstanding *Monsieur Voltaire's* secret Information.

Monf. de la Mottraye's Remark.

Monf. de Voltaire's Answer.

When I first wrote the above, I had not seen Monf. de la Mottraye's Historical and Critical Remarks on Monf. de Voltaire's Life of Charles XII. &c. in which he justly says the Duke of Marlborough could not possibly have addressed himself, (that is, as soon as he came there) to Baron Gortz; to which Monf. de Voltaire answers, in his Notes to a future Edition, that he had this Circumstance from the Mouth of Monf. Fabricius, who was present, and who had told it him, in the Presence of Witnesses. Monf. de Voltaire would have done well to have told his Readers, when and where it was that Monf. Fabricius told him this Anecdote; for every Body knows, there was a time, when this Gentleman was so unhappy as not to know what he said. However, notwithstanding this positive Assurance of Monf. de Voltaire's, I must confess, it seems as impossible to me, that Monf. Fabricius should have told him this Circumstance, as it does to Monsieur de la Mottraye, and myself, that the Duke should have transacted it. Unless, it was at the time I have hinted at above, when he was not in a Condition to give a reasonable Answer to any thing.

Since I am speaking of *Monf. de la Mottraye*, I shall add one Circumstance more from him; which tho' not mentioned by any other Historian; nor can I say, I ever heard it said before; yet (if Count Piper can be suppos'd to have acted with so much Inconsistency) seems not improbable, and very well answers the Character of our Hero. After having said, that neither the King of Sweden himself, nor his Prime Minister, treated the Duke of Marlborough, with that Regard which was due to his Character and Rank, he gives the following Instance of it, with regard to the latter, which he says he had from a Gentleman, who was in the Coach with the Duke, when he went to the Audience he had demanded of Count Piper.

A Circumstance mentioned by *Monf. de la Mottraye*.

“ The Duke (says my Author) coming to the Gate of Count Piper's Quarters, precisely at the time appointed, sent in his Message; but was answer'd, the Count was busy. The Duke
“ waited

1707.

“ waited a good half Hour before he came down ; but he no
 “ sooner saw him at the Gate, ready to receive him, than he
 “ came out of his Coach, and, putting on his Hat, pass’d by
 “ the Count, without saluting him, and went aside, as if to
 “ make Water ; and then, after having made him wait longer
 “ than was necessary for that Purpose. he went up to him, and
 “ address’d him with that Eloquence and Politeness, which
 “ every one knows was natural to him.” From this supposed
 Coldness, between the Duke and Count Piper, Voltaire draws
 a Conclusion to justify his Assertion of the Duke’s neglecting
 the Count, and applying himself to Baron Gortz ; but, supposing
 the Truth of this, it would be a very far-fetch’d Argument.

As I have, on this Occasion, made frequent Mention of the
 unfortunate Baron Gortz, I believe his Character, as given by
 an Author, who is noted for a happy Talent that Way, will
 not be unacceptable to the Reader, especially as one Part of it
 seems to corroborate what I have said in Opposition to Mons.
 Voltaire.

“ Henry, Baron de Gortz, was born of an independent Fa-
 “ mily in Franconia : He enter’d young into the Service of the
 “ Duke of Holstein-Sleswick, and rose to be his Minister. He
 “ was a Man generous, noble, and magnificent even to Pro-
 “ fusion ; vigilant, full of Projects and Stratagems ; a Man
 “ whom nothing could surprize, nothing dissuade from a Design
 “ he had once formed ; whose Ambition was boundless, and
 “ who always aim’d to do something to be talk’d of. In
 “ the North, there was no Intrigue in which he had not a
 “ Hand, and into which he did not likewise draw his Master ;
 “ whom he push’d upon Enterprizes so far above his Power
 “ to execute, that he thereby lost his Dominions. He thought
 “ Holstein too narrow a Sphere for him to move in ; and there-
 “ fore he attach’d himself to Charles XII. King of Sweden,
 “ after that Prince returned from his long Stay at Bender ;”
 (which tacitly implies, that he had no Power, nor any Influence
 at this Time.)

“ Charles was just such a Master as the Baron wanted, and
 “ he just such a Minister as was necessary for the King of
 “ Sweden ; nor was there ever in the World a greater Sympathy
 “ between two Men ; Gortz was born to form great Designs,
 “ Charles to put them in Execution ; and the constant Design of
 “ both was only to throw Europe into a Ferment.

“ The Baron, besides other happy Gifts of Nature, had the Ta-
 “ lent of insinuating and pleasing. He soon (that is, after his Return
 “ from Bender) got an Ascendant over Charles, to such a Degree,
 “ that tho’ this Prince was never to be advis’d by his Ministers,
 “ yet the Baron’s Opinion was a Law to him. Gortz frighten’d
 “ Europe,

1707.

“ Europe, and made Sweden tremble ; being as much feared
 “ and dreaded there as the King himself. — He knew, all the
 “ while, that the Nation envy'd him ; but was in no Manner
 “ of Concern about it ; for being sure of the Favour of the
 “ King, he despised the Hatred both of the Populace and the
 “ great Men.

A Proof of this his Dependence upon his Royal Master, is his Behaviour at his Catastrophe, at Frederichshall, which being kept a Secret from him till he was actually put under Arrest, he said, upon that Occasion, to the Officer, *Surely the King must be dead!* And he is said to have desired, afterwards, that if he was allow'd to have any Burial out of the Kingdom of Sweden, his Epitaph might be *Mors Regis, Mors mea.*

The Duke
 of Marlbo-
 rough has
 Audience of
 the King of
 Sweden.

The seven and twentieth of April, in the Morning, the Duke of Marlborough was complimented, upon his Arrival, by the Ministers and General Officers ; at half an Hour past eight, he went in a Coach of Count Piper's to Alt-Ranstadt, and, about ten, had his first Audience of the King, which lasted about two Hours ; when his Majesty received him, with all Demonstrations of Esteem and Honour. He presented to his Swedish Majesty a Letter from the Queen of Great Britain, and, at delivering it, made him the following Compliment in French.

S I R,

His Compli-
 ment to the
 King.

“ I Present to your Majesty a Letter, not from the Chancery,
 “ but from the Heart of the Queen, my Mistress, and writ-
 “ ten with her own Hand. Had not her Sex prevented it, she
 “ would have cross'd the Sea, to see a Prince admired by the
 “ whole Universe. I am, in this Particular, more happy than
 “ the Queen ; and I wish I could serve some Campaigns, under so
 “ great a General, as your Majesty, that I might learn what I
 “ yet want to know, in the Art of War.

Some Authors call the Genuineness of this Speech in Question, and think it too mean an Adulation to proceed from the Mouth, of one of the Duke of Marlborough's Rank and Experience: But I rather take it to be an Evidence of his Skill in Mankind. He knew the Character of Charles, and his Foible, and could not have suited his Words more to the Purpose. They pleas'd not only the King, but his whole Army, who ador'd him, as much as ever Frenchman did his Grand Monarch. At least I heard the very Words in the Mouths of his Officers, for many Months afterwards.

Very accep-
 table to his
 Majesty.

This well-tim'd Compliment, I say, was exceeding agreeable to the King, and no doubt contributed not a little to incline him in Favour both of the Duke's Person and Errand. It sooth'd his Vanity to such a Degree, that it was visible, (as I have been inform'd)

inform'd) as reserv'd as he was, in his very Countenance. The King, who either could or would not speak French, had this Speech interpreted to him, in Swedish, and his Majesty's Answer, which was in the same Language, and in very obliging and gracious Expressions, was interpreted to the Duke in French.

I have said above, with Mons. de Voltaire, and so indeed, it was then generally said in the Camp, that the Duke made his first Compliment to the King in French. But Mr. Robinson, in a Letter, I shall give the Reader a Copy of below, says it was in English, and that he interpreted it to the King, as he did the King's Answer to the Duke.

The Substance of the King's Answer to his Grace's Speech was as follows :

“ **T**HE Queen of Great Britain's Letter, and your Person, The King's Answer.
 “ are both very acceptable to me, and I shall always
 “ have the utmost Regard for the Interposition of her Majesty
 “ of Great Britain, and the Interests of the Grand Alliance. It
 “ is, likewise, much against my Will, if I have been obliged
 “ to give the least Ombrage to any of the Parties engaged in it;
 “ but your Excellency cannot but be convinc'd, that I had
 “ just Cause to come into this Country, with my Troops. On
 “ the other hand, you may assure the Queen, my Sister, that
 “ my Design is to depart from hence, as soon as I have obtain-
 “ ed the Satisfaction I demand; *But not sooner.* However, I
 “ shall do nothing, that can tend to the Prejudice of the Com-
 “ mon Cause, in general, or to the Protestant Religion, in
 “ particular; of which I shall always glory to be a zealous
 “ Protector.

These were the first general Compliments, in which, however, his Grace hinting at the great Preparations his Majesty was making to augment his Army, the Ombrage the High Allies could not but take at his long Sojourn in Saxony, and the great Satisfaction it would be to them, if he would speedily evacuate that Country: The King assured his Grace, (as the Reader has seen in his Speech above) that he would never do any thing to the Prejudice, either of the Common Cause, in general, or of the Protestant Religion, in particular. These were look'd upon only as Words of Course; and with respect to the former might, at that Time, have no great Meaning; tho', for the latter, he might be in earnest; for he always seem'd to have a Sense of Religion, and a Zeal for it, tho' without any great Knowledge either of the Theory or Practice of it: At least, as he profess'd to follow the Steps of the great Gustavus Adolphus, he was oblig'd to make a Shew of it.

Mons.

1707.

Monf. de Limiers fays ; the King added ; *That he was not accountable to any one for his Actions ; and that he would difcover his Defigns, when he fhould think proper.* This, indeed, agrees pretty well with the King's general Character ; but his whole De-meanour to the Duke feems to be a Contradiction of it.

The Duke
dines with
the King.

The Duke had the Honour to dine with his Majefty in Publick: The Croud of People which went from Leipzick and other Places, to fee thofe two Heroes was fo great, that it was thought neceffary to poft three Regiments of Horfe round the King's Quarters, to prevent Diforders. After Dinner, he had a fecond Audience of his Majefty, on Bufinefs, at which were prefent Count Piper, and Monf. Harmelin, the two chief of his Swedifh Majefty's Minifters, together with Mr. Robinfon : And here, tho' I do not profefs to have an implicate Faith, in all Monf. Voltaire relates ; yet what he fays of this Audience gives fo juft an Idea of the Duke's Capacity, that I cannot refift the Temptation of repeating it.

Has a pri-
vate Audi-
ence of his
Majefty.

Monf. de Voltaire, and Monf. de la Mottraye, have had an important Squabble, in what Language this Conference was managed. The former fays the King fpoke in German, and the Duke anfwer'd in French ; the latter afferts ; *It is certain, the Duke did not underftand a Word of German* ; to which Voltaire replies ; *the Duke of Marlborough underftood German ; but did not fpeak it.* Both very pofitive ; but I am apt to believe Monfieur de Voltaire in the Wrong ; becaufe, tho' I have been frequently with the Duke of Marlborough's Retinue, in feveral Parts of Germany ; I never heard it once hinted, that his Grace had ever attempted to know a Word of that Language : It would have been wholly ufelefs to him, French being the univerfal Language, at Camp and Court. Mr. Robinfon, in the Letter I have already mention'd, fays, the Duke discours'd, after the firft Speech, in French, which the King underftood, but did not fpeak. And it is moft probable, that if the King fpoke in German (or as I rather believe, in Swedifh) it was interpreted to him, by Mr. Robinfon, who underftood and fpoke both.

Dispute
what Lan-
guage was
fpoken be-
tween the
King and
the Duke.

Monf. de
Voltaire's
Account of
this Audi-
ence.

“ The Duke (fays Monfieur Voltaire) who was never over-
“ hasty in making Propofals, and had learn'd, by a long Ex-
“ perience, the Art of penetrating into the Minds of Men,
“ as well as of diving into the fecret Connexion between their
“ inmoft Thoughts and their Actions, Geftures and Difcourfe,
“ fix'd his Eyes attentively upon the King. When he fpoke
“ to him of War in general, he imagined that he faw, in his
“ Majefty, a natural Averfion towards France, and that he
“ took a fecret Pleafure in fpeaking of the Conquefts of the
“ Allies. He mentioned the Czar to him, and took Notice,
“ that his Eyes Kindled whenever He was named ; notwith-
“ ftanding

“ standing the Moderation of the Conference. He, moreover,
 “ remark’d, that the King had a Map of Muscovy lying be-
 “ fore him, on the Table: This was sufficient to determine
 “ him in his Judgment, that the King of Sweden’s real De-
 “ sign, and sole Ambition, were to dethrone the Czar, as he
 “ had already done the King of Poland. He found, that he
 “ had no other Views by remaining in Saxony, than, by that
 “ Means, to impose some hard Terms on the Emperor of Ger-
 “ many. He knew his Imperial Majesty would comply, and
 “ that thus Matters would be easily brought to a Conclusion.
 “ The Duke left Charles XII. to his natural Inclination; and
 “ being satisfied with having discovered his Intentions, he made
 “ him no Proposal.”

Thus far Monsieur Voltaire. That the Duke discover’d the
 King of Sweden’s Intentions, and was highly satisfied with them,
 is not to be question’d; but that so wise a Statesman should rest
 contented here, and depend on the King’s Inclination alone,
 without cherishing it, or making him any Proposal, after taking
 so long a Journey, for no other End, than to divert his Majesty
 from any pernicious Designs, which, by the Persuasions of
 France, might get the better of, and thwart his Inclinations, is
 as improbable, as it is false in Fact.

Some
 Remarks
 thereupon.

Monsieur de la Mottraye, by way of Observation upon these
 Circumstances related by Monsieur de Voltaire, says; “ I never
 “ heard these Circumstances mentioned, nor do I know it was
 “ ever surmis’d, that the Duke, by a bare View of a Map of
 “ Muscovy lying before the King of Sweden, penetrated into
 “ the real Design of that Monarch, which (adds he) you your
 “ self afterwards own the Swedes themselves were ignorant of,
 “ even when they were actually on their March.” In answer
 to which Monf. de Voltaire again refers to Monf. Fabricius, as
 his Author, and an Eye-Witness. Monf. de la Mottraye adds;
 “ I had the Honour to be frequently in the Presence of
 “ Charles XII. during his Sojourn at Bender; but I never
 “ knew him shew an Aversion towards France. On the con-
 “ trary, he always employed Frenchmen in his Army, prefer-
 “ able to all other Foreigners, and could not conceal his Con-
 “ cern for them, when he heard of their Losses. I never knew
 “ a Swedish Officer but what wish’d well to France; and I
 “ never heard any Complaints, but only that France had for-
 “ faken them, in their Misfortunes, and had never paid one
 “ Penny of the Subsidies, stipulated between them, after the
 “ Battle of Pultowa.” To this Monf. de Voltaire only an-
 swers; *Cabinet-Messengers are admitted to the Presence of their
 Sovereigns, and are the Bearers of their secret Counsels, and yet
 are never the better inform’d of them.*

Monf. de la
 Mottraye’s
 Observa-
 tions; with
 Monsieur
 de Voltaire’s
 Reply.

1707.

The Duke
visits Count
Piper, &c.

The Audience being over, his Grace spent the whole Evening in visiting Count Piper and the other Ministers and General Officers, as, likewise, the Countesses of Piper and Reinschild. The same Day Count Wackerbart, Lieutenant-General of King Augustus's Forces, waited upon the Duke of Marlborough, with a Compliment from his Master, intimating, that he would be, that Night, at Leipzick, where he should be glad to see his Grace: His Majesty having before, to shew the particular Esteem, he had for the Duke, sent Colonel Du Bros, to compliment him, on his Arrival in his Electorate. Pursuant to this Invitation, the Duke went, the next Morning, for Alt-Ranstadt to Leipzick, to wait on King Augustus, with whom he had a private Conference, of above half an Hour, in which, it was believed, King Augustus desired the Duke to use his Influence with the King of Sweden, and his Ministers, to mitigate the hard Conditions which were put upon him.

Has a Conference with
King Augustus of
Poland.

There were the greater Grounds for this Belief; because the King of Sweden parted but the Moment before from King Augustus, whom he had not seen in two Months before, and, with whom he had been in Conference near two Hours, whereas he had never before pass'd above half an Hour in Conversation with him; and it was observed, at his Departure, that Augustus was very much disconcerted; from whence his Courtiers concluded, that Charles, instead of relenting, had shewn himself immovably fix'd to the hard (or rather cruel) Resolutions he had taken. This, however, is all Conjecture, for the Conferences, as well between the two King, as between Augustus and the Duke, were private, and no one present, but Mr. Robinson, to the latter. This Conference being ended, the Duke returned to Count Piper's Quarters, where he dined.

The Duke
has his Audience of
Leave of the
King.

Success of
his Negotiation.

Has an Opportunity of
complimenting King
Stanislaus.

In the Evening, his Grace supp'd with Velt-Marshal Reinschild, and, on the nine and twentieth, was visited by Count Piper, Velt-Marshal Reinschild, Velt-Marshal Ogilvy, and several other General-Officers and Persons of Quality; and after having dined with Baron Gortz, had his Audience of Leave of the King of Sweden. At this Audience, the Duke had sufficient Assurances of what had been before concerted with Count Piper, and, therefore, left the King, extremely well satisfied, not only with his Reception at that Court, but with his Negotiations. During this Audience, King Stanislaus came in, and was complimented by his Grace, who, however, could enter into no farther Conference with him; because the Queen had not acknowledged him, as King of Poland. The Duke, soon after took his Leave, and went to Leipzick, from whence, without making any Stay, he proceeded on his Journey to Berlin.

To this Account, I shall add the Extract of a Letter from Mr. Robinson to the Earl of Manchester; not only as it con-

finishes

firm's most of the Circumstances I have given above ; but as it justifies, in a particular Manner, the Censure I have pass'd upon Mons. Voltaire, and the Absurdity of his supposing the Duke of Marlborough would make his Addresses to a third Minister, when a first and second were present.

1707.

A.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Robinson, dated at Leipzick, May the 4th, 1707.

“ ON the 26th past, arrived his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, in the Afternoon, at Hall, whither myself, with the Imperial and Holland Envoys, were gone to meet him ; and being informed, on the Way from thence, to the Swedish Quarters, that the King of Sweden could not give him an Audience before the next Day, his Grace thought fit to go directly to Count Piper's Quarters ; where the Count made ample Protestations, how acceptable his Grace's coming would be to the King, his Master, and appointed eleven o'Clock, the next Morning, for his repairing to the Head-Quarters, when his Majesty came from Church. His Grace went thence to the Quarters prepared for him, about an English Mile and an half from the King's, and the next Morning, at the Time appointed, went to wait on his Majesty. The Intendant of the Court, and other Officers, received his Grace, and, in the Anti-Chamber, Count Piper, who conducted him into a Cabinet, where the King was, with several Senators, Generals, and other Officers about him. His Grace made a short Compliment, in English, which I interpreted, as also the Answer that was made by Count Piper. Afterwards his Grace spoke in French, which his Majesty understands, but does not speak ; and the Conversation was general for about an Hour, when his Majesty took the Duke with him to Dinner, placing him on his Right Hand, and Count Piper on his Majesty's Left. After Dinner, he returned with his Majesty to the Audience Room, which after a little while was voided by the rest of the Company, and then his Grace spoke at large, his Majesty giving great Attention to what was said, with all Appearances of much Content. Count Piper, (who, together with Mr. Harmelin, staid with the King) could not refrain from shedding some Tears, at the very pathetic Expressions, his Grace used, to assure the King of her Majesty's Friendship, and on the King's Part made suitable Returns. Those Discourses, and others about military Matters, took up an Hour and a half, when his Majesty went again to Church. Afterwards, his Grace made a Visit to the Countess Piper, and had then a Conference with the Count, and

A Letter from Mr. Robinson to the Lord Manchester.

1707.

“ from thence went to see the Velt-Marshal Reinschild's Lady.
 “ On the 28th, his Grace went to Leipzick, to wait on King
 “ Augustus, with whom he had a private Conference of about
 “ half an Hour, and then returned to Count Piper's Quarters,
 “ where he dined. He had that Afternoon a Conference with
 “ Count Piper and Baron Gortz, about the Affairs of Holstein,
 “ in which, Things were concerted to mutual Content. In
 “ the Evening his Grace supped with the Velt-Marshal Rein-
 “ schild. The 29th, his Grace was visited by Count Piper,
 “ Velt-Marshal Ogilvy, and many others; and, after having
 “ dined with Baron Gortz, had his Audience of Leave of the
 “ King of Sweden. Before it was ended, Notice was given,
 “ that King Stanislaus was in the Anti-Chamber; whereupon
 “ his Grace saying, he had no Objection against his coming in,
 “ the King of Sweden went and brought him. Some Civilities
 “ pass'd between that King and his Grace, who soon after took
 “ his Leave, and went to Leipzick, and thence, without mak-
 “ ing any Stay, proceeded on his Journey to Berlin.

Character
of Dr. John
Robinson.

“ Doctor John Robinson, who wrote the above Letter, was
 “ bred a Clergyman, and had a Living in the North of England.
 “ if I forget not, somewhere in the Neighbourhood of Hull.
 “ His Patron being sent with the Character of Resident to
 “ the Court of Sweden, he accompanied him, in the Quality
 “ Chaplain and Secretary; and upon his being recall'd or re-
 “ mov'd, he succeeded him, first with the Character only of
 “ Secretary-Resident, but afterwards of Resident, in which he
 “ liv'd so long at that Court, that it could not be supposed, that
 “ any one understood the Affairs of that Kingdom better, which
 “ enabled him to write an *Account of Sweden*, a Work justly
 “ esteem'd. He follow'd the Camp of Charles XII. and as he
 “ always supported the Character, so becoming his Cloth, (tho'
 “ he had, for a Time, chang'd it for the Sword) of being
 “ very grave and sober, and besides of being a Man of solid
 “ Sense, so, on the other hand, he was always very vigilant and
 “ careful of the Interest of his Sovereign; and he was, at this
 “ time, in that extraordinary Prince's Army, with the Cha-
 “ racter of Envoy Extraordinary. I had the Honour to be par-
 “ ticularly known to him. some time afterwards, in the City of
 “ Hamburg, where he resided in the same Character, with the
 “ Addition of Plenipotentiary, upon Occasion of certain Dif-
 “ ferences that had arisen, between some of the appennag'd
 “ Princes of Holstein, which they had submitted to the Detem-
 “ mination of Queen Ann. In this Commission, he was join'd
 “ with John Wich, Esq; her Majesty's Minister, to the Hans-
 “ Towns and Princes in the Circle of Lower Saxony; (Father of
 “ Sir Cyril Wich, Bart. now his Majesty's Minister-Plenipoten-
 “ ary

1707.

“ary to the Empress of Russia,) who was dignified with the
“same Character, on this Occasion, and they gave, I believe, a
“general Satisfaction, in their Determination. He then took
“the Gown again, and had, as a Reward for his Labours the
“Bishoprick of Bristol bestowed upon him, was of the Queen’s
“Privy Council, Privy Seal, and First Plenipotentiary at the
“Congress of Utrecht, and lastly was translated to the See of
“London, in which he died.”

The Success of the Duke of Marlborough’s Negotiations, at the Court of Sweden, was generally thought to be owing, not alone to the personal Esteem, which the King express’d to have for his Grace, and to his soothing and cherishing his Natural Inclination, which luckily happen’d to chime with the Duke’s Wishes; but, likewise, to a large Sum of Money, opportunely given to Count Piper, who, in Return, persuaded his Master to that March, which remov’d him to so great a Distance, as freed the Allies from any farther Apprehensions on his Account.

Causes of the Duke’s Success.

Monf. de Limiers makes no manner of Question of the Truth of this Report. “The Duke of Marlborough, (*says he*) having founded the King’s Intentions, in his private Audiences, address’d himself, for the rest, to Count Piper. The Publick is not, indeed informed, of what pass’d in the Duke’s Interviews with that Minister: But however secret this Matter was kept, it was well known, that a considerable Present, made the Count, hastened the Negotiation to a Conclusion, in three Days time.

Confirm’d by Monf. de Limiers.

A great many Vouchers might be produced to prove a good Intelligence; and more than probably a secret Treaty between the Duke and Count Piper: I shall only add one more here: My Lord Manchester, in a Letter of the 4th of May from Vienna, to the Earl of Sunderland, after giving an Account of some Orders given by that Court, goes on: “But I am still of Opinion, they will wait till they see what the King of Sweden will do, and what Assurances the Duke of Marlborough has. Here are Letters come from thence, which mention, that his Grace was in Conference with Count Piper for several Hours.

And others.

Monf. Voltaire allows, that this Report gained Credit, at that Time, throughout all Europe; but with a dictatorial Authority, pretty common with our poetical Historian, adds: “For my own Part, after having traced this Report to its Source, I have been convinced, that Piper received a small Present from the Emperour, by the Hands of Count Wratislau, with the Consent of the King his Master, and nothing from the Duke of Marlborough.” As Monf. Voltaire is not pleased to inform his Readers where or what this Source was, to which he traced this Matter; I shall, for his and their Information, lead

A Passage in Monsieur Voltaire’s History censur’d.

1707.

them to a Source, which, next to the Probability of the Thing itself, gave, in a great Measure, Rise to this Report : A certain rich Jew, (if I mistake not, from Amsterdam,) who was then at the famous Fair of Leipzick, was seen to wait on the Duke more than once ; this Jew was known to negotiate Bills of Exchange for a large Sum, in Pistoles, (100,000 Pistoles was the Sum named ;) with Mr. Hahman, a noted Banker in Leipzick ; and this Banker was known to pay, about the same time, large Sums, in Pistoles, to Count Piper's Order. This was at least one Source, which was in the Mouth of almost every one, from whence this Report arose ; but my Saxon Manuscript, besides this, adds, that several Alterations in the Count's Oeconomy, and some Indiscretions of one of his Secretaries, contributed not a little to confirm it.

It may not be improper for me to remove one Difficulty, that might possibly be started, in Opposition to my Relation, in Point of Time. I fix the Time of this Jew's being at Leipzick, during the Fair : The Fair I know begins the third Sunday after Easter ; and lasts a Fortnight. I have not thought it necessary to enquire what Day of the Month, the Fair was regularly to have begun, this Year ; but this I know, that upon Occasion of the King of Sweden's being encamp'd in the Neighbourhood, and Safe-guards for Persons and Goods being allow'd, on both Sides, to foreign Merchants of all Nations, the Shops were open'd and the Fair kept some Weeks both before and after the usual Time. During this Time the Duke of Marlborough was in Saxony, during this Time, the Jew I speak of was with the Duke, more than once, in his Quarters ; and I myself saw him transacting an Affair of great Consequence, with Mr. Hahman, in whose House I lodg'd : But whether within the precise time the Fair was wont to be kept, or before or after, I neither can, nor is it material for me to determine.

Some farther Passages in Voltaire explain'd into.

To conclude this Matter, that I may not be thought prejudiced against the Count, I shall add what Mons. Voltaire says farther, in his Justification, and to destroy the Credit of this Report. " And, farther (*continues our Historian,*) Count Piper, who very well knew, that his Master's Proceedings, if they proved unfortunate, might one Day be imputed to him, sent his Advice, sealed up, to the Senate of Sweden, to be opened after his Death : Which Opinion was, *that Charles ought first to establish King Stanislaus, on the Throne of Poland, and then to accept of the Mediation between France and the Allies, before he enter'd upon his Design, in Muscovy.* 'Tis true, indeed, (*adds Mons. Voltaire*) that Piper might, at the same time, advise his Master to that dangerous Expedition, and be willing to clear himself of it, in the Eyes of Posterity ; but it is as certain, that Charles was inflexible in his Design of dethroning the

" Em-

“ Emperor of Russia ; that he then took Counsel of no body,
 “ nor had any Occasion for Count Piper’s Instigation, to strengthen
 “ his Resolutions of being reveng’d on Peter Alexowitz, which
 “ he had, long before, fix’d : And lastly, (*says our Historian*)
 “ what entirely justifies the Minister, against this Imputation,
 “ is the Honour which Charles XII. paid to his Memory, a
 “ long time after, when, being informed that Piper was dead
 “ in Russia, he caused his Body to be transported to Stockholm,
 “ and his O^{mn}equies to be performed with great State and Mag-
 “ nificence, at his own Expence.” I cannot agree with Mr.
 Voltaire, that his last Argument so absolutely vindicates Count
 Piper. It is certain, and he allows, that this was Charles’s fa-
 vourite Scheme, upon which he was entirely bent, and conse-
 quently, must be supposed to have believed it reasonable, who-
 ever was the Adviser of it ; and tho’ it miscarried, and drew
 upon him a Chain of Misfortunes, why should he, therefore,
 throw the Odium of it, on the Adviser ? Or, if he did, as the
 Count was long his Favourite Minister, might he not retain a
 Value for his Memory, notwithstanding this one Mistake ?

A late Historian of our own, says, in down-right Contradiction
 to Voltaire, “ That as soon as the Duke arriv’d at Alt-
 “ Ranstadt, he went directly to Count Piper’s Quarters, and, in
 “ a Conference with that Prime Minister made glister in his
 “ Eyes a Present of a hundred thousand Guineas, which, ac-
 “ cording to his secret Instructions, his Grace was not wanting
 “ to insinuate, weigh’d more than as many French Louis-
 “ d’Ors. The Swedish Minister catch’d at the Bait, and this
 “ Golden Shower smooth’d the Way to his Grace’s favourable
 “ Reception, and successful Negotiation.”

Be all this as it will, the Duke of Marlborough succeeded in
 his Negotiation to his Wishes, and gained great Honour by the
 Journey : And tho’ some unexpected Events occasion’d the King
 of Sweden’s staying longer in Saxony than was expected ; yet
 we shall find, that his Majesty had a strict Regard to what he
 had promised the Duke, and that his Grace’s Interposition had
 a great Influence in accommodating Matters with the Emperour.
 Various were the Apprehensions the Court of Vienna was under
 from the Projects or Designs of the King of Sweden : I shall
 mention several in the Sequel. and how far the Duke had an In-
 fluence to prevent them ; but now shall only take Notice of one,
 which they had early, and of which the Lord Manchester gives
 an Account in the Letter I have quoted above, of the 14th of
 May, to the Earl of Sunderland : “ I find (*says my Lord*) they
 “ fear here, that the King of Sweden has some Thoughts to-
 “ wards Silesia and Bohemia, and if he should make the least
 “ Step that Way, they will recall their Troops out of Italy, as
 “ also Prince Eugene ; which will put an End to all the Designs

Remarks on
 a Passage in
 a late Au-
 thor.

1707.

“ there. I hear they have sent Orders to the Battalion of Muscovites to disperse themselves; for the Emperour will not give any Occasion to the King of Sweden, to have a Pretence to quarrel. In a subsequent Letter, of the seventh of May, the same Lord tells my Lord Sunderland, that, according to *Accounts from Saxony*, the Duke of Marlborough should say, *“ there was no Danger to be apprehended from thence.”* But we shall find more Instances below. I cannot, therefore, but wonder how Bishop Burnet can so positively affirm, *That the Duke could gain no Ground on the King of Sweden*; unless he supposes the Duke’s Journey was with the Intent to persuade the King of Sweden, to accede to the Grand Alliance, which I never found he attempted to do: Unless in a short Insinuation of Mons. Rouffet, which will, indeed, admit of this Interpretation.

And of another in Rouffet.

“ This Prince (says he, meaning the King of Sweden) might have made himself the Umpire of the Fate of Christendom, if he had given Ear to the Sollicitations of the Duke (of Marlborough,) on other Affairs, which would have gain’d him a real Glory, as he did, as far as regarded his Sojourn in Saxony.”

I shall quote but one Paragraph more, from an Author generally very well receiv’d:

“ The King of Sweden (says he) might, if he had pleased, have stopp’d the Progress of the War, and immortaliz’d his Name, by rendering himself the Arbitrer of a Quarrel which divided Europe; for the Prosperity of his Arms had render’d him the Terror of all the Powers in the North. He had depriv’d the Elector of Saxony of the Crown of Poland, and was now in the Middle of Saxony, where he committed universal Ravage, and might have turn’d the Balance which way he pleas’d: *The wrong Advice of his Favourite, corrupted by my Lord Marlborough, was the Cause of the Misfortunes into which that Prince was afterwards precipitated.*” (as a noted Author has it.) And the same Author adds, that “ the Neighbourhood of this great Monarch, who, where-ever he march’d, carried Fire and Sword with him, gave vast Uneasiness, and the Joy was as great when he manifested a Design to turn his Arms against the Muscovites, *which he was put upon to do by the English.* They had, for some time past, suspected him to be supported underhand by France, and they thought the best Way to embroil him with that Crown was to engage him in a War with the Czar. The Person commission’d to negotiate this Affair was my Lord Marlborough, who went to the King of Sweden, and soon put his Negotiation in a hopeful Way to succeed. He found about the King a Minister so sordid, that he was not Proof against an Offer of Three hundred thousand Crowns, to betray his Master into a War, which could not but be fatal

“ to him: — This Minister knowing his Master’s ambitious
 “ Temper, propos’d no less to him than dethroning the Czar.
 “ The young Monarch full of Zeal and Courage, did not ima-
 “ gine how impossible it was to dethrone a Prince who was re-
 “ tired behind Provinces quite deserted, and where the Snow lay
 “ so deep, that it was difficult to distinguish whether they walk’d
 “ upon Land or Rivers.”

This tallies exactly with what I have averr’d, (I think on very good Grounds,) differing only in the Sum given to this Minister, of which that mention’d by me seems to have the best Vouchers.

The thirtieth of April, N. S. the Duke of Marlborough arrived at Charlottenburg, the King of Prussia having sent Mons. Grumkau, to desire his Grace would pass that Way. He supped, that Night, with the King, and was lodged in the Apartment belonging to the Markgrave. The next Day, being Sunday, his Grace accompanied the King to divine Service, and Mons. L’Enfant, by his Majesty’s particular Orders, preach’d in French, on that Occasion. On the second, his Grace left Charlottenburg, in order to proceed towards Hannover, where he arrived, on the third; and, the Day following, after having had a private Conference, with the Elector, had the Honour to dine with his Electoral Highness. In the Afternoon, he set out for the Hague, where he arrived, the eighth, having received the highest Marks of Honour and Esteem, in the several Courts, thro’ which he had pass’d, since his Departure from thence.

The D. of Marlboro’ arrives at Charlottenburg.

Hannover:

And the Hague.

The next Morning, his Grace was complimented, upon his Return, by the foreign Ministers, and other Persons of Distinction; and, in the Evening, was in Conference with the Deputies of the States General, to whom he communicated the Assurances he had received from the King of Sweden. This entirely dissipated the Jealousies some of the Allies had conceiv’d of his Swedish Majesty’s Designs; which were industriously fomented by the Emissaries of France, who, on the other hand, left no Stone unturn’d, to engage the young Northern Hero, in an open Rupture, with the Emperour. The Intrigues of France proved, however, unsuccessful; the King of Sweden’s Resolutions were fix’d; nothing less than the dethroning of the Czar of Muscovy could satisfy his Ambition, or cool his Revenge; he overlook’d the most insurmountable Difficulties and Dangers, with a kind of Disdain, which shew’d he was inexorable; and the short Stay he yet made in Saxony, was only to bring the Emperour to harder Conditions, which he succeeded in, especially in Favour of the Protestants of Silesia. For the Neighbourhood of a Prince, haughty, tenacious, and affronted, at the Head of an Army daily increasing, made the Emperour think it his Interest, or rather, he was under a Necessity, to get

He confers with the Deputies of the States.

And acquaints them with his Success in Saxony.

1707. rid of him, at any Rate. But of this I shall have more to say, in the ensuing Chapter.

CH A P. VI.

The Campaign in Flanders, with other Transactions, to the Conclusion of the Year, 1707.

The D. of Marlboro' arrives at Brussels.

THE Duke of Marlborough, being return'd from Saxony, left the Hague, and arriv'd at Brussels, the thirteenth of May, N. S. He immediately held a Council of War, with Monsieur d'Auverquerque, and the Field-Deputies of the States; after which, Orders were sent to the Confederate Troops, to march to their Rendezvous at Anderlech, near Brussels. The Confederate Army was then computed to consist of 97 Battalions of Foot, and 164 Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, having, with them, 102 Pieces of Cannon, ten Hawbitzers, and 44 Pontons. The Enemy's Army was computed, at that time, to consist of 102 Battalions, and 168 Squadrons, having 72 Pieces of Cannon, 16 Mortars and Hawbitzers, and 36 Pontons.

The twenty-first, the Duke set out from Brussels, after having been waited on by the Council of State, and Members of the other Courts of that City, who came to wish him a happy Campaign.

From Brussels, the Duke wrote the following Letter, to the Earl of Manchester.

MY LORD,

Brussels, May 17, 1707.

A Letter from the Duke of Marlboro' to the E. of Manchester.

" I DID not receive the Honour of your Excellency's Letter, of the 27th of last Month, till my Return from
 " Saxony to the Hague, where I made so short a Stay, that I
 " hope you will excuse my not answering it sooner. I have
 " seen, by other Letters from Vienna, of later Date, how obstinately they pursue the Expedition against Naples, notwithstanding all the Representations that have been made to dissuade them from it; a jealous Humour prevails so much at
 " that Court, that they will not seriously weigh and consider
 " their own Interest, so that the best Arguments are thrown
 " away. I expect soon to hear whether our Misfortune in Spain
 " has made such Impressions as it ought with them. In the
 " mean while, I am glad to see, by Letters from Turin, that
 " the Duke of Savoy pursues the Measures that have been con-
 " cerned

"certed with him, with all the Earnestness we can desire. I arrived here two Days ago, and immediately ordered the Troops to march to their Rendezvous, near Hall, where I shall join the Army on Saturday, and then shall soon be able to guess, by the Enemy's Motions, what they design. They talk no less than of giving us Battle, which, in my Opinion, is what we ought most to desire; for tho' 'tis possible they may out-number us, yet I am sure they cannot equal us in Goodness of Troops. Your Excellency will have heard of the Misfortune arrived to our outward-bound Portugal-Fleet, and of the Loss of the Convoy. I am, &c.

1707.



MARLBOROUGH.

In the Evening of the 21st, the Duke joined the Army, which moved, the same Day, from Anderlech, and encamp'd, with the Right, at Bellingen, and the Left at Lembeck, and having Hall in the Rear. Upon Intelligence, that the French, who had been drawing together, about the same time, continued quiet in their Lines, the Duke of Marlborough advanced nearer to them, in order to meet them half Way, for a Battle, which they had given out they would offer the Confederates; or, if they declined it, to lay Siege, either to Mons or Charleroy; but, on the four and twentieth, his Grace received unexpected Information, that the Enemy were come out of their Lines, and were encamp'd at Haine, St. Paul, and Peronne, where the Elector of Bavaria, and the Duke de Vendôme, took a Review of their Army, the five and twentieth. He goes to the Army.
The French come out of their Lines.

From this Camp, the Duke of Marlborough wrote the following Letter to the Earl of Manchester.

Camp at Lembeck, May 25, 1707.

MY LORD,

"I Have received the Honour of your Excellency's Letter, of the 11th Instant, and, send this to Mr. Chetwynd, in Hopes it may meet you at Turin, where I doubt not but you will find H. R. H. perfectly well inclined, and ready to concur in any thing that may promote the carrying on the Expedition into France, with all possible Vigour. I am glad to see you have so good an Opinion of the Court of Vienna, for I have been, for some time, apprehensive they were not in so good Dispositions as were to be wished. Our Army has been assembled at this Camp four Days. That of the Enemy is come out of their Lines; so that the next March we make, we may be able to guess, whether they design to meet us, as they give out. It is certain, they are very numerous; but Another Letter from the Duke of Marlboro' to the E. of Manchester.

"our

1707.

“our Troops are all in so good a Condition, that I think we can
 “with for nothing more than a Battle, to do our Part towards
 “repairing the Misfortune in Spain.

I am, &c.

MARLBOROUGH.

The Con-
federates
resolve to
attack the
Enemy.

But they
prevent it.

The Confederate Army advanced, hereupon, the next Morning, to Soignies, their Right being at Louvignies, and their Left at Naest; and the Enemy, who, by this Motion of the Allies, thought they would take the Camp of Bois Seigneur Isaac, march'd, at the same time, to Pieton, placing their Right, near Meling, and their Head-Quarters at Gosseliers. The seven and twentieth, the Duke of Marlborough, accompanied by several Generals, advanced with twelve Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, to view the Ground, and the Avenues to the Enemy's Camp: And, upon Intelligence, that they were encamp'd in the Plain of Flerus, a Council of War was held, in which it was resolv'd to march to Nivelles, in order to attack them. Accordingly, a Detachment was sent to view the Pass at Ronquieres, thro' which they were to pass. The Generals, who were sent thither, reported, that the Enemy suspecting the Design of the Allies, had made a Detachment to secure that important Post, and would, undoubtedly, advance, upon the first Motion of the Confederates, to hinder them from marching thro' that Pass; or else, would charge the first Troops which should pass, with so much Advantage, that it was not thought adviseable to move that Way.

This Report being maturely weigh'd, in a Council of War, and, besides, the Generals wisely considering, that the Enemy had drain'd all their Garrisons, and got together all their Forces, probably, with no other View, but to plunder the open, great, and wealthy Cities of Brabant, particularly Louvain and Brussels, as soon as they should find the Confederates engaged in any Siege; which they might have done, in less time, than the bringing up of the heavy Artillery and Ammunition would require; all these Things, I say, considered, it was resolv'd to march back to Brussels.

The Con-
federate
Army re-
turns to
Brussels.

The French
decline
fighting.

This prudent Resolution was executed with so much Assiduity, that, the eight and twentieth, the Confederate Army returned from Soignies, to the Camp at Hall, pass'd, the next Day, the Canal of Brussels, at Dighem, and encamp'd at Beaulieu, where they rested, the thirtieth, march'd the thirty-first to Bethlem, lay'd Bridges over the Deule, which they pass'd, the first of June, and posted themselves at Meldest. The French, seeing their Design disappointed, advanced to the strong Camp of Gemblours, without daring to venture an Engagement with
 the

1707.

the Allies, tho' they were were superiour, in Number, by 34 Squadrons, and 24 Battalions. And so both Armies continued, above two Months, in their respective Camps, during which time, no Action pass'd between them, worth mentioning.

It will now be necessary, that I add a Word or two, to what I have said, in the foregoing Chapter, concerning the King of Sweden, and his Dispute with the Emperour; for notwithstanding the Success of the Duke of Marlborough's Negotiations, in Saxony, the Emiffaries of France left no Stone unturn'd, to engage the young Northern Hero in an open Rupture with his Imperial Majesty. In a Letter of the 11th of May, from Vienna, Lord Manchester tells the Earl of Sunderland, he was assured they had Letters there, which they had intercepted, coming from Swifferland, from the Court of France to the King of Sweden: Nor did the King of Sweden want plausible Pretences to fall out with the Court of Vienna; for, about this time, an unlucky Quarrel happened, between Baron Strahlenheim, Envoy of Sweden, and Count Zobor, an Hungarian Lord, Son-in-Law of Prince Adam of Lichtenstein. The Rencontre was this: "being both at Dinner, at the Count de la Tour's, and "discourfing of the Affairs of Europe, Count Zobor said, that "three Knaves occasioned a great deal of Mischief in the World. "He named, indeed, only Prince Ragotzki for one, and King "Stanislaus for another; but he made use of such Expressions, "as evidently shew'd, he meant the King of Sweden, for the "third; upon which the Swedish Envoy thought himself, in "Honour, obliged to give him a Box o' the Ear. The Company prevented any farther Mischief, at that time, and Count "Zobor was, at first, confined, by Order of the Emperour, and, "shortly after, sent Prisoner to the Castle of Gratz, in Stiria; "the Commissaries appointed to make Enquiry into that Affair, "having reported, that he had been guilty of Disrespect towards the King of Sweden."

France endeavours to foment a Rupture between the Emperour and the King of Sweden.

A Quarrel between Count Zobor and Baron Strahlenheim.

Baron Strahlenheim having informed the King, his Master, what pass'd, his Swedish Majesty ordered him to declare, that he approved his Conduct, and that he had Orders to absent himself from Court, till he had received a just Satisfaction, as well on that Account, as for the Affront offer'd to some Officers of his Troops, who, being listing Men at Breslau, were insulted by the People. The Imperial Minsters shewed a Willingness, at this Critical Juncture, to give the King of Sweden all reasonable Satisfaction: But, with regard to Count Zobor, they thought, that Monsieur Strahlenheim, having given a Blow to a Person of his Quality, and his Imperial Majesty having since confin'd him close Prisoner, the Swedes ought not to insist upon farther Satisfaction.

The King of Sweden demands Satisfaction on that Account.

This

1707

Other Demands of the King of Sweden.

The Swedish Minister leaves the Imperial Court.

The Emperor's Answer to the King of Sweden's Demands.

The King of Sweden not satisfied with it.

This was not, however, the most material Point, that made the Court of Vienna uneasy; for the Swedes had started other Pretensions of a more delicate Nature; and, in a Declaration which Count Piper had communicated to Count Sinzendorff, his Swedish Majesty insisted on the delivering up of the Muscovite Troops, who, when they escaped the Year before out of Saxony, were entertained in the Imperial Army, on the Upper Rhine. These Troops, being informed, what was in Agitation with regard to them, disbanded themselves, and march'd off, in Parties of about twenty, thro' Bohemia, and Moravia, into Poland. This so exasperated the King of Sweden, that he renew'd, and strenuously insisted upon his Demand, of the Surrender of those Troops; adding, that he expected a more ample Satisfaction, as well for the Affront offered to Baron Strahlenheim, as for the Recruits, which were raised for him, in Silesia, and had been taken from his Officers at Breslau. The very Day, that these Demands, which were made to Count Sinzendorff, were communicated by him to the Imperial Court, Baron Strahlenheim received Orders from the King, his Master, to repair to him, without taking Leave of that Court; he was prevail'd upon to stay four Days, that he might carry with him, the Emperor's Answer to his Master's Demands; but that Answer not being then ready, he left Vienna, and set out for Saxony. Two Days after, the Answer was, however, sent, and imported, in Substance; "That the Emperour could not deliver up the Muscovites, they not being in his Power; that Count Zobor should be prosecuted as a Criminal, in the Course of Law, by the Fiscal; and that, as for what had happened in Silesia, with respect to the Levies for his Swedish Majesty, sufficient Satisfaction should be made, after due Examination into the Matter of Fact."

To give farther Satisfaction to his Swedish Majesty, the Imperial Court soon after declared, that some Troops had been detach'd in Pursuit of the Muscovites, in order to their being deliver'd up to the King of Sweden, but had not been able to overtake them; and farther solemnly aver'd, that the Muscovites made their Escape from the Rhine, without their Conivance or Participation. This Declaration was, however, contradicted by Baron Strahlenheim, who, in his Way from Vienna to Saxony, meeting some of those Troops, and pretending to be Count Wackerbaert, a General in the Service of King Augustus, they frankly own'd, that their Escape was concerted with the Imperial Court. This being entirely believed, by the King of Sweden, irritated him the more, and made him insist peremptorily upon full Satisfaction, with regard to all the three Points abovementioned, before he left Saxony.

1707.

The Emperor dreading the Consequences of a Rupture with the Swedes, who might easily over-run his hereditary Countries, and having nominated Count Wratislau to go to the King of Sweden, to adjust all Differences, that Lord wrote to Count Piper, to know whether he should meet with a favourable Reception: But Count Piper let him know, "That if he came with Power to give his Master real Satisfaction, he would be welcome; but that if he only came to enter into a Discussion of his Swedish Majesty's Pretensions, he might save himself the Trouble of that Journey."

Refuses to enter into a farther Discussion of the Matter.

The Imperial Court sent Orders, hereupon, to Count Sinzen-dorff, to urge Count Piper to declare, what Satisfaction his Master insisted upon, since he refused to allow his Minister to discuss it, and to assure him, that the Emperor was ready to refer the controverted Points to the Arbitration of the Queen of Great Britain: These Circumstances are corroborated, by what my Lord Manchester wrote to the Earl of Sunderland, from Vienna, on the 14th of May. "The Ministers (says my Lord) have spoke to me of the Proceedings of the King of Sweden towards this Court. His Envoy has again renewed, with strong Expressions, his Demands of having the Muscovites delivered to him by the Emperor, and Satisfaction for what has pass'd between the Count Zobor and his Minister; which he carries so high, as to make it a Capital Crime, as also Reparation in the Matter of Breslaw; and in Case he has not immediate Satisfaction, he has Orders to go away. These Things make them very uneasy here, they lying so exposed. All this he has done within these few Days, and since the Duke of Marlborough has been in Saxony, which they hoped had made all Things easy. I believe, they have not yet determined what Measures to take; but I believe they have wrote this whole Matter to England, to be laid before the Queen." Here his Lordship, indeed, seems to doubt, whether the Duke had been so effectually successful, as had been hoped: But the Earl of Sunderland, in a Letter to him says: "Lord Marlborough has, I hope, left Matters with the King of Sweden in as good a Way as one could expect, which will be a great Ease on that Side." And here I shall leave this Matter, for the present.

The Emperor offers to refer it to the Queen of Great Bri-

As nothing happened, in the Field, during this Interval, worthy the Reader's Remark; I shall fill up this Chasm, with Part of the Duke's Correspondence, at this time, concerning other Affairs of Moment; with which I shall interweave what I think farther necessary to say, with regard to the King of Sweden.

Translation

1707.

Translation of a Letter from the Duke of Marlborough, to a Gentleman very much in the good Graces of his Electoral Highness, at Hannover.

From the Camp, at Meldest, June 1, 1707.

SIR,

A Letter from the Duke of Marlboro' to Monsieur *** at Hannover.

" I Have so great Obligation to you, for the News you are
 " pleas'd to send me, that if time would allow, I should not
 " fail of acknowledging it regularly myself; but the continual
 " Motions we are in oblige me to beg your Acceptance of my
 " Thanks now, and that you would continue to inform me of
 " whatever you may judge worthy of my Notice.

" I have heard, with great Satisfaction, the Resolution they
 " have, at length, taken at the Hague, concerning Monsieur
 " de Bothmar's Regiment; and, as I think, it was in a very
 " good Condition when I was with you, I hope it march'd
 " without Delay; especially as the Enemy is in such a Situa-
 " tion, that, so far from being able to undertake any Siege, we
 " shall rather be oblig'd to spend our Time in observing their
 " Motions, unless a favourable Opportunity should offer to draw
 " them to a Battle. I leave farther Particulars to Mr. Car-
 " donnel, who will from time to time inform you of our
 " Motions.

" You will be pleas'd to assure his Electoral Highness of my
 " most humble Respects, and be persuaded of the real Esteem,
 " with which I am, &c.

The Prince and Duke of

MARLBOROUGH.

About this Time the Duke had some Intelligence given him of certain Intrigues that began to be hatching against him in England, of which the Reader will find a more particular Account at the Beginning of the Second Volume of this Work: His Grace had at first some Doubt about the Truth of these Reports, and would hardly have believed them, if there had been any Room left for Disbelief, as appears by a Fragment of a Letter from this Camp, dated the very next Day.

Meldest, June 3, 1707.

" The wisest Thing is to have to do with as few People as
 " possible. If you are sure that Mrs. M—— speaks of Business
 " to the Queen, I should think, you might, with some Caution
 " tell her of it, which would do good: For she certainly must
 " be grateful, and will mind what you say.

The

The following Pieces are of no less Concern, than the Command of the Army of the Empire.

Another Letter from the Duke of Marlborough, to the same Gentleman.

From the Camp at Meldest, June 9, 1707.

SIR,

“ I Send you enclos’d the Extract of a Letter, which I have
 “ just received from the Elector Palatine. I beg you would
 “ lay it, with all convenient Speed, before the Elector, and his
 “ Ministers, that I may, without Delay, know his Highness’s
 “ Sentiments, as to what is propos’d, with regard to himself;
 “ being desirous of governing myself, as well in this Affair, as
 “ in every other, in such Manner, as may be most agreeable to
 “ your Court. I shall, in the mean time, inform our Court of
 “ the Matter, that I may receive her Majesty’s Commands,
 “ which I am persuaded, beforehand, will be entirely conform-
 “ able to the Wishes of his Electoral Highness. I am, with
 “ Truth, &c.

A Letter from the Duke of Marlboro’ to a Gentleman at the Court of Hannover.

The Original of this Letter, in French, was sign’d

The Prince and Duke of

MARLBOROUGH.

The Subject of the Letter mention’d above, from the Elector Palatine, the Reader will see by the following Lines of it. *J’ai l’Honneur, Mons. de vous écrire celle-ci, pour vous conjurer, par tout ce que vous est le plus cher en ce monde, d’employer votre haut Credit, et vos bons Offices, tant à la Cour de Vienne, et celle d’Angleterre, que par tout où vous le jugerez nécessaire, pour que le Commandement de l’armée de l’Empire soit confié, sans aucune perte de tems, à l’Electeur d’Hannovre. La Crise où sont aujourd’hui les affaires de l’Empire, vous fera aisément juger du présent besoin qu’il y a d’y apporter les remèdes convenables, et les plus prompts, dont à mon avis, un des principaux est celui, que je viens de vous suggerer, dans la Personne du dit Electeur.* That is, “ I have the Honour, Sir, to write you this, to conjure you, by all that is
 “ dearest to you in this World, to employ the great Credit you
 “ have, together with your good Offices, as well at the Courts
 “ of Vienna and England, as where-ever else you may judge it
 “ necessary, that the Command of the Army of the Empire,
 “ be entrusted, without any Loss of time, to the Elector of
 “ Hannover. The Crisis, to which the Affairs of the Empire
 “ are, at this time, reduced, will easily convince you, how
 “ necessary

Extract of a Letter from the Elector Palatine to the Duke of Marlboro.’

1707.

" necessary it is, at present, to apply proper and speedy Remedies; of which, in my Opinion, what I now suggest to you, in the Person of the said Elector, is one of the chief. Of such Importance was the Influence and Credit of our British Hero thought by a Prince and Elector of the Empire, in a Case where the Safety and Welfare of the Germanick Body was so highly concern'd.

The following is a Translation of the Answer written to his Grace, from Hannover, by Orders of the Elector.

Hannover, June 17, 1707.

My Lord,

A Letter to
the Duke of
Marlboro'
from the
Court of
Hannover.
See below.

" I Received the Letter your Highness honour'd me with on the 19th Instant; and was not wanting to shew it immediately to his Electoral Highness; who has commanded me to assure you of the Obligation he has to you, for communicating a Copy of the Letter you wrote to Count Piper, than which, in the Opinion of his Highness, and his Ministers, nothing could be more effectual. We must hope, that Mr. Robinson, acting upon that Foot, and under the prudent Directions of your Highness, may find means (if any yet remain) to mitigate Matters, and to prevent a Rupture between his Imperial Majesty, and the King of Sweden. The Elector's Minister at the Court of Vienna, is endeavouring, on his Part, to engage that Court to make some Advances to his Swedish Majesty; and he does not despair of Success. It might be very proper, if your Highness would, likewise, give the same Advice to that Court, which cannot fail having a great Regard for your Counsels.

" His Electoral Highness has likewise commanded me, to thank your Highness for the Communication of the Elector Palatine's Letter, concerning the Command of the Army of the Empire, and to tell you, that considering the present Situation of Affairs, he cannot think that those who have any Concern for his Glory could advise him to accept of that Command, since the best that can be hop'd, on that Side, is to stand on the Defensive. The Elector believes that Matters cannot be more speedily redress'd, on that Side, than by a General, who is actually on the Spot, I mean Mons. de Thungen, and that the first Step proper to be taken, is to make the old Margrave of Bareith lay down that Command; and that done, in the second Place to detach an immediate Reinforcement, from the Army in Brabant, to the Assistance of Mons. de Thungen. As the Elector has himself written to your Highness, concerning the Necessity of
" this

“ this Reinforcement, I have no more to add, but the Assurance of the profound Respect with which I am,

1707.

My Lord, &c.

The Court of Vienna not having yet given the Satisfaction to the King of Sweden, which that Monarch insisted upon, his Army still remain'd in Saxony, which gave Occasion to the following Letters.

Translation of a Letter from the Duke of Marlborough to Count Piper.

From the Camp at Meldest, June 6, 1707.

SIR,

“ I Deserr'd writing to you, till my Arrival at the Army, in A Letter
 “ Hopes of being soon able to give you some agreeable from the
 “ News; but since I do not yet find Matters in that Situation, Duke of
 “ which I could have wish'd, I can no longer delay begging Marlboro'
 “ of you, to tender my most humble Respects to the King, to Count
 “ and to make my most submissive Acknowledgments agreeable Piper.
 “ to his Majesty, for all the Favours he vouchsafed to heap
 “ upon me, during my Stay in Saxony, from whence I return'd,
 “ with all Expedition to Brussels. We caus'd the Army to be
 “ assembled immediately, as did, likewise, the Enemy, on their
 “ Side; for, taking Advantage of the Treaty in Italy, they have
 “ drawn so many Troops from those Parts, that they are come
 “ out of their Lines, with a pretty large Superiority; but as the
 “ Advantage of brave and valiant Troops is on our Side, I
 “ flatter myself, with the Blessing of Heaven on our just Cause,
 “ we shall at length, have a successful Campaign.

“ You have, without doubt, heard of our Misfortune in Spain,
 “ (of which I have yet no Particulars from our Side,) as, likewise,
 “ of that which has happen'd since to the Troops of the Empire,
 “ on the Rhine, occasion'd by their own Negligence. All this,
 “ you will easily conceive, gives us a great deal of Uneasiness;
 “ but I may frankly own to you, that the new Instances of
 “ Dissatisfaction, which the Court of Vienna has so lately given
 “ the King (your Master) is a greater Trouble to me, than the
 “ latter of these Accidents. However, I will please myself with
 “ the Assurance, that his Majesty's Moderation will prevail,
 “ on this Occasion; for should he shew his Resentment, at this
 “ Juncture, it would prove very fatal to the High Allies,
 “ as well as to all Christendom; which I am persuaded is
 “ very contrary to his Majesty's Intentions. The Queen, my
 “ Mistress, who has nothing more at Heart,

1707. " than to cultivate a perfect Understanding and Friendship
 " with the King of Sweden, and who has open'd her Mind to
 " him, without Reserve, will, together with all the rest of the
 " Allies, think herself under the highest Obligation to his
 " Majesty, on that Account: I, therefore, entreat you, to
 " favour me with some good News on this Head. If I durst
 " flatter myself, that his Majesty would have the least Regard
 " for my most humble Supplications, I would beg of you to
 " add those likewise, with the Assurance, that he has not a
 " more faithful Servant, nor one who would endeavour to tes-
 " tify a more perfect Gratitude for it, by an unbounded Of-
 " fering of myself and Service. In short, Sir, all the Allies
 " place their Hopes in the Goodness, and Prudence of the King
 " your Master, with an entire Confidence.
 " I must add my most humble Thanks to you, for all your
 " Civilities, being with the most sincere Respect,

SIR, &c.

The Prince and Duke of

MARLBOROUGH.

Translation of a Letter from the Duke of Marlborough, to a Gentleman at the Court of Hannover.

From the Camp at Meldest, June 16, 1707.

SIR,

" **M**ATTERS in these Parts being in the same Situa-
 " tion, as well on one Side as the other, since my last,
 " I might have dispens'd with writing to you by this Oppor-
 " tunity, were it not to communicate to you, the two en-
 " clos'd Copies; one of a Letter written by the Queen (my
 " Mistress) to the King of Sweden, and the other of a Letter
 " from Count Sinzendorff to myself. I hope his Electoral
 " Highness will favourably accept of them (together with my
 " most humble Respects) the first being written at his Desire,
 " and the other in Part concerning him. I, therefore, beg his
 " Electoral Highness will honour me with his Commands, if
 " he be desirous I should add any thing, to what I have al-
 " ready represented to the Queen. I am

SIR, &c.

The Prince and Duke of

MARLBOROUGH.

A Letter
 from the
 Duke of
 Marlboro' to
 a Gentle-
 man at the
 Court of
 Hannover.

The above-mention'd Copies were as follows:

Translation of a Letter from her Majesty, Queen Ann, to the King of Sweden.

SIR, my Brother,

" I Have just heard, with a great Dissatisfaction, that the
 " Imperial Court has not yet terminated, to your Majesty's
 " Mind, all those Things which may have admittred to
 " you some Cause of Discontent; of which I shall have Rea-
 " son to apprehend some fatal Consequences; if I were not
 " strongly perswaded, that the Zeal which you have always
 " shewn, for the two Causes of Religion and Liberty, will
 " never suffer you to undertake any thing in Opposition to the
 " Allies, who so generously shed their Blood, and lavish their
 " Treasures, for the Common Good of the Princes of Eu-
 " rope, and to preserve a Balance of Power so necessary for
 " us all. I, therefore, conjure your Majesty to have a Regard
 " to the present Situation of publick Affairs; and to continue
 " in the same Sentiments, your Majesty has always profess'd
 " to have, with respect to the Common Cause; especially in
 " those favourable Declarations so lately made. I take upon
 " me to employ my Offices with the Emperour, that he may
 " give you a speedy and just Satisfaction, with an entire Con-
 " fidence, that your Majesty will suffer these Differences to be
 " adjusted by my Care, and in an amicable Manner. I am,

Copy of a
 Letter from
 Queen Ann,
 to the King
 of Sweden.

SIR, my Brother, and Nephew,

Your most affectionate Sister and Aunt,

Kensington, May,
 30. O. S. 1707.

ANN, R.

Translation of a Letter from Count Sinzendorff to the Duke of Marlborough.

" I Understand, by the Letter your Highness was pleas'd to
 " write me, on the 23d of May, the Uneasiness you were
 " then under, with regard to the State of Affairs on the Rhine;
 " which, without doubt is increas'd, by the Behaviour of the
 " Army of the Empire, when the Marshal de Villars pass'd
 " the Rhine. I confess, this is a very unlucky Accident,
 " which would not have happen'd, if we had had a competent
 " Chief at the Head of our Troops. Your Highness knows,
 " that the first Proposal was to send for the Prince of Savoy,

Copy of a
 Letter from
 Count Sin-
 zendorff to
 the Duke
 of Marl-
 borough.

“ and that it was afterwards thought proper, in England and
 “ Holland, to change that Purpose ; tho’ I will not pretend to
 “ say, whether this might not have been the most reasonable
 “ Project. Count Stahremberg was put in the Room of this
 “ Prince, but immediately this Resolution was chang’d ; and
 “ Thanks be to God, the whole Court was Witness, that I had
 “ no Hand in it. After this, it was determin’d to send the
 “ Marshal de Heister thither ; but his Departure has been hi-
 “ therto delay’d. I am sorry I am oblig’d to trouble your
 “ Highness with these Particulars ; but, in short, there are
 “ certain Moments at Courts, in which it is impossible to put
 “ a Stop to, or hinder, those evil Resolutions, which one fre-
 “ quently has Reason to wish otherwise in the Sequel. In this
 “ unhappy Juncture, I have propos’d the Elector of Hanno-
 “ ver for this Command ; because I believe it necessary the Ar-
 “ my of the Empire should have a Chief, whose Birth and
 “ personal Merit may carry a Weight with them. Besides,
 “ this Prince has yet spare Troops in his Dominions, has Mo-
 “ ny, and is of an indefatigable Application. Endeavours
 “ have likewise been made to surmount certain Difficulties
 “ made by some, as well with regard to those Princes who
 “ oppose the ninth Electorate, as in Consideration of several
 “ other Reflections : And his Imperial Majesty has thought fit
 “ to instruct the Elector of Mentz, to take upon him to make
 “ this Proposal to the Elector of Hannover, and that the Em-
 “ pire might be dispos’d, at the same time, to approve of this
 “ Resolution. What now remains, is your Highness’s Con-
 “ currence, at the same time, that the Queen and the States
 “ General give theirs. I shall communicate these Particulars
 “ to the Counts de Goes and de Gallas, that they may make
 “ the necessary Representations. By this means, I hope, the
 “ Affairs on the Rhine may be retrieved ; for I cannot be per-
 “ suaded, that the Enemy’s Army is so numerous as they make
 “ it ; we have not yet been beaten, and besides the Troops of
 “ Hannover, to the Number of six Battalions, and a Regiment
 “ of Dragoons, which would accompany their Prince, more
 “ Troops may be drawn from the Circle of Westphalia, from
 “ Munster, and the Palatinate, and 5000 Men, of the Troops
 “ of King Augustus, if the Queen and the States General
 “ should think it proper to send them to the Rhine. With
 “ these, it is certain, a considerable Army may be form’d, not
 “ far beneath 60,000 Men. I do not at all doubt, but Mons.
 “ de Recheren, to whom I have communicated this Resolu-
 “ tion, will inform your Highness and the States of it ; and
 “ that, before all things, you will consider, that these 5,000
 “ Men, of the Troops of King Augustus, may be employ’d
 “ to good Advantage on the Rhine. I shall defer, till my
 “ next,

“ next, to give your Highness a more ample Detail of these
 “ Matters, as well as of the Affairs of Italy and Spain, which
 “ I shall be the better able to do, because we shall be a little
 “ better inform’d of the Intentions of the King of Sweden.

1707.

I am, &c.

My Lord Duke,

Vienna, June
 4, 1707.

Your Highness's, &c.

Count de SINZENDORFF.

The two following Pieces shew with what Satisfaction, for the Good of the Common Cause, the Duke of Marlborough received the News of the Elector of Hannover's being, at length, prevail'd upon, to take upon him the Command of the Army of the Empire.

A Letter from Mr. Cardonnel to a Gentleman of the Court of Hannover.

From the Camp at Meldest, June 30, 1707.

SIR,
 “ YOU will see, by the enclos'd Copy, what the Elector
 “ Palatine has written to my Lord Duke, who is con-
 “ cern'd he has no Letter from you, to confirm this Resolu-
 “ tion of his Electoral Highness; which his Grace sincerely
 “ rejoices at. He wishes his Highness all the Success ima-
 “ ginable, and will endeavour to contribute to it, as much as
 “ is possible.
 “ We have nothing new here; both Camps are in the same
 “ Situation. We have Advice, that the Elector of Bavaria is
 “ sending some of his Bavarian Troops, under Command of
 “ the Count d'Arco, to reinforce the Marshal de Villars.

A Letter from Mr. Cardonnel to a Gentleman at Hannover.

I am, &c.

CARDONNEL.

Extract of a Letter from the Elector Palatine to the Duke of Marlborough,

“ AS for the Command of the Army of the Empire, the
 “ Bishop of Spiga, my Envoy Extraordinary at the
 “ Court of Hannover, has dispatch'd a Messenger to me, who
 “ is this Moment arrived, to advise me, that the Elector of
 “ Hannover has not only accepted of it, but has, in the most
 “ generous

Extract of a Letter from the Elector Palatine to the Duke of Marlborough

1707.

“generous Manner imaginable, offer’d to carry a good Body
 “of Troops with him, without burdening the Empire with
 “any Charge, on that Account. This gives me by so much
 “the more sensible Satisfaction, as we may, from thence, rea-
 “sonably hope, that the Face of Affairs, in those Parts, will
 “soon be chang’d for the better.

The following two Pieces are Count Piper’s Answer to the
 Duke of Marlborough, and the King of Sweden’s Answer to
 the Queen.

*The Translation of Count Piper’s Answer to the Duke of
 Marlborough.*

SIR,

Count Pi-
 per’s An-
 swer to the
 Duke of
 Marlboro’.

“I No sooner received the Letter your Highness has ho-
 “nour’d me with, than I waited on his Majesty (the King,
 “my Master) to pay your Compliments to him; and as he,
 “upon every Occasion, gives Marks of his particular Esteem
 “for your Highness; so, in this, he shew’d it in a more ex-
 “traordinary Manner. I am likewise very sensible of the
 “Proofs you are pleas’d to give me of your Friendship, and
 “shall never be wanting to convince you of my sincere Inclina-
 “tion to render you my best Services, as often as it shall be
 “in my Power. I beg your Highness will pardon my not an-
 “swering sooner. Not to mention other Occupations, the
 “principal Reason for my delaying it a little was, that I was
 “willing first to sound the King (my Master) as to his Sentiments,
 “with regard to the Subjects of Dissatisfaction given his Ma-
 “jesty, by the Emperor, which makes one Part of your Let-
 “ter. All the World must allow, that the Injuries done him,
 “in divers Places, and at sundry Times, must have very
 “much exasperated him, and more especially the last Instance,
 “in granting the Muscovites a free Passage, and all manner of
 “Conveniency. These Things are all of such a Nature, that,
 “without an actual and sufficient Satisfaction given, the King
 “(my Master) will be oblig’d to seek it himself, in his Impe-
 “rial Majesty’s Hereditary Dominions. If the Emperour were
 “ inclin’d to make a just and speedy Reparation of these Inju-
 “ries, it has been in his Power, by effecting it, to put a Stop
 “to the fatal Consequences, which may otherwise ensue; es-
 “pecially, as her Majesty of Great Britain has offer’d her
 “good Offices, to mediate an Accommodation, for which the
 “King, (my Master) has testified his Acknowledgments. And
 “your Highness may be assur’d, that let what will happen, this
 “Event shall make no Change, in the Overtures made you while
 “here. While Matters are under this uncertain Situation, I
 “have

" have nothing new to advise you, from these Parts. I only
 " wish, that all your Highness's Undertakings may tend to the
 " Encrease of your Glory, that you will vouchsafe me the Con-
 " tinuance of your Affection, and be persuaded that I am
 " more than any one,

1707.

SIR,

Your Highness's, &c.

Alt-Ranstadt, June

Le Comte de PIPER.

$\frac{26}{26}$, 1707.

The Translation of the King of Sweden's Letter to the Queen.

MADAM, &c.

" **A**S your Majesty, in the Letter you wrote me, on the
 " 30th of May, seems to express some Uneasiness on
 " Account of those Occasions of Dissatisfaction, which the
 " Emperour has given me, and offers to employ your good
 " Offices in mediating an Accommodation of them, I cannot
 " but gratefully acknowledge the Marks your Majesty is plea-
 " sed to give me, of your Zeal and Regard for what concerns
 " me. It was much against my Inclination, that these Diffe-
 " rences ever arose; and if an Eye be had to the Manner in
 " which the Emperour has acted with regard to me, it will be
 " easy to judge, that, hitherto, the Imperial Court has been
 " far from being dispos'd to give me any real Satisfaction. On
 " the contrary, it has the Appearance, as if they sought to en-
 " crease the Number of Injuries, by adding others more outrag-
 " eous than the former. Your Majesty knows, that after so
 " many Wrongs done me, in different Places, and at different
 " Times, several Months have elapsed, without my being able
 " to obtain the just Satisfaction demanded; which gives me
 " Reason to apprehend a greater Backwardness for what has
 " happen'd anew; since they could determine, during these
 " Debates, to suffer the Muscovites to escape, and grant them a
 " free and open Passage thro' his Imperial Majesty's Dominions;
 " notwithstanding the Right I had of reclaiming them, and
 " contrary to the Hopes given me, that they should be deli-
 " vered into my Hands. This alone would be sufficient to justify
 " my Animosity and Resentment, if, in Default of a speedy and
 " adequate Reparation, I should be obliged to seek and expect,
 " in the Emperour's Hereditary Provinces, what no one could
 " disapprove in a like Juncture.

The King
 of Sweden's
 Answer to
 the Queen.

I am, &c.

Alt-Ranstadt, $\frac{15}{25}$ June, 1707.

CHARLES.

1707.

Farther Demands of the King of Sweden.

The King of Sweden had, in the mean time, demanded of the Imperial Court, as Preliminaries to the Admission of Count Wratislau, as Envoy from the Emperour, the delivering up of Count Zobor, and of the Imperial Officers, who had hindred the levying of the Swedish Recruits. This the Court of Vienna complied with, and declared, moreover, that the City of Breslau should pay 4000 Crowns, to the Widow of a Swedish Corporal, who was kill'd in that City, in a Scuffle occasion'd by the Seizure of those Levies: And, upon this, Count Wratislau was admitted, as the Reader will see by the following Letter from the Duke of Marlborough to the Earl of Manchester.

Camp of Meldest, Aug. 4, 1707.

MY LORD,

A Letter from the Duke of Marlboro' to the E. of Manchester.

" I HAVE the Honour of your Excellency's Letter of the
 " 8th of July, from Venice, and am very much oblig'd to
 " you for the Account you give me of what pass'd at the Court
 " of Turin while you were there. The Succours to be sent to
 " Spain depend, in a great Measure, upon what the Duke of
 " Savoy will be able to do in Provence. Here we flatter our-
 " selves, his Royal Highness has been before Toulon these ten
 " Days. It is likely, before this comes to hand, your Excel-
 " lency will know the Success of that Expedition. I had a Let-
 " ter, this Morning, from Mr. Robinson, of the 27th past,
 " wherein he tells me Count Wratislau arrived there the Day
 " before, and that, at his Desire, the Dutch Minister had a Con-
 " ference the same Evening, with Count Piper, which he was
 " to report to the King, so that we are still to learn what may
 " be the Issue: But four Regiments of Swedish Horse having ac-
 " tually taken Quarters in Silesia, gives but a melancholy Pros-
 " pect. We have nothing new in these Parts. I am with great
 " Truth, &c.

MARLBOROUGH.

Count Wra-
 tislau refus'd
 Audience.

This forc'd Compliance, on the Part of the Imperial Court; did not, however, give full Satisfaction on the King of Sweden, who, upon Count Wratislau's Arrival at Alt-Ranstadt, refused to admit him to his Audience. This Minister was, therefore, oblig'd to content himself with conferring with Count Piper, and Monsieur Hermelin, concerning the Escape of the Muscovites, which the Imperial Court now thought was the only important Point, that remain'd unadjusted: But they were deceived: For the Protestants of Silesia, who had been in a great Measure divested of the free Exercise of their Religion, by the invading Zeal of Popery, having privately made Application to the King

of

of Sweden, that Monarch took a Resolution to restore them to their Rights and Privileges. To this End it was, that he sent the four Regiments of Swedish Horse, mention'd in the above Letter, into that Country, to protect them provisionally; and, this done, he began to multiply his Demands; of which I shall give the Reader a particular Account, after having premis'd the following Piece, by which he will see what Steps his Swedish Majesty took previous to these Demands.

1707.

The King of Sweden multiplies his Demands.

Extract of a Letter from P. Meadows, Esq; to the Earl of Manchester; dated Vienna, Aug. 20, 1707.

“ **Y**OU desire, my Lord, an Account of Count Wratislau's Affair. Mr. Robinson, our Minister here, who, with the Dutch Ministers, has been acting the Part of a Mediator, and who were well satisfied to find the three Points so friendly adjust'd, have had a fourth started, and that of no less Consequence than Religion; the King of Sweden insisting now, upon the Protestants being restored to the Use and Exercise of their Churches and Religion, in Silesia, according to the Westphalian Treaty. On this, the Mediators desired three Weeks Time, in which to consult their Governments, and the King granted it: But before half that Time was expired, his Majesty demanded of them, to insist with the Emperour upon a direct and positive Assurance; which they declining, upon their not having received Answers to their Letters on that Subject, his Majesty thank'd them for the Pains they had taken, but declin'd their farther Offices, in plain Words. Thus stands that Matter, never appearing worse. Count Wratislau continues still there, yet without having been admitted to an Audience of the King. The French strengthen themselves here, in Germany, instead of detaching from their Army, notwithstanding some positive Reports we have had to the contrary: And I fear, as we are striving to stir up the Subjects of France, their Intention is to do the like with the Emperour. What Effect that may have here, I cannot yet tell: But I am not without my Apprehensions. If the Swede and Villars should act by Concert, one may say the Imperial Court would be in far greater Danger, than before the Battle of Hochstadt.

A Letter from P. Meadows, Esq; to the Earl of Manchester.

The new Demands, made by the King of Sweden, on the Imperial Court, were:

“ 1. That the Emperour should give it under his Hand, that he knew nothing of the March of the 1200 Muscovites, who escap'd thro' the hereditary Countries.

New Demands of Sweden on the Emperour.

1707.

- “ 2. That he should forthwith decide the Affair of the Election of Lubeck, in favour of the Duke, Administrator of Holstein; and confirm the Agreement between that House and the Chapter, for the two next Generations.
- “ 3. That the Country of Hadeln, on the River Elbe, be sequestred into the Hands of his Swedish Majesty, till the Right of all the Pretenders to it be decided.
- “ 4. That the Protestant Religion, in Silesia, be restored, according to the Treaty of Westphalia.
- “ 5. That his Imperial Majesty should renounce all Pretences to the *Quota*, which the King of Sweden had not furnish'd during this War, and should draw no Consequences from the Crown of Sweden's not having done Homage for the Dominions they have in the Empire, since the Year 1664.
- “ And,
- “ 6. That the whole Swedish Army, in their Return thro' Silesia into Poland, should be maintain'd at the Emperour's Charge.”

There were about this Time certain other Articles hand- ed about, privately, in Holland, which, it was insinuated, the King of Sweden design'd to propose to the Diet, the chief of which were :

- “ 1. That the Elector of Bavaria should be restor'd, or, at least his Electorate given to the King of Sweden, and he be declar'd Elector, in his Room, as being his nearest Relation.
- “ 2. That, for the future, the Election of Emperour should be alternately out of the three Religions, since the electoral College was compos'd of them.
- “ 3. That the Protestant Churches should be re-established, in Silesia, Moravia, Bohemia, Hungaria, &c. on the same Foot they were in, at the time of his great Predecessor, Gustavus Adolphus; And,
- “ 4. That the King of Sweden should have the Sovereignty of the City of Bremen.

These Articles may perhaps have been forg'd in France; but I can hardly believe the King of Sweden ever harbour'd the Thoughts of making any such Proposals, at least, after the Assurances given the Duke of Marlborough: and besides, they are contradictory in themselves; for what has the Diet of the Empire to do with Hungary? I return, therefore, to the other six Articles.

These

1707.

Occasion
new Diffi-
culties.

These new Demands were the Subject of several Conferences between the Counts Wratisslau and Piper; and the first overlook'd several Formalities, and granted many Points, which the Court of Vienna would, at another Time, have rejected. The Confirmation of the Treaty, between the Ducal House of Gothorp, and the Chapter of Lubeck, in the Year 1647, and the Restoration of the Exercise of the Protestant Religion in Silesia, were the two Articles which met with the greatest Difficulty: But the Guaranty of Great Britain and Holland, at length, removed all Difficulties; and the first of September, N. S. every Thing was settled and agreed on. The King of Sweden decamp'd from Alt-Ransfadt, early the next Morning, and the Treaty being sign'd that very Day, at Wolkwitz, the Imperial Minister set out the Day following for Vienna. The sixth, the King of Sweden, taking Dresden in his Way, paid a Visit to King Augustus, attended only by 5 or 6 Persons; in which it is hard to say, whether Undauntedness or Imprudence had the greatest Share. The Ratification of the Treaty being deliver'd him, the twelfth, in Silesia, he so hastened his March, that by the 25th, his whole Army had pass'd the Oder, and was in the Dominions of Poland. And thus this Phenomenon, which had put the High Allies under great Apprehensions, entirely disappear'd, as a happy Consequence of the Duke of Marlborough's prudent and successful Negotiations in Saxony. But it is Time I return to the Army, under our Hero's Command.

But are re-
mov'd by
the Interpo-
sition of
Great Bri-
tain and
Holland.

A happy
Consequence
of the Duke
of Marlbo-
rough's Ne-
gotiations in
Saxony.

At length, upon certain Advice, that the French had detach'd thirteen Battalions, and twelve Squadrons, from their Army, towards Provence, the Duke of Marlborough, in Concert with Monsieur d'Auverquerque, and the Deputies of the States, resolv'd to march from Meldest, towards Genap, in order to attack the Enemy, with less Disadvantage, in their fortified Camp, at Gemblours. Accordingly, the ninth of August, N. S. the Disposition was made, for the Army to pass the Deule, at the Abby of Florival; and, the same Evening late, Orders were given for the March of the heavy Baggage towards Brussels, and the laying of four Bridges over the Deule. At the same time, the Troops which were encamp'd near Louvain, under Major-General Week, and the Regiment of Bothmar, were ordered to march to Florival, and the Battalions in Brussels, to advance to Waterloo. The tenth, in the Morning, the Artillery was commanded to pass the Deule, at St. Joriswert, and, about three in the Afternoon, the Duke of Wirtemberg march'd, with fourteen Squadrons, to Pieterbais, with Orders to stay there till Morning, to observe the Enemy, and, afterwards, to make the Rear-Guard. At four, the whole Army decamp'd from Meldest, and, according to the Disposition that had been made, pass'd the Deule at Florival; and, marching all Night, arriv'd, the eleventh, at

The D. of
Marlboro'
resolves to
attack the
Enemy.

Dispositions
made for
that Pur-
pose.

The Confe-
derate Army
decamps.

1707.

Break of Day, about the Heights of Waveren, where they made a short Halt, and then continued their March towards Genap, where they encamp'd, with their Right, at Promelles, and their Left, at Davieres, having made a March of seven Leagues.

The Enemy
retires with
Precipita-
tion.

Here they had the Intelligence, that the Enemy no sooner received Advice, that the Duke of Wirtemberg was advancing, with his Detachment, to Pieterbais, and that the Army of the Allies was in Motion, than they were extremely alarm'd, and immediately ordered their Troops to their Arms. They, likewise, cut down several Trees, in the Roads and Passages which led to their Camp. About Midnight, they got certain Information which Way the Allies were moving; whereupon, they begun their March, with all imaginable Precipitation, towards Flerus and Hespenay, intending to be, that Evening, at Gosseliers, and take Possession of the strong Camp at Pieton. The twelfth, in the Morning early, the Confederate Generals received Advice, that the French Army had made but a short Halt at Gosseliers, and were advanced to Seneff, about Midnight, the Elector of Bavaria having taken his Head Quarters in the Castle of Vanderbeck, and the Duke de Vendôme in the Farm-House of Rel, between Vanderbeck and Seneff, having the River Pieton before them.

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough pur-
sues them.

The Duke of Marlborough and Monsieur d'Auverquerque, having confer'd together, upon the Receipt of this Advice, it was resolv'd to march directly to Nivelles, in order to attack the Enemy; and, accordingly, the Army march'd, about one in the Afternoon, and came into that Camp, the same Evening. It was too late to attack the Enemy that Night, the necessary Dispositions were, therefore, made, to do it in the Morning; and, as they had Reason to believe, that the Enemy would attempt to retire, in the Night, in order to gain the Camp at Cambron, all possible Diligence was us'd to prevent their effecting it. To this End, Count de Tilly, with forty Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, which were commanded, under him, by the Earl of Albemarle, and the Major-Generals, Count d'Erbach and Ross, and a Detachment of between five and six thousand Grenadiers, commanded by Lieutenant General Scholten, and Major-General Zoutland, was ordered to post himself between the two Armies, with the Left, at Corneliz, and the Right, towards the Road, from Bink to Nivelles; and, in case the Enemy decamp'd, to fall upon their Rear, and keep them in Play, till the whole Army could come up. These Troops, notwithstanding they march'd with all possible Dispatch, could not reach their respective Posts before Midnight. The French, in the mean time, foreseeing what was the Duke of Marlborough's Design, and perceiving, that it would not be possible for them to avoid an Engagement, if they continued in their Camp, till the

1707.

the Morning, resolv'd to decamp in the Night; that they might, if possible, avoid coming to any Action, with the Army of the Allies, the Valour and Experience of whose Generals, and the Courage and Activity of their Soldiers, they very well knew and dreaded.

They began to prepare for this second Retreat, about the same time the Confederate Army came to the Camp at Nivelles, and about Nine, at Night, their Left began to retire towards Morimont, without Beat of Drum or Sound of Trumpet. The thirteenth, a little before Break of Day, Count Tilly advanc'd, with his Detachment, directly to the Enemy's Camp; when he saw their Army in full March, making their Retreat in very good Order, from Hedge to Hedge, and observ'd the Country to be so difficult, that it would be next to impossible to come at them. He gave immediate Notice of this to the Duke of Marlborough, and inform'd him, that he was marching to endeavour to attack their Rear, according to his Orders. Upon this, the Duke detach'd twenty Battalions, and thirty Squadrons, under the Command of General, Count Lottum, to support Count Tilly; the Horse being commanded by Lieutenant-General Dopf, the Sieur Schulenburg, and the Earl of Athlone, Major-Generals; and the Foot by Lieutenant-General Fagel and Major-General Welderen.

They retreat, a second time, with all Privacy.

Count Tilly march'd, with all possible Speed, and had several Skirmishes with the Enemy's Rear; but having pursued them, three or four Hours, as far as the Plains of Marimont, and observing, that it was to no Purpose to fatigue the Troops, he return'd to the Camp. The Country was cut by many deep Roads, which very much favour'd the Enemy's Retreat; for there they posted some of their Infantry, which hinder'd the Confederate Horse from making Openings to follow them. The Duke of Marlborough, who was advanc'd with a Detachment, being returned to the Camp, resolv'd to remain there, that Day, to give the Troops some Repose, after the tiresome March they had made; and because he was in an Uncertainty, whether the Enemy march'd towards their Lines, or to Cambron, Mons. d'Auverquerque sent one of his Aids de Camp, with 150 Hussars, to post himself on the Hills of the Great Roulx, from whence they plainly discover'd the Enemy's March, at about half a League's Distance. That Officer reported, that the Vanguard was advanced to St. Dennis, having the River Haisne behind them, which was confirm'd by the Spies, who added, that the Elector of Bavaria had his Quarters at St. Dennis, and the Duke of Vendôme, at Castiaux. From this March, the Generals concluded, that the Enemy did not design to retire within their Lines, but rather to possess the advantageous Camp at Cambron: Upon which, the Confederate Army decamp'd from Nivelles,

The Pursuit continued.

1707.

Nivelle, the fourteenth, about six in the Morning; but having, the whole Day, a very violent Rain, which made the Roads almost unpassable, it was very late when the Right came to Soignies, and the Left could not come up till the next Morning; tho' 1,000 Pioneers had been three Days at work, to repair the Roads, from Arquennes to Soignies.

The Enemy
suffers ex-
tremely in
their Re-
treat.

The Confederate Army suffered very much in this March; but the Enemy labour'd under infinitely greater Difficulties: For having lain on their Arms, at St. Dennis, all Night, the fourteenth, they pursued their March, early the next Morning, with great Precipitation, and in the same Confusion as before, to Chievres, where they arrived, at the same time the Confederates came to Soignies. This hasty Retreat, besides the Fatigue, occasioned a very great Desertion among the French: For their Soldiers having been without Bread, for more than two Days, and without Rest for three, not having Time to put up their Tents between Seneff and Chievres, above 1,000 of them went over to the Confederate Camp, and as many more at least to Brussels, and other Places. The Enemy was, besides, in want of all Sorts of Necessaries, during their whole March from Gemblours, their Baggage being sent away from thence, with their Artillery, to Charleroy, upon the first Motion of their Army to avoid an Engagement.

Bad Wea-
ther obliges
the Duke to
discontinue
the Pursuit.

The great Rains, which continued, for some Days, having render'd the Ways wholly unpassable, oblig'd the Duke of Marlborough to give over the Pursuit of the Enemy, and detained the Confederate Army in the Camp at Soignies. The Enemy, in the mean time, fortified the Avenues to theirs, as well as the Unseasonableness of the Weather would allow them; and tho' their Army was soon after re-inforced, with six Battalions, and two Regiments of Horse, from the Flying Camp of Count de la Motte; yet they retired farther beyond the Marque, and encamp'd, with their Right, at Pont à Tresin, and their Left, under the Cannon of Lisse.

The Enemy
retreats into
their Lines.

Monf. Rouffet gives us the following Account of this their last Retreat. "The Confederate Army (says he) left their Camp of Soignies, the thirty-first of August, and march'd directly towards the Enemy, who were at Cambron. The Prince of Orange, as General of the Republick, put himself at the Head of the Dutch Infantry; but the French had no sooner Advice of this March, than they quitted the Camp of Cambron with great Precipitation, notwithstanding the advantageous Situation, pass'd, at length, the Scheld, and retired behind their Lines, between Lille, and Pont à Tresin. Had the Allies (continues he) began their March, an Hour or two sooner, they might have fallen upon the Rear-guard of the French Army, whom they saw following the Body of it.

The Allies
fall in with
their Rear.

"The

“ The Soldiers of the Van of the Allies got into their Camp, where they found Beer, Wine, and several other Things, which the French had not Time to carry away with them.

1707.
Make some Booty.
The Enemy retreats yet farther.

The Allies hereupon, advanced again, the seventh of September, towards them, and encamp'd, with their Right, at Rollegem, and their Left, at Helchin, near the Scheld, subsisting all this while on the French Territories. The fourteenth, the Duke of Marlborough had Intelligence that the French had made a Disposition, to forage the next Morning at Templeuve, and the Villages thereabouts; he, therefore, march'd out, that Morning, by Break of Day, with 20,000 Foot, 5,000 Horse, and twelve Pieces of Cannon, with a Design to attack the Guard that cover'd them, and, by that Means, endeavour to bring them to a general Action; but the Enemy, being informed of the Duke's Intention, did not think fit to venture out of their Camp. His Grace, hereupon, ordered his Troops to forage those Places, that the Enemy might have no farther Benefit from them, which was done without the least Opposition, tho' under the Cannon of Tournay, within a League of the Enemy's Camp, and three from that of the Confederates; so fearful were the French of running any Hazard, tho' with never so visible an Advantage.

The Duke of Marlborough again attempts, in vain, to bring the Enemy to an Action.

The Duke of Marlborough finding it, therefore, impossible, to bring the cautious Duke de Vendôme to an Engagement, their Camp being cover'd with the Scheld, and with their Intrenchment, his Grace left the Camp at Helchin, the fourth of October, N. S. and went for the Hague. He arrived there, the sixth, at nine in the Morning, and immediately made a Visit to the Grand Pensionary, and Mons. de Slingerland, Secretary of the Council of State. The same Afternoon, his Grace had a Conference with the Deputies of the States General, wherein he communicated the Orders he had received from the Queen of Great Britain, his Mistress, to repair to Francfort, and to confer with the Electors of Mentz and Hannover, about the Operations of the next Campaign. The next Morning, his Grace had another Conference, with those Deputies, and, in the Evening, set out for the Army, to give the necessary Orders for their marching into Winter-Quarters.

He goes to the Hague.

Confers with the Deputies of the States.

Returns to the Army.

Immediately after his Arrival there, on the tenth, the Troops which were design'd for the Garrisons of Menin, Courtray and Oudenarde, went into those Places; and, the next Day, the Army came to Peteghem, with a Design to pass the Scheld at Gure; but the Rains continuing, with such Violence, as to render the passing there impracticable for the Horse, the Foot encamp'd, the twelfth, with the Right, at Sieyne, and the Left, at Aibre, and pass'd the River, the thirteenth, at Gauvre; his Grace advancing, with the Horse and Dragoons, to Zwinhaerde. The same Day, the Foot continued their March, thro' Ghent

to

1707. to Westrem; and, the next Day, the whole Army came to Asche, where they continued, till they heard, that the French Army separated the twentieth; upon which all the Confederate Troops went into the respective Winter-Quarters which were assign'd them, being much the same as they had been the Year before.

Both Armies separate and go into Winter-Quarters. The fifteenth, the Duke of Marlborough set out for Germany, in the Morning, lay that Night at Liere, the next at Grave, the seventeenth at Wesel, and the eighteenth at Dusseldorp; his Grace having altered his intended Rout, upon a Report of several French Parties being pass'd the Rhine, which was confirmed at Grave, and this was the Reason of his taking this last City, in his Way. The nineteenth, the Duke was met by the Elector Palatine, at Bruck, about a League from his Castle of Bansberg, where his Electoral Highness entertained his Grace with a splendid Dinner, under a very magnificent Persian Tent; after which, he continued, about twenty Miles, to Waert, being conducted thither by the Palatine Guards. The twentieth, the Duke lay at Limburg, on the Laune, and, the twenty-first, reach'd Francfort. His Grace found the Elector of Hannover (our late most gracious Sovereign, King George I) who had been prevailed upon to command the Army on the Rhine, this Summer, and at whose Instances this Interview was appointed, arrived before him, as was likewise the Elector of Mentz.

The D. of Marlboro' goes to Germany. They had several Conferences together, but nothing could be concluded, till Count Wratislau, the Emperour's Plenipotentiary, arrived there, the seven and twentieth; nor, indeed, then neither; because the latter declared he was not fully instructed: Whereupon the Conferences broke off, and, on the nine and twentieth, the two Electors of Mentz and Hannover set out, from Francfort, the first for his Residence, and the second for the Imperial Army; the Duke of Marlborough departing, at the same Time, for the Hague, whither he was attended by Count Wratislau, and arrived there, the third of November.

Is entertained by the Elector Palatine. Arrives at Francfort. Has several Conferences with the Elector of Mentz and Hannover. Returns to the Hague. Reflections cast upon the Duke of Marlboro' by a late Author, answer'd. A late Dutch Writer, who has pretended to give the Publick a Continuation of Rapin's History of England (tho' never two Works were more unlike) and who, upon all Occasions, shews an Inclination, if he could but find Subject, to bespatter the Character of our Hero, endeavours to draw Arguments, from this Journy, for that End. As the Paragraph is pretty singular, tho' there is little else in it, I shall divert the Reader with a Translation of it.

“ The Duke of Marlborough (says my Author) was desirous
 “ to make himself Amends for the little Success of this Campaign. He acted with the Consent, but not at the Desire, of
 “ their High Mightinesses. The 21st of October, he repair'd
 “ to Francfort, accompanied by Mons. de Geldermalsen, to
 “ confer

“ confer with the Electors of Hannover and Mentz, Count
 “ Wratisslau, the Imperial Minister, and several Princes and
 “ Deputies of the Circles of the Empire. The General, whom
 “ all the World did Justice, and who, likewise, took Care to
 “ do it himself, was extremely apprehensive of a Peace, which
 “ would have render'd his great Talents useless. The Misfor-
 “ tunes which had happen'd, in Spain and the Empire, made
 “ him fear, that the Allies might be more dispos'd, this Year,
 “ to give Ear to pacifick Proposals, than they had been in the
 “ foregoing. The Intent of his Journey was not only to set aside
 “ all such Thoughts, but to excite them to continue the War,
 “ with new Vigour; and he assur'd them, in the Name of the
 “ Queen, that her Majesty would entertain no Thoughts of a
 “ Peace, till the Allies had obtained all they had to ask of France,
 “ and till that Monarchy was reduced to the State it was in,
 “ under Lewis XIII. Our Captain Negotiator (as my Author
 “ calls the Duke) urged the Princes and Deputies very much
 “ to furnish their Contingents in time, and to augment their
 “ Forces with 30,000 Men, for the ensuing Campaign. The
 “ Members of the Empire absolutely rejected this Proposal.
 “ The Duke, who was never at a Loss for an Expedient, pro-
 “ posed, that the Emperour, England, and the United Pro-
 “ vinces should furnish 10,000 Men each. This Proposal, the
 “ Emperour's Minister highly exclaim'd against; and Mons. de
 “ Geldermalsen seem'd not much less surpriz'd at it. He ar-
 “ gued, with great Vehemence, that the Republick was ex-
 “ hausted, by the extraordinary Disbursements they had been at,
 “ to keep up a Diversion in Spain, Portugal and Piedmont. In
 “ vain the Duke protested, that both the Queen, and himself,
 “ would leave no Stone unturn'd to engage the Parliament to
 “ provide for the greater Part of this Augmentation. They
 “ neither would nor could consent to any thing. So (says a
 “ certain Historian,) the Duke of Marlborough return'd to
 “ England equally dissatisfied with his Journey to the Rhine, his
 “ Campaign, and his Negotiation at Francfort.

“ I do not (continues my Author) in the least doubt, but the
 “ Admirers of this famous General will take it amiss, that I
 “ attribute the Pains the Duke was at to animate and buoy
 “ up the Minds of the Allies, to his Aversion to a Peace. Let
 “ such shew me what other Motive it can be ascrib'd to?
 “ Was it an Attachment to the House of Austria, an In-
 “ clination to have whatever had been taken from that illus-
 “ trious Family, by Lewis XIV. restor'd? Such an Attach-
 “ ment, in an English Protestant, would not fall very short of
 “ Folly. Was it a Hatred to France? He always behaved
 “ with great Politeness and Humanity to the French who fell
 “ into his Hands. Was it a Conviction, that the Safety of Eng-

1707.

“ land depended upon a depressing of the House of Bourbon, and
 “ augmenting the Power of the House of Austria? It may
 “ be sufficient to answer to this, that he was Master of some
 “ good Sense and Penetration. Was it a Zeal for the Pro-
 “ testant Religion in general, or for the Church of England
 “ in particular, that urg’d him to abate the Power of France,
 “ that she might not be in a Capacity to undertake any Thing
 “ to the Prejudice of either? Tho’ a certain Author of his
 “ Life, pretends he received the Sacrament, according to the
 “ Rites of the Church of England, the Eve of the famous
 “ Battle of Hochstadt, all the World agrees, that Piety and
 “ Devotion, and especially such fervent and zealous Piety,
 “ was never his Characteristick. Was it a Zeal for his Royal
 “ Mistress, whose Right to the Crown, France had call’d
 “ in Question? He knew too well the Disposition of that
 “ Crown, to give her Majesty Satisfaction on this Head. We
 “ are, therefore, under a Necessity of returning to the Motives
 “ I at first alledged, and must own that the Duke of Marlbo-
 “ rough, who was form’d under King William, and had im-
 “ bib’d his Maxims and Tendencies, was inclin’d to War for
 “ his private Security and Interest; to which I may add, that
 “ he had so much the more Reason to be fond of it, because,
 “ till then, it had proved *infinitely glorious to him*.

What a Heap of insinuating Scandal, Malice or Envy, is here thrown upon the greatest Man of his Age; under the sacred Veil of Reason, and evincing Argument, tho’ not supported by either! Our Author’s Questions are of such a Nature that they answer themselves, to the Advantage of our Hero; and his own Answers are so weak and evasive, that they need no Confutation: I shall therefore, only ask him a Question or two, in my Turn. Were not the Surineness of that Lethargick Body, the Empire, and the Backwardness of all the Allies in general, the Dutch not excepted, more than sufficient Moves for the Duke to act as he did, without hooking his private Interest into the Question? Surely they were! Was not the Honour, as well as the Interest, of every one of the Allies equally at Stake, and ought not the Generals and Ministers of every one of them, to have acted in the same Manner as the Duke did, in Proportion to their respective Influences over the whole? Certainly they would have done it, if they had been moved by so fervent a Zeal for the Good of the Common Cause! What Proportion then can the Duke’s private Views, if he had any, bear to these weighty Motives, of such Importance to all Europe? What were the Views, or rather Resolutions and Engagements of the Allies, at entering into this War? Were they, at this Time, fully accomplish’d? Did France shew any Tendency towards giving

giving the Allies that Satisfaction they expected? What more effectual Means to oblige France to it than those the Duke propos'd? What Reason had the Emperour to exclaim against the Proposal? Was not the House of Austria to be the greatest Gainer by the War? Why should the Dutch be surprized at it? Or rather should not they have made it? They certainly had an immediate Benefit by it, as well by their clandestine Trade, as the Encrease of their Power. Fortresses were daily putting into their Hands, and others propos'd to be conquer'd, as they were in the Sequel, and all for their Security. When our Author has answer'd these Questions, I have another Bede-Roll at his Service. I agree with him, that the Duke came away dissatisfied; but it was at the ungenerous Return he found made to the super-abundant Readiness of England, to sacrifice their All, for the Good of the Common Cause.

The Duke, during his Stay, at the Hague, communicated to the States-General what pass'd at Francfort; and their Deputies having had several Conferences with the Imperial Ministers, their High Mightinesses resolv'd, to use all possible Means to engage the Empire, to make greater Efforts for the future, than they had hitherto done. In order to this, they wrote a pressing Letter to the Diet of Ratisbon, wherein after having represented the great Deficiencies, and Delays of the Germanick Body, from time to time, in the Performance of what they were, by Treaty, bound to, and the evil Consequences, which had hitherto attended them, they concluded by saying; "That their High Mightinesses would continue to contribute their utmost, towards bringing about the great Work, they had, jointly, with them, undertaken; but that they expected the like, from his Imperial Majesty, and the Empire, seeing they were oblig'd to it by their Alliances and Common Interest; and, in Case of Non-Performance, their High Mightinesses protested against all the ill Consequences thereof.

A laudable Resolution of the States General.

Thus have we seen, that this Year did not prove very prosperous to the Arms of the Allies, as I just hinted, at the Beginning of this Chapter: Yet, tho' no Conquests were made in the Netherlands, it tended to the Honour of the Duke of Marlborough, whose excellent Judgment, and unwearied Application, were visible in every Transaction even of this barren Campaign, and must be acknowledged by every unprejudiced Person.

A Remark on the Campaign in the Netherlands.

I shall not need to say much here, with respect to the Affairs of other Parts, during this Campaign, having premised something, as an Introduction to this Year's Transactions. For the Affairs on the Upper Rhine, I shall only add; that after the Elector of Hannover was prevailed upon, as I have said above, to take upon him the Command of the Imperial Army, by that Prince's

Some Observations on Affairs in other Parts.

1707.

Prince's Vigilance and good Conduct, the Face of Affairs was entirely changed, in Favour of the Confederates, towards the End of the Campaign, and seemed to promise fair for the next.

The Grand Design of the Allies, this Campaign, was the Siege of Toulon, which, tho' it prov'd so far unsuccessful, that they were obliged to raise the Siege, yet they made their Retreat with an inconsiderable Loss, which was more than ten-fold recompensed by the Loss the French suffered in their Shipping, and was greater than they ever sustained in any Naval Fight, and which they have not recovered to this Day; for a particular Account of which, I refer the Reader to *Lediard's Naval History*.

The Allies had, however, some Acquisitions to boast of, this Campaign, and those not inconsiderable: I mean the Reduction of the whole Kingdom of Naples, to the Obedience of the Emperour, with the Spanish Towns on the Coast of Tuscany, and the taking of Susa, in Piedmont.

The Duke of Marlborough returns to England.

The Duke of Marlborough having concluded several weighty Affairs with the States General, embark'd for England, and came to St. James's, the seventh of November, O. S. The Importance of this Year's Transactions, as far as the Duke of Marlborough was concerned in them, not being so considerable as to be taken Notice of in Parliament, in his Grace's Favour; I should have had nothing of Parliamentary Affairs to mention this Year, had not a memorable Debate arisen, in the House of Peers, which too nearly concerned the Duke, and his Honour, to be pass'd by in Silence; I shall, therefore, mention as much of it, as immediately related to his Grace.

A memorable Debate in the House of Lords about the Earl of Peterborough and the Affairs of Spain.

The nineteenth of December, there was a long and memorable Debate in the House of Lords, in relation to the Affairs of Spain, the Queen being present incognito, till five o'Clock, in the Afternoon: The Earl of Rochester spoke first, and, having commended the Earl of Peterborough's Courage and Conduct, and enumerated his Services, said it had been a constant Custom, that when a Person of his Rank, that had been employed Abroad, in so eminent a Post, as his Lordship had, returned Home, he had either Thanks given him, or was called to an Account: Urging that the same ought to be done in relation to the Earl of Peterborough. The Lord Hallifax, who spoke next, enlarg'd likewise on the Earl of Peterborough's successful Services, but dexterously put off the returning him Thanks, till the whole Tenor of his Conduct had been examined, than which the Earl himself profess'd, he had nothing more at Heart. The Lord Haversham was not silent: But having highly extolled the Earl of Peterborough's Valour, Skill, and Successes, made a Side-
Wind

Wind Reflection on the Earl of Galloway, saying, *'Twas no Wonder our Affairs in Spain went so ill, since the Management of them had been entrusted to a Foreigner.* Hereupon several Members shewed the Necessity of carrying on the War, till the whole Monarchy of Spain was recovered, and King Charles settled on his Throne; among the rest, the Earl of Peterborough said, *That they ought to give the Queen nineteen Shillings in the Pound, rather than to make Peace upon any other Terms, adding, that if it was thought necessary, he was ready to return to Spain, and serve even under the Earl of Galloway.*

1707.

W

“ Charles, Earl of Peterborough, was Lord Mordaunt in the Reign of Charles II. a great Projector for the Improvement of our Plantations. At the Revolution, he was very zealous; for which King William made him Earl of Mouth, and employ'd him in Places of Trust, till by his unsteady Temper, which naturally prompted him to run from Party to Party, he lost his Favour; and his Practices with Sir John Fenwick, and a Book he was said to have publish'd under the Name of one Smith, brought both him, and the Treatise supposed to be either wrote by himself, or by his Directions, under the Censure of both Houses of Parliament.

Character of the Earl of Peterborough.

“ On Queen Ann's Accession to the Throne, my Lord Nottingham (it is said) procured him a Commission to be Captain General of the Plantations in America; but my Lord Marlborough returning from Holland, before the Commission pass'd the Seals, it was put a Stop to (suppos'd by his Means,) as being thought too great a Command for one of his fiery, inconstant Temper. This (is said) to have soured him to, that he oppos'd this Court (or, at least, the Ministry of it,) as he did that of the last. He obtained, however, not long after, a Commission to command a Descent, the Success of which being foreign to the Subject of this present Work, I refer for the Particulars to our General Historians. He always affected Popularity, and to talk in Places of publick Resort; he appear'd but too much an Enemy to reveal'd Religion; but was upon all Occasions very brave; Characters not often met with, in the same Person.

This naturally brought on the Consideration of Ways and Means to retrieve the Affairs of Spain, in relation to which the Earl of Rochester said: *That we seemed to neglect the principal Business, and mind only Accessories;* adding, he remembered the Saying of a great General, the old Duke of Schomberg, viz. *That the attacking of France in the Netherlands, was like taking a Bull by the Horns.* And therefore his Lordship propos'd, *That we should stand on the Defensive in Flanders, and send from thence 15, or 20,000 Men into Catalonia.* That noble Peer was second-

The Duke of Marlborough's Speech.

ed

ed by the Earl of Nottingham, who complained of Spain being in a Manner abandoned. But the Duke of Marlborough shew'd, with some Warmth, the Danger of such an undigested Council, and the Necessity of augmenting rather than diminishing our Forces in Flanders. The two chief Reasons his Grace urg'd were, First, *That most of the Enemies strong Places there might be kept with one Battalion in each; whereas the great Towns of Brabant, we had conquer'd, required twenty Times that Number of Men, for their Preservation.* Secondly, *That if our Army in the Netherlands was weakened, and the French, by their great Superiority, should gain any considerable Advantage, which it was not improbable they might, the discontented Party in Holland, who were not a few, and bore with Impatience the necessary Charges of the War, would not fail crying aloud for Peace.* Hereupon, the Earl of Rochester said, *He wondered that noble Peer, who had been ever conspicuous for his Calmness and Moderation, should now be out of his Temper; adding, that there being an absolute Necessity to succour Spain, his Grace would oblige their Lordships, if he would let them know, where they might get Troops to send thither; and the more because the Earl of Peterborough had, that very Day, assured them, he had heard Prince Eugene say, That the German Soldiers had rather be decimated than sent into Spain.* The Duke of Marlborough wisely answered the Reproach of having shew'd some Warmth, by saying, *The Thing was of too great Importance to be spoken of without Concernment; And as for the Question propoed by the Earl, he added, That altho' it was improper to disclose secret Projects in so great an Assembly, (to which that Day many Strangers had been admitted by the Favour of the Queen's Presence) because the Enemy would not fail being inform'd of them; yet to gratify their Lordships, he might assure them, that Measures had been already concerted with the Emperor, for the forming an Army of 40,000 Men, (whom he specified under the Command of the Duke of Savoy) and for sending powerful Succours to King Charles, adding, it was to be hoped, that Prince Eugene might be prevailed with to go and command in Spain, in which Case the Germans would gladly follow him thither.* The only Difficulty which his Grace said might be objected against this Scheme, was *the usual Slowness of the Court of Vienna, to which Purpose he took Notice, that if the 7000 German Recruits, which the Emperor had promised for the Army in Piedmont, had arriv'd Time enough, the Enterprize against Toulon, might have been attended with Success; but that it was to be hoped, and he durst engage his Word for it, that for the future, his Imperial Majesty would punctually perform his Promises.* Upon which the Debate ended.

To conclude this Volume, and to avoid the Censure of being a partial Apologist, I shall borrow an Observation or two from the Author of the *Other Side of the Question*.

“ Tho’ the Queen (says he) had no Dislike to the Triumphs of a Thanksgiving Day, she ever thought it purchas’d much too dearly, by the Lives of her Subjects. She had a Heart which overflowed with Humanity :—the Lists of the Slain and Wounded were seldom laid before her, but her Eyes swam with Tears, which neither the Joy of Victory, nor the Formality of Congratulation could restrain.

“ Every Year of the War had been adorn’d with some Triumph; but this, instead of being crown’d with Laurels, was hung with Sables, (alluding to our Loss at the fatal Battle of Almanza, (which was fought in May, of this Year :) If therefore, the Queen was melancholy, in the midst of Triumphs, it must be imagined she was now in a Manner disconsolate; a Field of Blood was ever before her Eyes; the Groans of the Dying were ever in her Ears; the Devastations of a ruinous War hung an eternal Weight upon her Heart.”

To whom, therefore, could she unbosom this Variety of Sorrows? “ If to the General: He besought her Majesty to have Patience but one Year more, and she would then certainly obtain her Desire upon her Enemies.

“ Thus silenced, but not satisfied, her Majesty was obliged to look elsewhere for that Comfort and Consolation which she could not obtain where she principally expected it; and where could she so reasonably apply as to Mr. Harley, who had already given such Proofs of his Moderation, Ability and Attachment to her real Interest?”

But as these Considerations are suited more properly to the Subject of the ensuing Volume, I shall conclude this, with asking a Question or two, in my Turn, and refer to that for the Answers to them, which will, at the same Time, sufficiently answer the Questions put by her suppos’d Ladyship.

“ If the Duke of Marlborough besought her Majesty, to have Patience but for one Year more; and she would then certainly obtain her Desire upon her Enemies;” did he deceive her in her Expectations? Did not the Successes of the two ensuing Years 1708. and 1709. fully answer all he suggested? Did she not obtain her Desire upon her Enemies? Why did not she and the Nation enjoy the Fruits of these *glorious Successes*? Who advis’d the Queen to enter into inglorious Measures, for treating of a general Peace with the Common Enemy? And who to conclude an inglorious Treaty, with this Common
Enemy,

1707.

Enemy, in which the Interests of the Nation, and her Allies, were given up, and *all the Advantages gained by the unparallel'd Successes of her Majesty's Arms, under the Command of JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH, at a great Expence of Blood and Treasure, sacrificed to Party-Rage and Faction?* For the Answers to these Questions, as well those propos'd by the suppos'd Right Honourable Author, as those by myself, I refer the Reader to the Second Part of this Work.

The End of the First VOLUME.







University of California
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
305 De Neve Drive - Parking Lot 17 • Box 951388
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90095-1388

Return this material to the library from which it was borrowed.

UCLA ACCESS SERVICES BL19

Interlibrary Loans

11630 University Research Library

Box 951575

Los Angeles, CA 90095-1575

NON-RENEWABLE

ILL-AZU

DEC 18 2001

DUE 2 WKS FROM DATE RECEIVED

JUN 24 02

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



A 000 018 268 3



